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THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY

VOL. VIII

FROM MAY, 1839 TO APRIL, 1840

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VOL. VIII.—MAY, 1839.—No. 1.

ART. I. *Remarks on the present crisis in the opium traffic, with inquiries respecting its causes, and the best course to be pursued by those now connected with it.*

UNDER existing circumstances, a few thoughts on the aspect and bearing of the traffic in opium will form an appropriate introduction to a new volume of the Repository. The same intrinsic importance of the subject — its intimate connection with all that is most interesting in the prospective intercourse with China — which has so often led us to discuss it in times past, still compels us to give it a prominent place in our present volume. The high commissioner, 'a plenipotentiary of the celestial court,' s sworn, in the name of his master, to stand or fall by the question now pending. Commercial, political, and moral interests of very great magnitude are suspended on this crisis. Whenever the drama closes, we shall feel in duty bound to review it in all its parts, and make it the subject of such remarks and deduc tions, as shall seem most likely to inform and satisfy the inquisitive reader. At present, new scenes are opening in quick succession, and it is impossible for us to foresee when and how they will terminate. We therefore limit ourselves, in this article, to a few introductory observations; after these the narrative, with which our last volume closed, shall be resumed. We must also defer, to the proper place in order of time, the particulars of a recent visit to Chuenpe, where we witnessed the process of destruction to which the drug is subjected, and were admitted to an audience with Lin himself, who in person

superintends that work. It may be stated here, however, that in the course of the interview the commissioner declared, in the most explicit terms, that, while his government will deal most severely with those who henceforth attempt the introduction of opium, additional favor shall be shown to all who pursue an upright and honorable commerce, and that the contraband, shall not in any way involve the legitimate, trade.—It ought to be added here, that the publication of this number has been considerably retarded.

The present remarkable crisis in the commercial intercourse with China is the consequence of several concurring causes. First, among these we are constrained to place the low state of morality, among western nations, touching their political and commercial relations with the east. The origin and the extraordinary growth of the traffic in opium have resulted from this cause. Seventy years ago, when colonel Watson first proposed to the council at Calcutta, to avail themselves of the Chinese taste for opium to support the Indian revenue, no moral principle influenced his colleagues to prevent its adoption. It was received and accepted as a happy expedient; and from that time to the present, none of those expostulations, so often addressed to the Indian authorities, by the friends of China and of temperance, have had the slightest influence. The representatives of the East India Company in this country were not, we believe, so unmindful of their just obligations as to hide from their superiors the effects of the drug on the Chinese people. But these representations were all unheeded; and when, in the course of time, the honorable Company's hold on Chinese commerce was lost, and mercantile consequences became as little influential as moral effects, a still looser rein was given to the production of the drug, and to the traffic in it. Indeed had the old adherents of that monopoly been sworn to bring about those fatal results, which they constantly foretold as inevitable under the *free trade*, they could not have chosen more effectual means of realizing their prediction, than those to which they proceeded,—namely, the extension of the cultivation of opium. Driven from the possession of the legal trade with China, they contrived to lay the illicit under double contribution. Their revenue from the drug for the year 1837, rose to $12,000,000; and but for that energetic interposition of the 'celestial court,' which we both admire and deplore, Chinese silver would have been drawn off to India, in exchange for its 'flowing poison,' in an annually increasing amount, until exhausted of its resources, China would no longer have held the rank of an independent empire.

Unhappily, the morality of Bengal was the morality of the mother country. When the Commons of England reported on the subject of Indian revenue and commerce in 1832, their language was at once a full confession of acquaintance with the evils of the opium traffic, and a full assumption of responsibility for them. The decisions of the Indian government and of the imperial parliament of Great Britain were confirmed by at least the tacit consent of the public. The most eminent merchants engaged freely in the traffic; and no man received a less ready welcome to the highest ranks of society because his eastern fortune had come from the sale of opium. And up to the present day, throughout India and in China, many of the most distinguished merchants — men who would be slow to engage in any other than what they regarded as just and honorable pursuits — have been foremost in this traffic. And here is found a source of error in the public mind; men have looked more at the parties engaged in this business than at the thing itself.

At present we rather forbear to discuss, at full length, this great question in morals. It deserves, and it shall receive, the most careful attention. The frightful evils, resulting from the use of intoxicating spirits, are now engaging the public mind with irresistible power in the west. The evils resulting from the use of opium are not less—we think they are much greater—than those caused by the use of alcoholic liquors. In China they seem to be many fold greater. So they evidently are in some of the Malayan states and so too they may yet be in England, and other western countries. We name England, because it stands first and almost alone in the production of opium. That England, enlightened and Christian, should grow and farm a means of vice, with the proceeds of which, even when in her possession, China, benighted and pagan, disdains to replenish her treasury, is one of the most singular moral contrasts ever exhibited; yet we are slow to believe that one of the first nations in Christendom for her philanthropy and religious principle will long suffer herself to occupy, in comparison, a place so incompatible with her duty and honor. Such an example of the strength of principle in a heathen government, resisting the demoralizing temptations presented by a Christian people, cannot and will not be without its effect.

The smuggling of opium has been, and, so long as it is persisted in, must be, the fruitful source of evils, destroying life, property, and morals. The smoking of the drug the Chinese describe as one of the worst evils, as the greatest calamity, that now afflicts their land. Its victims are of all ranks, from the imperial household to the hovel

of the poorest peasant. An idle few, by birth and fortune placed in the highest ranks, became the patterns for the many; the contagion ran, and family after family were soon infected with the direful mania. From these high ranks, the habit extended to the literati, to official personages civil and military, and thence spread among the soldiery, and all classes of the poor. The '*victimized*' opium smoker is the most wretched being we ever beheld, and is looked upon by his relatives as an object of pity and disgrace. So far as we know — and we have read and heard the sentiments of thousands of the Chinese — no one ever regards the use of the drug in any other light than as a physical and moral evil. 'It is a noxious thing,' they say, 'and with it, seeking to benefit yourselves, you do injury to others.' This is truth — and a truth which ought to constrain every good man, whether Christian or pagan, to keep clear from cultivating, carrying, selling, or consuming, this noxious thing. By it thousands of the rich have been impoverished; multitudes of the middling classes have been reduced to beggary; crowds of whom, driven by want to desperation, have committed suicide, or acts of robbery which have subjected them to public execution. Moreover, we learn from the inspired oracles, that there are evil habits, which not only entail wretchedness and misery in this life, but which pursue their victims with perpetual and everlasting woes. Such we know are the bitter dregs of the drunkard's cup. And who, that has witnessed its demoralizing effects, can doubt that a doom equally dark awaits the victimized smoker of opium? When the minds of western nations are duly sensible of these dire evils, to which they have long been accessary, they will not only desist from their former courses, but like true Christian philanthropists they will strive to repair the desolations already made.

Another cause which has induced the present crisis, may be found in our disbelief of all sincerity in the wishes of the imperial government to suppress the traffic. 'The great emperor' says the objector, 'has no concern for the welfare of his people in this matter; and if he has, surely he would not deny to them the use of a harmless luxury.' Confirmed in a belief like this, foreigners have treated with utter contempt all edicts and appeals issued against the introduction of the drug. Such documents have been regarded as 'mere waste paper.' So late as the 25th of March last, we find it declared, and with entire sincerity, 'that being *now* made fully aware of the imperial commands for the entire abolition of the traffic in opium, the undersigned foreign merchants hereby pledge themselves not to deal in

opium, nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire. For ourselves, we have no doubt that the first prohibition of the drug, thirty-nine years ago, was the expression of a sincere desire to avert a vice, which was then discovered to be just fastening itself on the people. That prohibition was probably reported to his majesty as having been duly carried into effect. Thus for a while the matter slept. But when subsequently, from time to time, additional evidences of the existence and progress of the vice were disclosed, new edicts were issued, and new laws ordained, to check its growth and to guard the people. But alas! these acts were neutralized by the pusillanimity and cupidity of local officers, aided and abetted by foreigners. No one will deny these facts; yet no one concerned in them, will admit that they were at all criminal. The amount of fees, paid for connivance, has sometimes been $75 per chest. We are not prepared to assert that the highest provincial officers, generally, have been encouragers of the traffic; for of this we have no proof; nor is it believed by many of the most intelligent natives with whom we have intercourse. That there have been exceptions, is readily admitted; yet even in these cases, their profits have usually come through channels too indirect to be availed of as evidences of their corruption. And the slumbering of Chinese officers over the approaching crisis, seems ascribable rather to their love of quiet and their dread of foreigners resenting any interference, than to their hopes of receiving bribes. We are willing to admit that the lower officers have been, in many instances, the open licencers of the traffic, we do not deny that the imperial government is in a measure answerable for the conduct of these its accredited instruments. But, if it be admitted that these inferior officers of government have been unfaithful to their trust in receiving bribes, what shall be said of the conduct of those who have proffered and paid the same? If any rules or prohibitions be manifestly unjust, let the foreigner, adhering to the high principles of Christian ethics, protest against them. And if he is in doubt as to the intentions of the legislators of the empire, let him be sure that he is doing what is in itself right, before he sets at naught the plain declarations of imperial edicts. For the past, apologies may be made; but now to persist in a course so full of evil, will be unreasonable and dangerous in the extreme. It is with deep sorrow and grief we learn that there are efforts making to renew the traffic. It is not now as formerly. The imperial will is now made clear; and from the wretchedness that attends the use of the drug the veil is in part removed, and sad are the disclosures of its rava-

ges. Yet we are constrained to believe that not the half — nay not one thousandth part — of the whole truth has been told.

The last cause which we shall notice — though many minor ones exist — is the apathy of foreign governments regarding the course of events here. It is indeed true that some of the western states have endeavored to gain commercial and political ends, by sending hither embassies, national vessels, &c. It is much to be regretted, however, that no suitable efforts have been made to establish that only foundation, on which an honorable intercourse can rest — an honorable, an unblameable character. In the eyes of the Chinese our character is low. As individuals, or as a community, very little has been done to elevate it; and we speak the words of truth and soberness when we affirm, that the course of western governments, respecting all their interests here, has been calculated to degrade, rather than to elevate, the foreign character. Whether this be ascribable to the lax morality already noticed, or to mere indifference to national standing in this further east, or to some other cause, we leave it for others to determine; yet the fact seems incontestable, and we grieve that it is so. Our national character is in the dust, prostrated by our own folly and negligence. The British flag, claiming preëminence here, has been struck three times during the last few months; and now no foreign flag floats in the provincial city; nor is there here one accredited agent of any foreign government. The consular laws and consular institutions of western nations evidently contemplate the preservation of their national flags, free from all stain, leaving every private obliquity to rest on the head of the offending individual. But unhappily the application of these instructions to Chinese affairs has hitherto been such as to draw down the whole weight of Chinese reprobation upon the foreign governments. We do not wonder that some of these representatives have been dissatisfied with the functions they have been called to exercise. Our chief surprise is that they have not at once laid down their commissions, and retired from all public duties, until they could exercise the same with due honor to themselves and to their countries. Had western governments instructed their representatives to pursue the course most likely to bring odium on themselves, and screen the misconduct and guilt of private individuals, none more wise could have been selected than that which has been pursued, from the first exercise of delegated authority to the present day.

With the close of the surrender of the opium a new scene opens. The immense losses that have been sustained, by individuals and by

governments, must rouse the wise and the thoughtful to a careful consideration of existing difficulties, and of past errors and misdeeds. A new leaf is about to be turned in the annals of foreign intercourse with China. Could we make future events correspond to our views and wishes, we would inscribe on this yet unsullied page the adoption and careful execution of the following measures.

In the first place, we would record the adoption, by the whole of our resident community, of that truly noble and Christian standard of conduct, which makes the frailty of our neighbor the object of our compassion, and not the mark of our cupidity or ridicule. We know, and we rejoice to know, that this topic is engaging the thoughts of many around us. And many more there are, who, with us, deeply deplore the reckless conduct of some of those who have sojourned among us. No enlightened conscience can find true and solid satisfaction in any other course than that of conscious rectitude. And beyond the secret happiness, always derived from acting in conformity to this standard, the elevation of mercantile character is evidently of vast importance. The influence exerted in this way on the Chinese will also produce great and good effects. The merchant is acting, and must act, a leading part in the grand drama of universal amelioration. His influence, if consecrated to the high cause of human improvement, must rank among the strongest means, vouchsafed by Divine Providence, to hasten a period of universal felicity on earth. Such a consecration involves, of course, the adoption of the principle, that to the virtue and good of man commerce is a handmaid, but that to vice and ruin she disdains to minister.

In the second place, we would record, on the first page of the new annals, the resolution of all western states, having commercial relations with the east, to maintain none other than a just and honorable intercourse with China. The direct and public contributing to what the Chinese denounce as criminal vice, by producing and bringing into the country a noxious drug, in the face of clear and repeated remonstrances on the part of the emperor, is replete with mischief. It cannot but be exceedingly unfriendly and offensive in the eyes of the honest supporters of this government. For whatever dishonor and injury western governments may have caused to the Chinese by this unheeded and ill-advised course, no remedy remains but frank acknowledgement and simple reparation. This England especially owes to China. As she has been chief in the offense, let her be first to afford reparation. And when this is honorably done, then let her with becoming majesty call on China to follow her example, and make reparation for

all injuries received from her. There have been mutual distrust, dishonor, insult, and injury. Where now shall the reform commence? With whom? We have heard it said, and it is generally believed, that foreign ships, engaged in the contraband trade have repeatedly fired on Chinese junks, while in the honest and peaceful performance of their duty. Was this right?

In the third place, we would have the era, which has been now reached, marked by an effort to bring the united moral power of the western world to bear, with an irresistible pressure, on the high barriers which have so long separated China from the most enlightened and peaceful states of Christendom. The real grounds of dissatisfaction with the Chinese are *common* to all. The principles or rights to be demanded from them, are such as would not be diminished by division. One great reason why previous efforts to ameliorate intercourse have failed, has been because that these efforts have been *selfish;* they have not been based on the broad principles of universal right and equity. European envoys have been the representatives of single and rival interests. A combined mission on the part of all the states, carrying on commerce with China, would wear a different aspect. It would no longer be a separate suit, pleading for narrow interests. It would be the western world *versus* China, or rather *for* China.

In closing this article we will not hazard any predictions. Another year cannot be expected to pass without great and important changes. Direct intercourse, on just and honorable principles, is indispensible for the maintenance of good faith and friendly offices. For the establishment of this intercourse we will continue to plead. Our judgment is, that if England, Russia, the United States of America, France, and Holland, would direct their envoys to rendezvous at the mouth of the Yangtsze keäng, or at Teëntsin, in 1840, and *stay there*, proffering every explanation, and pressing peacefully every fair and just demand — until conceded — the result would be a new era — an era happy for us, happy for our nations, and above all happy for China!

Let us add a word for our friends and readers in distant parts: they ought to be cautious how they condemn the conduct of those who have been involved in these troubles, and they should beware how they proclaim that the traffic is finally stopped. The consuls, and especially the British superintendents, have had an arduous task imposed on them, and their difficulties are not yet terminated, but the conclusion we sincerely hope will be honorable and satisfactory, resulting in great good to all parties.

ART. II. *Letter to the Queen of England from the imperial commissioner and the provincial authorities requiring the interdiction of opium.*

[The paper of which a translation is here given — purporting to be a letter addressed to the Queen of England — was permitted to obtain circulation among the people, in the same manner as many official documents commonly do, about three months since, when the commissioner and governor were about to leave Canton to receive the opium surrendered in the name of the British crown. Presumptive evidence of its authenticity is afforded by the expression on the part of the commissioner of an anxious desire to know how he should convey such a communication to the English sovereign.]

Lin, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Hoo, — Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang,— and E, a vice-director of the Board of War, and lieut.-governor of Kwangtung,— conjointly address this communication to the sovereign of the English nation, for the purpose of requiring the interdiction of opium.

That in the ways of heaven no partiality exists, and no sanction is allowed to the injuring of others for the advantage of one's self,— that in men's natural desires there is not any great diversity (for where is he who does not abhor death and seek life?)— these are universally acknowledged principles. And your honorable nation, though beyond the wide ocean, at a distance of twenty thousand miles, acknowledges the same ways of heaven, the same human nature, and has the like perception of the distinctions between life and death, benefit and injury.

Our heavenly court has for its family all that is within the four seas; the great emperor's heaven-like benevolence — there is none whom it does not overshadow: even regions remote, desert, and disconnected, have a part in the general care of life and of wellbeing.

In Kwangtung, since the removal of the interdicts upon maritime communication, there has been a constantly flowing stream of commercial intercourse. The people of the land, and those who come from abroad in foreign ships, have reposed together in the enjoyment of its advantages, for tens of years past, even until this time. And as regards the rhubarb, teas, raw silk, and similar rich and valuable products of China, should foreign nations be deprived of these, they would be without the means of continuing life. So that the heavenly court, by granting, in the oneness of its common benevolence, permission for the sale and exportation thereof,— and that

without stint or grudge,— has indeed extended its favors to the utmost circuit [of the nations], making its heart one with the core of heaven and earth.

But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people, who, having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons, and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late, from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source — its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. It is not to be denied that the simple folk, inasmuch as they indulge their appetite at the expense of their lives, are indeed themselves the authors of their miseries: and why then should they be pitied? Yet, in the universal empire under the sway of the great and pure dynasty, it is of essential import, for the right direction of men's minds, that their customs and manners should be formed to correctness. How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas, should be left willfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is, that those who deal in opium, or who inhale its fumes, within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing.

We have reflected, that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honorable nation. Doubtless, you, the honorable sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. But amid the various nations there are a few only that make this opium: it is by no means the case that all the nations are herein alike. And we have heard that in your honorable nation, too, the people are not permitted to inhale the drug, and that offenders in this particular expose themselves to sure punishment. It is clearly from a knowledge of its injurious effects on man, that you have directed severe prohibitions against it. But what is the prohibition of its use, in comparison with the prohibition of its being sold — of its being manufactured,— as a means of thoroughly purifying the source?

Though not making use of it one's self, to venture nevertheless on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is, to seek one's own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one's own advantage by other men's injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man — are utterly op-

posed to the ways of heaven. To the vigorous sway exercised by the celestial court over both the civilized and the barbarous, what difficulty presents itself to hinder the immediate taking of life? But as we contemplate and give substantial being to the fullness and vastness of the sacred intelligence, it befits us to adopt first the course of admonition. And not having as yet sent any communication to your honorable sovereignty,—should severest measures of interdiction be all at once enforced, it might be said, in excuse, that no previous knowledge thereof had been possessed.

We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it,—and you, in the nations under your dominion, forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honorable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these heavens and this earth of any portion of the hurtful thing. Not only then will the people of this land be relieved from its pernicious influence: but the people of your honorable nation too (for as they make, how know we that they do not also smoke it?) will, when the manufacture is indeed forbidden, be likewise relieved from the danger of its use. Will not the result of this be the enjoyment by each of a felicitous condition of peace. For your honorable nation's sense of duty being thus devout, shows a clear apprehension of celestial principles, and the supreme heavens will ward off from you all calamities. It is also in perfect accordance with human nature, and must surely meet the approbation of sages.

Besides all this, the opium being so severely prohibited in this land, that there will be none found to smoke it, should your nation continue its manufacture, it will be discovered after all that no place will afford opportunity for selling it, that no profits will be attainable. Is it not far better to turn and seek other occupation than vainly to labor in the pursuit of a losing employment?

And furthermore, whatever opium can be discovered in this land is entirely committed to the flames, and consumed. If any be again introduced in foreign vessels, it too must be subjected to a like process of destruction. It may well be feared, lest other commodities imported in such vessels should meet a common fate — the gem and the pebble not being distinguished. Under these circumstances, gain being no longer acquirable, and hurt having assumed a visible form, such as desire the injury of others will find that they themselves are the first to be injured

The powerful instrumentality whereby the celestial court holds in subjection all nations is truly divine and awe-inspiring beyond the power of computation. Let it not be said that early warning of this has not been given.

When your majesty receives this document, let us have a speedy communication in reply, advertizing us of the measures you adopt for the entire cutting off of the opium in every seaport. Do not, by any means, by false embellishments evade or procrastinate. Earnestly reflect hereon. Earnestly observe these things.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d month, ——— day. Communication sent to the sovereign of the English nation.

ART. III. *Crisis in the opium traffic; continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c. (Continued from vol.* VII., *page* 656.)

ON the 20th of April, an edict was received from the commissioner, the governor and the lieut.-governor, addressed to the superintendents, consuls, and all the foreigners, in the following terms.

No. 27.

Edict requiring the voluntary bond.

Lin, high imperial commissioner and governor of Hookwang, Tang, a president of the Board of War, and governor of the two provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, vice-president of the Board of War and lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, issue this edict to the English superintendent Elliot and the deputy superintendent Johnston, the American consul Snow, the Dutch consul Van Basel, and the foreigners of every country; let them fully acquaint themselves herewith.

Whereas we, the high imperial commissioner, the governor, and the lieutenant-governor, did receive the great and august emperor's mandatory will, to interdict opium, and to cut off the sources whence it comes, accordingly we gave commands to the said superintendents and consuls, by them to be enjoined on all the foreigners, to take the opium accumulated in the store-ships, and make an entire surrender of it; now it appears that, in obedience to those commands, the surrender is being made, evincing respectful submission, worthy of praise. And hereafter, for ever, foreigners will never more be

allowed to bring opium into this country. The decree is already passed, and if they do so, they shall be capitally punished, and their cargoes confiscated.

You, the English superintendent Elliot, have desired that warning may be given before execution, and now again declare that you will act in obedience to the law, the period being indulgently extended. This your statement seems reasonable; but as to the request that a period of five months be allowed for the Indian ships, and ten months for those direct from England, these periods are indeed too long.

Further it appears that the American consul Snow also has declared that while residing here he always feels obligated to conform to the laws of the empire, and that hereafter the merchants of his country, acting in obedience to the new regulations, will not presume to traffic in opium. This likewise seems perfectly proper. But he adds, 'if they bring any opium to Canton, I will communicate to them the prohibitory regulations, requiring them to return to their country,' which does not at all agree with what is said about acting in conformity to the law; for if he announces to them the prohibitory regulations, how can he stop with merely ordering them to return to their own country?

The Dutch consul Van Basel, also states, that he has received the commands to give the bond, in terms like these: — After the autumn of this year, if any ships come to Canton, and on examination are found to have opium on board, both ship and cargo shall be confiscated, and the parties left to suffer death, by the law of the country. On this occasion he is ready to obligate himself that hereafter he will never trade in opium, and that according to the tenor of the edict he will report to the great officers of his government, that they may submit the case to their sovereign; this is nearly in accordance with what is required in the bond; but, then, in his address he speaks about the lives of his countrymen being involved, which is still inconsistent with what is reasonable. It should be known that this severity of the celestial empire's laws, extending even to capital punishment, is *only in reference to the traffic in opium.* If therefore all the foreigners, in compliance with this, never bring any more opium, then there can be no more violations of the law, and how, in that case, can there be any involving of life?

With reference to Elliot's request, the period ought to be changed and fixed at four months for the Indian ships, and at eight for the direct ships, at the expiration of which periods they must conform to the new regulations. If within these periods, they presume to bring

opium, they shall according to the existing laws, surrender it all to the government, but the parties shall be freed from punishment and their other cargo from confiscation; this will be equitable and just.

Again, special and earnest commands are given in general to all foreigners, that, in accordance with the prescribed form, they all present bonds duly signed and attested, thereby evincing on the part of every one a mind respectfully submissive. Then an honorable commerce will be lastingly continued. Let there be no obstinacy cherished, to their own injury. A special edict. (April 19th, 1839.)

During Monday, the 22d, the linguists went around to the several houses, and noted down the names of their inmates, in order to determine what number of servants could be licensed,— it being said that in future only one servant would be allowed to each foreigner. This limitation has not been carried into effect.

Three foreigners — two of them Lascars and one a Malay — were brought to Canton on the 23d, said to have been lost from a vessel wrecked on the coast. The truth probably is that they are from some of the ships engaged in the smuggling of opium, as we have no information of any ship having been recently wrecked on the coast.

On the 26th, letters were received from Chuenpe, confirming previous rumors that one half of the opium had been delivered, prior to the 20th, and that there had since been a suspension in the deliveries. There is a dispute between the British superintendents and the commissioner, about the passage boats, which have not yet been allowed to run. According to the terms stipulated by the commissioner, servants were to be returned when one fourth of the opium was delivered, and the boats were to run when one half was delivered. The commissioner affirms that, in view of the faithful conduct of captain Elliot, he gave instructions for the return of the servants previous to the delivery of the one fourth; and we are informed that he now affirms, that before the half was delivered he dispatched a communication to the hoppo for the boats to run; but immediately after doing so, he heard that Mr. Johnston had received instructions to stop when one half was delivered and to wait for the passage boats; this, he further says, taken in connection with the tardy and irregular arrival of the receiving ships, induced him to withdraw and delay his order for the boats. Whether all this be true or not we cannot affirm.

On the 29th, it was reported that the deliveries had been resumed, and that a much greater quantity would have been surrendered, but for the tardiness with which the ships arrived at the station off Chuenpe.

On the 4th of May the following edict, public notice, and letters were made public.

No. 28.

Opening of the trade.

From the Kwangchow foo, communicating the commands of the commissioner and governor, for reöpening the trade.

It is on record that when the English superintendent Elliot represented that he would deliver 20,283 chests of opium, I, the high commissioner determined on certain terms: one being, that when one half should be delivered, a measured permission should be given for the passage boats to apply for passes and run to and fro. To this effect commands were given to the said superintendent that he might act accordingly. Recently, when the amount received approached a half, we, the commissioner and the governor, had prepared instructions for allowing the communication by passage-boats. But Johnston suddenly desired to stop the deliveries, with the design of coercing us. We for this reason withheld the before-prepared instructions, and did not issue them. It now appears again that he has hastened up several vessels, which have consecutively made delivery. It behoves us, therefore, in accordance with the previous declarations, to give a measured permission to the passage-boats, upon examination, to run to and fro; also to remove the guards from the foreign factories, and at the same time to permit the opening of the holds for trade. The said superintendent Elliot, although he himself represented that he should wait the completion of this matter before he should go down to Macao, yet now that the boats can run, he may be allowed to pass to and fro as usual, to enable him to call together with more celerity, and to give such orders and make such arrangements as from time to time may be called for. Those of the foreigners who have been long in the habit of dealing in opium, sixteen in number, as by the annexed list, must still be temporarily detained in the foreign factories, waiting until the whole matter be entirely completed, when they will have permission to leave. This is in accordance with the force of the terms 'measured permission,' made use of in the former declaration.

But at the time when the boats leave Canton, if officers be not appointed to proceed to the front of the foreign factories, and there, with the hong merchants under their direction, take cognizance of each by name, it is to be apprehended that these sixteen persons may get on board the boats, and unknown take themselves away from Canton. We therefore instruct the expectant sub-prefect Le Suh, together

with the Kwangchow heë to give previous orders to the hong merchants, that they enjoin it on the foreigners, to give them prior notice of the time of any boat leaving Canton, that they may report to the officers aforesaid. These are then to proceed in person to the place where the boats are anchored, and to ascertain what number of persons are on board, and what are their names and surnames; and are to direct the hong merchants to take cognizance of them severally. If there be not among them any of the sixteen named, they shall then give to the boat a stamped passport to be shown for examination at the various custom-houses that it may pass.

This sealed passport shall be printed according to the form herewith transmitted, and sealed with the seal of the Kwangchow foo, the blanks being filled up at the time. The officers aforesaid must by all means faithfully examine, and must permit no confusion or escape, whereby they will render themselves heavily culpable. The Kwangchow heë, too, must give directions to all the forts and other places of defense to pay obedience.

We forthwith proceed to issue these commands, requiring the Kwangchow foo immediately to take with him the magistrates of Nanhae and Pwanyu, and to require the original merchants, Howqua senior, &c., to act in accordance herewith, and immediately to remove all the vessels surrounding the foreign factories.

The boats registered under the designation 'obedient,' are to have a measured permission to run to and fro, still being subjected to examination at the custom-house stations.

The ship Esperance at Whampoa, which has already applied for a port clearance to return home, and the captain of which, Linstedt, is now in the foreign factories at Canton, may at once make application to the hoppo, to give permission for him to leave Canton and take his departure.

All the cargo ships at Whampoa are permitted to open their holds for trade. Those that being already fully laden, have made application through the security merchants for their port clearances, are permitted to obtain the same on representation to the hoppo, that they may be enabled to set sail and return home.

As to all the foreign merchant-ships arrived in the outer waters, they must wait till this matter is brought to a conclusion, when on examination they will be directed to enter their names, and proceed to Whampoa.

The registered boats, proceeding from Whampoa to Canton, must still be subjected to careful examination by the military guard at the

posts at the new and Macao passage forts, on the way up. And if they have contraband articles, or weapons, or gunpowder on board, they must be immediately driven back, and instant report thereof rendered, in order that examination may be made and measures taken.

Let the tenor of these commands be also declared to Elliot, that he knowing may act accordingly. Be urgent and speedy. (Promulgated May 4th, 1839.)

No. 29.

Public Notice.

In the present state of circumstances, the chief superintendent is not in a situation to do more than refer her majesty's subjects for general guidance to his public notice dated at Macao, on the 23d March last.

He need hardly observe, however, that it is his purpose to remain in Canton till his public obligations to this government are fulfilled, and he will afford the best information in his power of the probable period of his departure from time to time. Parties will therefore be pleased carefully to regulate their proceedings accordingly. There is a part of the public paper promulgated this evening (not desirable to advert to particularly,) which need give no uneasiness. He hopes it will be felt that the circumstances shall be suitably arranged at the proper moment. May 4th. (Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Secretary and treasurer to the superintendents.

No. 30.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. We beg to inform you that we have received permission from government for the licensed passage-boats to run to and from Canton us usual. The names and number of passengers and crew of each boat must be entered in her license, before she will be permitted to start. The small unlicensed boats of Canton and Whampoa cannot for the present be allowed to come and go; but when the opium deliveries are completed we will apply to government for the requisite commands, and inform all the foreign merchants thereof for their obedience.

It is for this we write, and trusting you enjoy good health, we remain, The HONG MERCHANTS. May 4th, 1839.

No. 31.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. We beg to inform you that we have received orders from government to allow the licensed passage-boats to come

and go [as usual]. The following new regulations must be observed by all foreigners leaving Canton in these boats, viz. an officer will be deputed to examine them before they will be permitted to start; and on arrival at the several forts and custom-house stations they must also report themselves to be examined. A weiyuen will come out every day to ascertain the number of boats about to leave, and the hour of their dispatch, so that when he shall come to superintend their examination, there may be no delay. The names and number of the passengers and crew of each boat must be inserted in the license, and a list thereof must be previously handed in, that the requisite entries may be made. Hereafter no boat will be allowed to carry guns or ammunition, or leaden ballast, as stones will fully answer the purpose. It is for this we write and with compliments remain.

May 4th, 1839. (Signed) The HONG MERCHANTS.

P. S. A list of the sixteen foreign merchants who for the present are not allowed by government to leave Canton by the passage-boats is subjoined.

No. 32.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. A respectful communication. We have just received instructions from government to forbid foreigners, for the present going outside of Old China Street: when the opium is all delivered, they will be permitted to pass in and out as usual. We therefore write this to inform the foreign merchants of all nations for their obedience. With compliments, &c.

May 5th, 1839. (Signed) The HONG MERCHANTS.

On the 5th, in the afternoon, we had the satisfaction of seeing the triple cordon, which for six weeks had hemmed us so closely in, safe from all harm, broken up. All the large boats were removed, and the companies of soldiers were disbanded.

On Monday, the 6th, the first passage-boats left for Macao; the number of passengers, including seamen for Whampoa, was about fifty. It was a pleasing sight to see the boats once more moving down the river.

On Wednesday, the 8th, the following edict was issued, occasioned by addresses respecting the proposed bond.

No. 33.

From the Kwangchow foo to the hong merchants, communicating the order of the commissioner, the governor and lieut.-governor, regarding the punishment of foreigners for dealing in opium.

Choo, by special appointment prefect of Kwangchow foo, issues commands to the original hong merchants, and to the several senior and other hong merchants, for their full information. He has now received from Lin, the high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, the governor of the two Kwang, and E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwang-tung, the following orders:

"It appears that the English superintendent Elliot, the American consul Snow, and the Dutch consul Van Basel, have presented addresses, requesting that they all should return home at the head of the people and the vessels of their several nations. These addresses coming before us, the commissioner and the governor, and being duly authenticated, we reply. China has indeed no need of commercial intercourse with outer barbarians. But because you have come from afar over the seas, it cannot bear to push you utterly away; you have enjoyed the overshadowing, the comprehensive, and deep benevolence of the great emperor, who has given sanction to the trade with Kwangtung; you have come to the territory of the celestial empire, have not only eaten of the herbage and trodden the soil equally with the people of the land, but have also by your buying and selling acquired very rich advantages. It is naturally your duty to rest in your stations, observing the laws. But for tens of years past, you have on the contrary employed a thing hurtful to men, as a means of gaining and possessing yourselves of people's wealth.

"The great emperor anxiously regardful of the general wellbeing, has therefore declared his pleasure that this should be severely prohibited. And if the laws be not plainly declared, how shall the future ingress be put a stop to? While now, all you superintendents and consuls, aforesaid, are aware that the prohibitory enactments of the celestial court may not be opposed, you are yet anxious in regard to points of difficulty as relates to your own countries, and request that, at the head of the people and vessels of your several countries, you may all together take your departure to return home.

"Those of the foreigners whose names are prominent as having been habitual sellers of opium, have already ere this been ordered away. But besides Jardine, and others, who have gone away back to their countries, there yet remain many lingering behind. If indeed all leave China for ever, there will of course no opium gain entrance into the inner land, and this evil may be removed. After then the full completion of the present deliveries, let it be even as requested. It shall be left to you entirely to return to your countries. You will not be allowed to make pretexts for procrastinating and

delaying. And after you have thus returned, you will not be allowed to come again. Let there be no turning backwards and forwards, no inconstancy, whereby investigation and proceedings thereon will be involved. Having reference to the great numbers of the foreigners of the various nations, and the openness of communication by sea in every part, the laws and enactments of the celestial court being extremely strict, it is still requisite that the punishment attaching to the prohibition against the importation of opium should be plainly proclaimed. All you foreigners of every nation, should you not come hither, there the matter rests; but should you come to the territory of the celestial court, be you foreigners of any country whatsoever, so often as opium is brought, in all cases in accordance with the new law, the parties shall be capitally executed, and the property entirely confiscated. Say not that it was not told you beforehand!

"We proceed to issue these orders, commanding the prefect immediately to enjoin the orders on the original hong merchants and on the several senior and other hong merchants, that they may plainly enjoin the same on the several superintending officers aforesaid, that they having knowledge thereof may offer no opposition."

This having been received by the prefect, he proceeds to issue these commands. When they reach the said hong merchants, let them immediately enjoin the same plainly on each of the said superintending officers, that they may have knowledge thereof, and offer no opposition. A special command.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 3d month, 25th day. (May 8th, 1839.)

The preceding edict, in the first instance reaching the chief superintendent of British trade in an unofficial manner, through the hong merchants, he refused to receive it; in consequence of this, a copy was shortly after duly transmitted, under the seals of the proper authorities. Whereupon captain Elliot issued the following.

No. 34.

Public Notice to British Subjects.

The chief superintendent yesterday received an edict, of which the annexed is a copy, to the joint address of the consul of the king of Holland, the consul of the United States, and himself. By this law the ships and crews of all nations, henceforward arriving in China, are liable to the penalties, the first, of confiscation, and the last, of death, upon the determination of this government that they have introduced opium. The danger of confiding to this government the administration of any judicial process concerning foreigners, can scarcely be more strikingly manifested than in the list of names lately

proscribed by the high commissioner. Evidence that has been good to satisfy his excellency that these sixteen persons are principal parties concerned in introducing opium, and therefore to justify their detention as hostages, would of course be equally good for other convictions of the like nature. It may be taken to be certain, however, that the list contains the names of persons who have never been engaged in such pursuits, or, let it be added, in any other contraband practices. In investigation upon such subjects, the Chinese authorities would probably be guiltless of any deliberate intention to commit acts of juridical spoliation and murder; but it is plain, that in the present state of the intercourse, there would be excessive risk of such consequences, and therefore the present law is incompatible with safe or honorable continuance at Canton, if nothing else had happened to establish the same conclusion. It places, in point of fact, the lives, liberty, and property of the whole foreign community here at the mercy of any reckless foreigners outside, and more immediately at the disposal of the hong merchants, linguists, compradors, and their retainers. The chief superintendent by no means ascribes general wickedness to those parties, but their situation and liabilities make them very unsafe reporters, and yet it is mainly upon their reports that the judgment of the government will be taken. It will be particularly observed that persons remaining are understood by the government to assent to the reasonableness of the law.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

It should have been remarked before, that the resumption of trade, since the 4th inst., has been attended with some disadvantages, no foreigners being allowed to go to the warehouses of the hong merchants, by which prohibition they have been cut off from all opportunity to inspect their goods now being exported. This, it is understood, would be only a temporary hindrance.

An edict from the local authorities, containing orders to shut up all the streets leading into the square, except Old China street, and commanding the shopmen in them to remove, was now made known.

No. 35.

Proclamation from the Kwangchow foo, and the Nanhae and Pwanyu magistrates.

Choo, the prefect of Kwangchow foo, &c., Lew, the Nanhae heën, &c., and Chang, the Pwanyu heën, &c., respecting arrangements and regulations for strictly preventing the too familiar intercourse of natives and foreigners, proclaim for the information of all.

Former perspicuous edicts have been issued on this subject, which are on record. And there has now been received from Lin, the imperial commissioner, Tang, the governor of the two Kwang, and E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, the following commands.

"The surrender of the opium being nearly completed, it is necessary to make in order, preventive regulations as regards the future. The houses, shops, streets, and lanes in the near neighborhood [of the foreign factories] are generally the resort of native traitors, and it is of the greatest importance at the present time to examine and place them under strict management; and that the laws be promulgated everywhere, in order to put a stop to a too intimate connection, and that such connections be guarded against accordingly. Let these our orders be immediately obeyed. The said prefect and magistrates are immediately to meet with the Chung heë and Kwang heë, (commanding brigades,) and in company with the original hong merchants Howqua and Mowqua, and the other hong merchants, are to inspect the said places in person. All the back doors of the foreign factories are to be blocked up, not permitting the foreigners to use them as formerly. The square in the front of the factories is to be enclosed with railing and gateways as formerly. The passages through all the streets near the foreign factories are to be cut off and never again opened, and the walls are to be built higher and thicker for greater security. It will be proper to appoint one thoroughfare, where there should be a gate at which a military guard is to be stationed to keep watch. The said officers are to meet together and arrange this matter safely, and then report, that there may be proof that these orders have been obeyed.

"As to the people who open shops in order to obtain a livelihood, there are regulations which show what they are allowed to do. But the shops in Leuenhing and New China streets are so intimately connected with foreigners, that they suspend signboards on which the foreign characters are written: this is disorderly conduct, and in opposition to the laws, and cannot be compared with trade as conducted by good people, and must now be finally forbidden and prevented, that evil practices may be cut off and a purer state of things be perfected.

"The said foo and heën magistrates are first to issue a perspicuous proclamation, fixing a decided limit of time, when they are to issue the most positive orders of the people to remove to other places; they are not to be allowed to remain where they are and keep their shops open. The private houses are also to be closed and locked up; and

if any of the shopkeepers or landlords dare to disobey, or fall into the evil habit of assembling in multitudes to go to the temples—they are to be considered as a set of sturdy vagabonds, and the said foo and heën magistrates are immediately to unite with the Chung and Kwang heë, leading the military and police are to examine and seize the instigators of the disturbance, and the houses are to be laid in ruins. A constabulary force, or a body of tything-men, is to be established in every street, in order to separate good from bad subjects, and that the traitorous natives among them may be known.—The said foo and heën magistrates must employ their utmost energies in safely arranging this affair, that an eternal stop may be put [to these practices] and traitors be for ever swept away."

These orders having been received by us, the prefect and heen magistrates, we have met the Chung and Kwang heë, and at the head of all the hong merchants have directed the orders to be carried into effect. The entrances to Hog lane, New China street and Leuenhing street have been already walled up; the entrance to Old China street is to remain open as a public thoroughfare, where a gateway is to be erected on a low wall, so that all connection with the outside foreigners may be completely prevented. The shops on the east and west sides of Old and New China streets are all closed to the foreign residences, as they afford great facilities for traitorous connections; the orders of all the superior officers must be obeyed. All the people are ordered to remove and to shut up and lock their houses, in order to cut off evil communication. We first issue this urgent and perspicuous proclamation, by which we order the inhabitants of the said two streets, that ten days after the issue of this proclamation, all the goods in those streets must be removed; and thus change to a right system of things. Let no one tread in their former footsteps, opposing the laws, secretly storing up goods and delaying, that they may continue their former practices; and should any persons not remove within the given time, the offender against the laws shall surely be forcibly expelled his shop or house, and his goods and chattels be sealed up. At the north end of Leënhing street on the east side, the shops abut upon the wall of the foreign factories, and from the windows of the factories natives carry on an illicit entercourse. Now this street must be included under the same orders as the others as to the limited term of ten days, when the inhabitants must remove, and their houses be closed and sealed up. Shops in the street on the west and south sides, are a little further off from the dwellings of the foreigners, and a lawful trade being carried on there, the shops may

continue open according to custom The said hong merchants are especially charged, forthwith to examine whether there are any prohibited goods for buying and selling stored up, and whether any clandestine intercourse is carried on with foreigners; and on conviction, they are immediately to state the facts to the district magistrate, who will forthwith try and punish the offender according to law.

Further, in Hog lane there are many natives who make for and sell to the foreigners, clothes and caps; these are necessary articles which are in constant use and demand, and therefore if the hong merchants are willing to give a bond for the good behavior of these tradesmen, they may continue their callings as heretofore; but if the hong merchants are unwilling to give such a bond, they are forthwith to be expelled, and the inhabitants of those places that are close to the foreign chambers are, in the same manner as those of Old and New China streets, to remove within ten days. With reference to those shops at which sign boards in the foreign characters are suspended, this practice has long been forbidden by the laws; but the laws have for a long time been slackly administered, and the people have encouraged each other to disregard them more and more. But now it is of moment that the old regulations be obeyed, and this practice be forbidden and stopped for ever. Henceforth, without distinction of thoroughfares, lanes, &c., if there are any who dare to tread in their former footsteps, most assuredly they shall catch 'three inches of law,' and then suffer capitally. Decidedly there will not be any indulgence granted. All should implicitly obey. Oppose not. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 2d day. (May 14th, 1839.)

On the 19th and 20th, the chief superintendent of British trade published the two following notices.

No. 36.

Public Notice.

The chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China gives notice and enjoins all her majesty's subjects, either actually in China, or hereafter arriving, merchants, supracargoes, commanders, commanding officers of ships, seamen, or others, having control over, or serving on board of, British ship or vessels, bound to the port of Canton, not to be requiring, aiding, or assisting in any way in the bringing into the said port of Canton any such British ship or vessel, to the great danger of British life, liberty, and property, and the prejudice of the interest and just claims of the crown, till a declaration shall be published under his hand and seal of office to the effect that

such bringing in of British shipping, or of British property in foreign shipping, is safe in the premises. And the chief superintendent making these solemn injunctions for the safety of British life, liberty, and property, and in the protection of the interests and just claims of the British crown, reserves to her majesty's government in the most complete manner the power to cancel and disregard all future claims whatever, on the part of her majesty's subjects or others, preferring such claims on account of British property, either left behind, or to be brought in, if any such British subjects or others preferring such claims shall disregard these injunctions now put forward, respecting the keeping out of British shipping and property, till the declaration aforesaid shall be duly published. May 19th, 1839.

[L. S.] (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

No. 37.

Having reference to the draft of his public notice submitted to the perusal of the merchants for their guidance fourteen days since, the chief superintendent has now to acquaint her majesty's subjects that he has reason to hope for the report of the whole delivery of the opium in the course of the next twenty-four hours: and his own departure will be regulated by that of her majesty's subjects and any other foreigners, who may claim his protection, presently detained in Canton by the commissioner's commands. Upon that subject he will make another communication at the proper moment. May 20th, 1839.

(Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Secretary and treasurer to the superintendents.

About this time, the hoppo, on being requested by one of the hong merchants for the usual permit for a pilot to go on board and conduct the Reliance, a large Indiaman down to Second Bar, thought proper to deny the request, although the practice had ever been usual; and when the captains of two other ships of the same class united with the first, and requested pilots for their ships to go down to Second Bard, the hoppo again refused. The reason of this new restriction was said by the hoppo, in his reply, to be because these ships had not yet taken in as many catties of export, as they brought of import, cargo; but the whole affair bore the marks of a desire on the part of the Chinese to impede the departure of foreigners.

The following edict from their excellencies, the commissioner and governor was called forth by the answer to an order from them to measure the draft of water of the ships lying in Macao Roads, at this time amounting to nearly fifty sail This was done to ascertain

whether between the interval of their arrival and entrance into the port, the vessels changed their cargo.

No. 38.

Lin, high imperial commissioner and governor of the two Keäng, and Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang, issue this edict to the original senior and all the other hong merchants for their full instruction.

On the 17th instant, Tsëang Leïhgang, the sub-prefect of Macao, and Wei Changyaou, mmoddre of the squadron of Heängshan, presented to us a joint report, in which they state: "Having received your excellencies' orders to proceed to the Nine Islands and the Macao offings, to examine the ships recently arrived with cargo, to ascertain their draft of water, and to present a report of the same in detail; we in obedience thereto went in person, taking with us pilots and measurers. Each of the several ships was duly measured, before, behind, right and left, according to the prescribed form; and on the 15th the measuring of the thirteen ships having cargo was completed. But there was one ship, Peïh-ta-le, laden with cotton, seeing the ships were being measured, got under weigh on the 14th, and sailed away to the eastward, evidently unwilling to be measured. As soon as we can ascertain where she has gone and anchored, we will make another report. Moreover, the masters of the vessels declared, that on the 20th of this month hitherto there have been gales of wind, and that the anchorage off the Nine Islands being open and exposed, they were afraid they could not remain there with safety, and wished to remove their anchorage to Tseënshatsuy (Hongkong) so as to avoid the winds and waves. Respectfully we present this report."

The above has come before us, the high commissioner and governor, duly authenticated. We find that the delivery of the opium from the foreign ships is nearly completed, that the ships at Whampoa have been already allowed to reöpen their trade; the newly arrived To-le and other ships, thirteen in number, have been duly measured by the sub-prefect of Macao, in obedience to our orders, but the cargo of the several ships has not been ascertained in detail. The masters of those ships, having come from afar to trade, how can they be without particular accounts of their cargoes? Certainly it cannot be difficult to specify clearly each particular kind of the goods. Yet, now they only speak in general terms, in their usual delusive manner. But as they have consented to be measured, and as they have moreover declared that hitherto there have been gales of wind on the 20th of this

month, and that the anchorage off the Nine Islands is open and exposed, they were afraid they could not remain there with safety; it behoves us to show them compassion, and early instruct them to enter the port to escape the storm.

Besides, when they all arrive at Whampoa, according to the regulations, let them wait for the instructions of the commissioner of customs. We issue our commands to the sub-prefect of Macao, and the commodore of Heängshan, and they must immediately transmit the same to the ships To-le and others, declaring that it be unnecessary for them to remove their anchorage to Hongkong, that they may receive passports for pilots directly from the sub-prefect of Macao to come speedily to Whampoa, there to await the hoppo's examination for the unloading of their cargo. The ship Peĭh-ta-le, which refused to be measured, and presumed to sail away eastward, has evidently done so for evil. We have sent a communication to the hoppo, that he convey commands to the hong merchants not to trade with her, but to hasten her departure back to her country. The said sub-prefect, &c., will give direct commands to the cruizers to take with them the linguists and pilots, and ascertain plainly where she has gone; and, finding her track, convey to her the commands; that, having been unwilling to be measured, it is evident she has brought contraband goods, and has dared to show opposition; that, while orders have been given for the others to enter the port of Whampoa, she is not allowed to trade, but must sail back to her country and not loiter about. If she dares to sail to other places on the high seas, where it is unlawful for her to go, to form connections with the vessels of Chinese marauders, and traffic in opium, the cruizes will all unite in attacking her, when repentance will be too late. As soon as any real traces of the said vessels are found, let the same be clearly reported to us by express.

Moreover, we now issue this edict: when it reaches the hong merchants, let them act in obedience to it. When the ships To-le and others all arrive at Whampoa, according to the regulations, let them await instruction from the hoppo. But the ship Peĭh-ta-le, which was unwilling to be measured, and dared to sail away to the eastward, has done so evidently for evil. Let the said hong merchants communicate this edict, forbidding them to trade with her, and requiring her immediate return to her country. Let them search out faithfully the traces of the vessel, and report thereon. Let there be no opposition. Haste, quickly! A special edict.

May 18th, 1839.

The delivery of the 20,283 chests of opium was completed on Tuesday, the 21st, at 2 o'clock A. M., and all safely stored in buildings prepared for its reception, at Chinkow near the Bogue, there to await orders from Peking for its disposal. This called forth the following notice from Capt. Elliot, and an edict from the commissioner.

No. 39.

Public Notice to her Britannic majesty's subjects.

The disregard of formal offers upon the part of her majesty's officer to adjust all difficulties by the fulfillment of the imperial will, the unjustifiable imprisonment of the whole foreign community in Canton, the still more wanton protraction of the captivity, and the forced surrender of property, of which the incidents have been the utmost public encouragement direct and indirect upon the one hand, and violent public spoliation on the other: such are the chief facts which have sustained the declaration put forward in the notice of the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects, dated at Macao on the 23d day of March last, that he was without confidence in the justice and moderation of the provincial government.

Correction remaining to be made for the circumstances that these later deeds have been perpetrated mainly under the authority of the imperial commissioner, he is also to declare that he is without confidence in the justice and moderation of the said imperial commissioner.

Acting on the behalf of her majesty's government in a momentous emergency, he has in the first place to signify, that the demand he recently made to her majesty's subjects, for the surrender of British-owned opium under their control had no special reference to the circumstances of that property: but (beyond the actual pressure of necessity,) that demand was founded on the principle, that these violent compulsory measures being utterly unjust per se, and of general application for the forced surrender of any other property, or of human life, or for the constraint of any unsuitable terms or concessions, it became highly necessary to vest and leave the right of exacting effectual security, and full indemnity for every loss, directly in the queen. These outrages have already temporarily cast upon the British crown immense public liabilities; and it is incumbent upon him at this moment of release to fix the earliest period for removal from a situation of total insecurity, and for the termination of all risk of similar responsibility on the part of her majesty's government. He is sensible too, that he could not swerve from the purposes now

to be declared, without extreme danger to vast public claims already pending, and to general and permanent interests of highest moment

Thus situated then, and once more referring to his public notice dated at Macao on the 23d day of March last; he has again to give notice to, and enjoin, all her majesty's subjects, to make preparation for quitting Canton before, or at the same time with, her majesty's establishment; which departure will take place as soon as the chief superintendent has completed his public obligations to this government. For the general convenience, he will afford the best information in his power from time to time, concerning the probable period of that event. And he has further to give notice that British subjects or others thinking fit to make shipments of property on British account, on board of British, or any other foreign, shipping actually in this river, will be pleased to regulate their proceedings in these respects, upon the understanding that such shipments must be made at their personal risk and responsibility after the date of this notice. And he again enjoins all her majesty's subjects in Canton to prepare sealed declarations and lists of all claims whatever against Chinese subjects, to be adjusted as nearly as may be, to the period of their respective retirements from Canton before him, or at the same time with him. And whilst it is specially to be understood that the proof of British property, and value of all such claims handed in to him before his departure, will be determined upon principles and in a manner hereafter to be defined by her majesty's government, he has to recommend, with a view to uniformity and general clearness, that claims for British property left behind, should be drawn up as far as may be practicable on invoice cost.

And he has now to give notice to, and enjoin, all her majesty subjects, either actually in China, or hereafter arriving, merchants, supercargoes, commanders, commanding officers of ships, seamen, or others having control over or serving on board of British ships or vessels, bound to the port of Canton, not to be requiring, aiding, or assisting in any way in the bringing into the said port of Canton any such British ship or vessel to the great danger of British life, liberty, and property, and the prejudice of the interests and just claims of the crown, till a declaration shall be published under his hand and seal of office to the effect that such bringing in of British shipping, or of British property in foreign shipping, is safe in the premises. And the chief superintendent making these solemn injunctions for the safety of British life, liberty, and property, and in the protection of the interests and just claims of the British crown, reserves to her majes-

ty's government in the most complete manner, the power to cancel and disregard all future claims whatever, on the part of her majesty's subjects or others, preferring such claims on account of British property, either left behind, or to be brought in, if any such British subjects or others, preferring such claims shall disregard these injunctions now put forward respecting the keeping out of British shipping and property, till the declaration aforesaid shall be duly published.

And he has once more to warn her majesty's subjects in anxious terms, that such sudden and strong measures as it may be found necessary to adopt on the part of competent authorities, for the honor and interests of the British crown, cannot be prejudiced by their continued residence in Canton, beyond the period of his own stay, upon their own responsibilities, and in spite of the solemn injunctions of her majesty's officer.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Canton in China this 22d day of May, 1839.

[L. S.] (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

No. 40.

Lin, high imperial commissioner, and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, issue these commands to the original, the senior, and other hong merchants for their full information.

Opium, pervading with its poisonous influence the inner land, has been a source of very great injury. These ten persons, * * * * * * * * * * natives of England and other countries, have all been habitually used to deal therein. They have eagerly snatched at gain, and strove for clandestine advantages. At this time, when measures of investigation are being so urgently adopted, and the regulations of government so strictly enforced, it would have been right to put the laws in force for their punishment. But, taking into indulgent consideration the conduct of the said foreigners, after they had received commands to deliver up their opium, in speedily joining with Elliot to deliver it up, and thereby showing that they are yet sensible to fear of the laws, we, the commissioner and the governor, have reverently embodied the heaven-like benevolence of the great emperor, and remitted the punishment of their offenses. Now, that the store-ships have given up the entire amount of the opium, it is not expedient that they should be allowed any longer to delay their stay in Kwangtung, lest their own cunning should bud forth again.

We proceed therefore to give our urgent commands. When these reach the said original merchants, &c., let them immediately enjoin these commands on each of the said foreigners, Dadabhoy and the rest, individually, that they speedily return to their countries, and that they give duly prepared voluntary bonds, that they will never again venture to return. These being placed on record, let them wait until passports are given them to go outside. Should they presume, under cover of altered names, to come here again, so soon as the fact shall be discovered, their offenses shall surely be punished with severity. There shall certainly be no renewed leniency of indulgence.

The said original merchants are imperatively required to proclaim the favor and the majesty [of the emperor], and with earnestness to enjoin the commands. Let them immediately procure the bonds and report in answer. Let there not be any connivance shown, nor any delay allowed, lest they bring investigation on themselves also. Be earnest and speedy! Be earnest and speedy! A special order.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 11th day. (May 23d, 1839.)

(True translation.) J. ROBT. MORRISON,
Chinese secretary and interpreter, &c.

Thursday, the 23d, captain Elliot announced his departure from Canton in the following notice. Mr. Van Basel, the Dutch consul, had already left for Macao by the inner passage.

No. 41.

The chief superintendent will leave Canton for Whampoa to-morrow forenoon at about 11 o'clock; and the persons lately detained by the commands of the government are requested to be ready to accompany him. It is also particularly requested that there may be no general assemblage of her majesty's subjects at the period indicated.

(Singed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

Owing, however, to the delay of the two senior hong merchants, Howqua and Mowqua, who did not arrive at the British consulate, to identify the persons as they left, he did not leave till about 5 o'clock P. M., accompanied by all the British subjects then in Canton comprised in the list of the banished sixteen. Immediately after capt. Elliot and his party left, the guard of coolies in front of the factories and at the entrance of Old China street were removed, and access afforded to the streets in the neighborhood of the factories. The populace too were curious to examine the changes that had taken place, and the square was soon crowded with gazing multitudes.

A memorial, signed by many of the British merchants in Canton, (several having already left the city,) was forwarded by one of the early ships to England. It is a concise summary of the doings of the commissioner, and the grievances they require to be redressed.

No. 42.

To the right honorable lord viscount Palmerston, secretary of state for foreign affairs, &c., &c.

We, the undersigned British merchants, trading at Canton, consider it our duty to address your lordship regarding the recent acts of aggression on the part of the Chinese government.

These acts of violence, which will be officially communicated to your lordship by her majesty's superintendent, consist:—

1. In the stoppage of the whole legal trade of the port, even of vessels fully laden, and waiting only their port-clearances, and against which no ground of complaint is alleged.

2. In the forcible detention in Canton of all foreigners, including her majesty's superintendents, in order to compel the supposed holders of opium to the surrender of property belonging to themselves, and others in India and Europe, to the value of from two to three millions sterling.

3. In the open and undisguised threat to hold foreigners responsible with their lives for this surrender, and for any future infraction of the Chinese custom laws.

4. In the attempt to force foreigners to sign bonds, rendering not only themselves, but all others coming to China, over whom they have no control, liable to the same penalty; and on the refusal on the part of foreigners to sign such bonds, in the promulgation of an edict by the high commissioner, declaratory of the determination of the government to enforce such penalty.

We may be permitted to state that all foreigners reside in Canton on sufferance; that they have no means of ascertaining the laws, except from the acts of the provincial government; and that the opium trade has steadily increased from an import of 4,100 chests in 1796, to upwards of 30,000 chests in 1837, with the open and undisguised connivance of the local authorities. The importation of opium into China was at one time allowed on payment of a duty, but discontinued in 1796: its admission was again strongly recommended to the imperial government in 1836. No penalties have ever been enforced against foreigners bringing it to China, and the prohibitory laws have never been a rule to the functionaries of the Chinese empire, who should have administered them, nor to the Chinese people on whom

they were intended to operate, which facts are openly admitted in the recent edicts of the imperial commissioner, under date of the 18th March last, in which he states: "that the prohibitions formerly enacted by the celestial court against opium were comparatively lax," and that "the foreigners are men from distant lands and have not before been aware that the prohibition of opium is so severe." We may further state that the peculiar character of the opium trade was distinctly recognized in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons in 1830, and that in the subsequent report in 1832, the committee express their opinion; "that it does not seem advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue as the E. I. Company's monopoly of opium in Bengal."

We conceive it will, therefore, be admitted that British subjects have carried on this trade with the sanction, implied, if not openly expressed, of their own government; and at the same time with an advantage to the revenue of British India, varying of late years from one to one and a half millions sterling.

We do not attempt to deny the unquestionable right of the Chinese government to put a stop to the importation of opium, and have readily signed an agreement to abstain from that trade at Canton on the first requisition of the government to that effect; but we think your lordship will perceive that long prescription had hitherto given foreigners ample reason to question the sincerity of the Chinese government with regard to the discontinuance of the importation, and that under any circumstances that government cannot be justified, by the lax observance of prohibitions and open connivance of its officers, in at one time fostering a trade involving several millions sterling, and at another rendering its pursuit a pretext for spoliation.

There seems no reason to doubt, from the late proceedings of the local government, that they have always had the power most materially to check, if not totally to put a stop to, the importation of opium when disposed so to do; but that power has seldom hitherto been exercised, except for the purpose of exacting higher fees for its introduction. The proceedings of the high commissioner since his arrival in Canton, will be fully reported to your lordship by her majesty's superintendent; but we may observe that his demand for the unconditional surrender of the whole of the opium in the depôt ships, was one with which foreigners could not comply, the great bulk of that opium being the property of others in India and elsewhere; and they were equally unable to give the bonds required.

The high commissioner, finding at the expiration of three days, the

time within which he had ordered the whole of the opium to be delivered up and the bonds to be given, that his orders had not been obeyed, sent the hong merchants in chains to the foreign factories, threatening to put them to death before our doors, and at the same time commenced other menacing preparations against the foreigners themselves. At this stage of the business, her majesty's chief superintendent arrived in Canton. We feel it our duty to express to your lordship our deep sense of the public spirit which induced this officer, at no inconsiderable risk, to endeavor to rescue British life and property from a position of fearful jeopardy; and we may assure your lordship that but one feeling existed of the extreme peril of the whole community at the period when he succeeded in forcing his way to Canton, and took charge of all responsibility in the negotiations with the Chinese government.

Although the measures of her majesty's representative have relieved us from all responsibility in surrendering so large an amount of property, we may still be allowed respectfully but earnestly to entreat your lordship's mediation to obtain the earliest possible fulfillment of the guaranty given on behalf of her majesty's government, and thus be the means of saving many of the owners of the property from inevitable ruin, and all of them from heavy loss. We deem it also an imperative duty to assure your lordship most solemnly of our firm conviction, that the public approval, on the part of her majesty's government, of this prompt interposition of her majesty's representative, and the early adoption of such measures as the wisdom of her majesty's advisers may determine on with regard to our future relations with the Chinese empire, can alone avert the occurrence of similar or even more violent outrages.

We beg further to state to your lordship that, independently of the opium now violently seized, there was at the same period British property of other kinds in Canton to the value of upwards of one million sterling, besides a large and valuable fleet of shipping lying at Whampoa, consigned to our care, but totally beyond our control; and although this property was not alleged to have incurred any penalty, the high commissioner never attempted to distinguish the participators in the one trade, from those in the other, but placed both under one common suspension, and the whole body of foreigners in arbitrary confinement

After the completion of the delivery of the opium surrendered, the high commissioner has expressed an intention of opening the legal trade, under new regulations, but circumstances do not justify us in

entertaining the expectation that these regulations will afford any security for our life or property.

We therefore think your lordship will be convinced that some serious alterations in our relations with this empire are indispensably necessary; and that British commerce can never safely be carried on, and certainly can never flourish in a country, where our persons and property are alike at the mercy of a capricious and corrupt government.

In conclusion, it only remains for us again to urge upon your lordship and her majesty's government, the great importance of an early recognition of our claims on account of the opium surrendered for her majesty's service; and the pressing and paramount necessity of placing the general trade of British subjects upon a secure and permanent basis. Canton, May 23d, 1839.

Dent & Co	Burjorjee Maneckjee.
Lindsay & Co.	Daniell & Co.
Bell & Co.	Framjee Dadabhoy.
Macvicar & Co.	Bomanjee Maneckjee.
Dirom & Co.	Sackhusson Budwoden.
Gibb, Livingston & Co.	Burjorjee Sorabjee.
Charles S. Compton.	Nesservanjee Dorabjee.
D. & M. Rustomjee.	Nesservanjee B. Mody.
Jamieson & How.	Dossabhoy Hormasjee.
W. & T. Gemmell & Co.	Pestonjee Ruttonjee Saroff.
Bibby, Adam & Co.	Abeedin and Sheemsoodeen
Turner & Co	Framjee Jamsetjee.
R. Wise, Holliday & Co.	Cooverjee Jeewajee.
Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee.	Pestonjee Nowrojee.
Hormasjee Framjee.	Jamsetjee Rustomjee.
Shawuxshaw Rustomjee.	Hormuzjee Byramjee.
Cowasjee Palunjee.	Cursetjee Sapoorjee.
Bomanjee Hosungjee.	Jemsetjee Eduljee.
Pallunjee Nasserwanjee.	Cowasjee Sapoorjee L., for
Cowasjee Eduljee.	myself and partners.
C. Sapoorjee Taback.	

The commissioner, in consequence of his proceedings here, (as is supposed,) has recently had the office of governor of the provinces of Keängse, Keängsoo and Nganhwuy conferred upon him. This is considered the second gubernatorial seat in the gift of the crown, and was no doubt highly prized by Lin, as a mark of his imperial master's approbation. It was a current rumor among the Chinese for a long

time that the drug was to be conveyed to Peking, but the following proclamation from the commissioner and his colleagues, containing an imperial rescript, ended all speculations as to the manner of dealing with it.—The number of chests, it will be seen below, has increased to 20,291, eight having been subsequently added.

No. 43.

Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, issue this proclamation, plainly declaring that the opium surrendered from the store-ships is to be destroyed in the province of Canton, in obedience to the imperial will.

We, the aforesaid commissioner, governor, and lieut.-governor, having obtained the surrender of 20,291 chests of foreign opium, immediately made report thereof to the throne by an express. Now on the 17th of the 4th month (May 29th), we received from the cabinet council a dispatch, enclosing the following imperial mandate:

"Lin and his colleagues have reported that the opium in the store-ships has been all surrendered; and they request that it may be brought to Peking, and there be examined and destroyed. On the present occasion, the investigation and procedure respecting the foreign opium at Canton, has been most faithful and true; WE certainly do not entertain the slightest suspicion of deception. Moreover, as the distance for it to be transported is very great, and would require no inconsiderable demand on the people's strength, it seems inexpedient to bring it to the capital. Rather let it be given over to Lin Tsĭhseu, Tang Tingching, and E Leäng, that, when the whole amount surrendered is received, they may there on the spot assemble the civil and military officers, publicly and jointly make reëxamination, and in their presence destroy the opium; thus causing the inhabitants on the coast, and the foreigners in Canton, alike to see and to hear, that they may know and tremble thereat. Respect and obey this mandate."

Accordingly, the 22d day of the month (June 3d), is appointed, for the civil and military officers, in the provincial city, to join those at the Bogue. There stone trenches will be opened; and lime and salt will be taken and mixed with the opium, until the drug is completely transmuted and destroyed. Then it will be poured off into the midst of the sea, even the very dregs.

This proclamation we issue in obedience to the recorded pleasure of the emperor; that all you inhabitants of the coasts, and you foreigners in Canton, may look up to it and be instructed. Hence-

forth you ought to respect and dread the celestial majesty, and carefully obey his mandates; you ought to know that this noxious and vile thing is not fit to be used even as manure upon your fields. You must never again seek clandestinely to purchase it, since it will ruin your fortunes and destroy your lives. Tremble at this. A special edict.

Nearly all the ships were now gone from Whampoa, and as the Chinese authorities had manifested no disposition to obviate the objectionable bond, serious doubts were entertained of their sincerity in wishing the ships to enter the port. The following letter from the hong merchants did not remove these apprehensions, and up to this date no ships availed themselves of the permission to enter the harbor to trade. The letter was addressed to one of the consuls.

No. 44.

Letter from the hong merchants.

Sir,— An edict from his excellency the commissioner of customs, transmitted from his excellency the governor, has been received, for the direction of the consuls of the several foreign nations [to this effect].

'Hereafter the foreign ships, coming for trade to Canton, must be required to conform to the regulations hitherto existing; and on entering Whampoa must anchor at Shintsing, waiting there for examination and the opening of the hatches for the discharge of cargo; they must not anchor at Yuchoo, Neaouyung, &c. Should they presume to oppose the regulations, they shall certainly be expelled and will bring trouble upon themselves.'

Having received these, their excellencies' commands, we communicate them to you, with the hope that you will observe the same, and make them known to the several gentlemen of your honorable country.

With great respect and our best wishes, we send this, and are Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) Howqua and ten others.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV. *Remarks on the musical instruments of the Chinese, with an outline of their harmonic system.* BY G. T. LAY.

I cannot introduce the remarks I am going to make upon a few of the musical instruments in use among the Chinese, better than by drawing a brief outline of their harmonic system. Harmony among the ancient Greeks implied the mutual adjustment of two or more sounds, and was not unlike what we call tuning an instrument. It must not be confounded with counterpoint, which seems to have been but partially, if at all, known among them. For in the first place we can find no trace of it in the works that have come down to us; and in the second, we are able to follow the history of counterpoint from its first beginnings to its full development at the present time. When, therefore, I speak of a harmonic system, I mean the several intervals in which the strings or pipes were tuned, in reference to each other.

In the more ancient harmonic system there were five sounds, instead of the seven that now obtain in our diatonic system. In the room of the Chinese notation I will call them,

A, B, C, D, E,

as it is more easy to deal with a new matter under old figures. For illustration, we will suppose that we have five strings, stretched upon a convex board placed horizontally before us, and that each of them can be tightened or relaxed at pleasure. Instead of a tuning fork, we would employ, after the Chinese usage, a bell, and screw the peg of that string, which was intended to be the fundamental note, till its sound coincided with the one given out by this guide and directory. This string and its note we will call A. To adjust the string D, we must tune it a fifth above A. From D, we descend and take B, a fourth below it. From B, we ascend a fifth to E. From E, we descend a fourth to obtain C. If A be eighty-one parts in length, the five strings will stand thus in arithmetical representation.

81	72	64	54	48
A	B	C	D	E

The relation of A and D is $\frac{54}{81}$ which equals $\frac{2}{3}$, or a fifth.

The relation of D and B is $\frac{54}{72}$ which equals $\frac{3}{4}$, or a fourth.

The relation of B and E is $\frac{48}{72}$ which equals $\frac{2}{3}$, or a fifth.

The relation of E and C is $\frac{48}{64}$ which equals $\frac{3}{4}$, or a fourth

Among the Chinese, pipes were used instead of strings, as having perhaps the priority of invention.

From this short specimen, which is substantially Chinese, as any one may see by looking into the 48th volume of the *Le Ke*, there are two things most worthy of our attention. In the first place, we see that melody, or the succession of agreeable sounds, grew out of harmony or the reciprocal arrangement of the several notes. We see also that the Chinese had all the materials for a mathematical contemplation of music, and that tubes and strings proportioned by art were the tutors, of whom the ear learned to measure out the distance of one interval from another. The Chinese student has often met with an allusion to the *five sounds;* here is an easy and compendious account of their derivation. By reasoning from the principles of western music he was enabled to form just as correct ideas of what they meant, as he would of what is going forward beyond the moon. Many things in Chinese literature, hitherto regarded as little better then puzzles and nostrums of no value, will I dare say admit of an exposition equally just and philosophical.

Stringed Instruments.

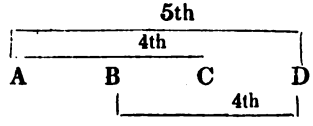
The most important among the members of this class is the *kin*, or scholar's lute, for which see fig. 7. This was the instrument played upon by Confucius and the sages of antiquity, and is for this reason, as well as its peculiar beauty, held sacred by men of letters. It is made from the *woo tung* or Dyandria cordifolia; it is convex above and plane below There are two quadrangular apertures in the plane surface, which open into two hollows within the body of the instrument. The one in my possession is nearly four feet in length, and lacquered. At the smaller end, the breadth is a little more than five inches, and at the larger about six and a half. It has seven strings, which pass over the smaller end, and distribute themselves upon two immovable pegs below. A bridge within a short distance of the wider extremity affords them the necessary elevation and a passage to the under surface, below which they are tightened or relaxed by a row of pegs, which are in some cases made of gems or some kind of precious stone. For further ornament, seven very elegant tassels are attached to these pegs and hang down over the sides of the table, on which the instrument rests. The strings are of silk, and differ a little in their relative diameter. The length of the sounding board is divided by thirteen studs of nacre or mother of pearl, as a guide for the performer. These studs are placed so that the length of the strings is bisected or divided in sections, or aliquot

parts to eight with the omission of the seventh. The number of sections may be represented by the following arithmetical series.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 0, 8.

If a musical string of several feet in length be allowed to vibrate freely, it will for the first moment pulsate with its whole length, in the next it will spontaneously divide itself into two equal parts, which will sound an octave above the fundamental. In the following moment it will divide itself into three parts, and so give us the twelfth; then into four, and utter the double octave, and so on till the sounds are no longer heard. It is not a little remarkable that the inventor of this instrument should have fallen upon a method of division so conformable to the laws of nature. If a musician were going to give a lecture upon the mathematical part of his art, he would find a very elegant substitute for the monochord in the Chinese kin.

In tuning the kin, the middle string is treated as the *mese*, or like our A in the violin. Each of the outer strings is tuned a fifth to this *mese*, one above and the other a fifth below it, by placing the thumb at one third of the length of the lower string of the twain, so that the resulting sounds are unisons. We have the strings, therefore, divided into two tetrachords, including the interval of a fifth. To adjust the two inner strings, in each of these tetrachords, we must tune them, one a fourth above, and the other a fourth below the outer strings. If we denote the four strings by A, B, C, D, we shall make the rationale of this more obvious. This is done in practice by placing the ring finger upon the 4th division of the lower string of the twain, which when thus stopped, will sound unisons to each other.



By this contrivance the half note is disposed of, so that in the old system there was neither flat nor sharp. But we shall render the difference between our scale and that derived from the kin more appreciable by numbers. In the interval of a fifth they stand thus in the respective systems.

$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{9}{10}$	$\frac{15}{16}$	$\frac{8}{9}$	Diatonic.
$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{81}{96}$	$\frac{8}{9}$		Chinese kin.

It will at once appear from a consideration of the respective scales, that the character of the music, or, if you please, its mood, must be

very different from our own, and that none of our instruments are capable of doing justice to any air that is played upon the kin. In my travels, I have been in the habit of writing down the airs that I heard among the natives, but though I took much pains to learn them accurately, I always found they had lost something of their peculiarity when I tried them upon the violin. The reason of this defect seems to have been this, that the intervals did not coincide with our own. But though the difference between western and Chinese music be as we have represented it, there is an evident connection between the latter and the old Scottish. For when some of the ancient and highly admired airs of Scotland fall within the compass of a ninth, they can be played with great effect upon the kin, as I have learned from experiment.

One of the greatest difficulties, which we encounter in the study of this instrument, is the complex notation of the Chinese written music, and the frequent blunders and omissions which such a complexity is apt to produce. Each note is a cluster of characters; one denotes the string, another the stud, a third informs you in what manner the fingers of the right hand are to be used, a fourth does the same in reference to the left, a fifth tells the performer in what way he must slide the hand before or after the appropriate sound has been given, and a sixth says, perhaps, that two notes are to be struck at the same time. It is truly surprizing, that after they had shown so much ingenuity and taste in the management of the kin, they should not have set themselves to work to learn to simplify their notation. Every tune that a Chinese plays costs him the labor of several months, and so tiresome is the study, that I have heard some extemporize very prettily, without being able to play a single air. The notation in use among the ancient Greeks was taken from their alphabet, by mutilation, inversions, &c., just as the Chinese is taken from their written characters. Both of them were remarkable for nothing so much as for their troublesome and ungainly nature. The performance is, however, very graceful, and though the melody be simple, every scope is given to variety by the mode of touching the strings. Dr. Young, who subjected a vibrating string to a microscope for the purpose of getting some practical hints as to the nature of the harmonic chord, observed that it was a sort of spiral or trochoidal movement; and its form, and of course the quality of its sound, depended upon the manner in which the force was applied to it. The Chinese were in possession of this fact ages ago, inasmuch as they directed the right hand to be thrown into almost as many positions as it is

capable of receiving. The value of these rules may be easily illustrated by an experiment in our own way. If for example, we play Old Lang Syne by deflecting the strings in one particular way, and then vary the mode by using different fingers differently applied, the superiority of the latter method over the former is very striking, and appears highly creditable to the taste of the Chinese, who have cultivated an art, that in the west was rather in the experience of the finished performer, than reduced to any rules for the edification of the student. I am aware that Tartini wrote an excellent tractate on the 'Art of Bowing,' and when I was joint editor of a musical encyclopedia, we took some pains to draw up a few short rules for fingering the piano. But these instructions, however useful, are not in complexity, delicacy, and refinement, at all to be compared to the canons in force among the Chinese.

One of the greatest peculiarities in the performance is the sliding of the left hand fingers, and the trilling and other evolutions it is made to perform. In this consists the main characteristic of what we may call the Chinese style. At first, it is not relished, but habit soon reconciles the effect upon the ear, and the very difficulty in the execution gives it an additional charm. I am the first, I believe, among foreigners to cultivate an acquaintance with this instrument, but I hope I shall not be the last to pay the Chinese such a compliment, or to put one's self in the way of studying a new set of musical phenomena.

Pepa. The balloon shaped guitar. See fig. 1. This is about three feet in length, and made of the *woo tung* wood. The table or upper surface is plane and let into the back, and left without any varnish. The scroll is set off with a little fantastic carving, the neck adorned with ivory scollops. The table is furnished with twelve frets or little slips of bamboo glued upon it. The strings are of silk, as were those of the ancient lute among us and our continental neighbors. They are tuned at the intervals of a fourth, a major tone, and a fourth, so that the outer strings are octaves to each other. If the learned reader turns to the first book of Nicomachus's Manual (p. 9, Meibomin's edition printed at the Elzivir press), he will see that this *pepa* corresponds exactly to the harp of Pythagoras in the outline. For in his arrangements, there were a diatessaron or a fourth, a major tone, and another diatessaron or fourth. In his instrument, two strings were interposed between the compass of each tetrachord or fourth, which is unnecessary in the *pepa*, as the intermediate notes can be produced by means of the frets and fingers. The antiquity of the Chinese

would be made out by this consideration, did we not know from other sources, that they have religiously adhered to everything that was ancient, without having either genius or presumption enough to improve or alter it. Many inventions which have been lost among ourselves, or what is more likely, superseded by better, may be found still existing in China. This view gives a new interest to what we find here, and tells us, that everything that comes under our notice may be studied as teeming with some new lesson of antiquarian lore

For practice, the *pepa* is tuned in the following manner. Take the second string from the left side, where the silken cords are of larger diameter, and tune it about a third below concert pitch; then placing the finger upon it behind the first frets from the head, tune the largest string an octave below the sound of the stopped string. Place the finger behind the fourth fret from the head upon the third string, and screw till you get another octave or diapason; lastly, place the finger behind the first fret from the head, and seek for another similar consonance between the two neighboring strings.

The *san heën.* Three stringed guitar. See fig. 3. This is made of the *swan che* wood. It consists of a very long neck and head, with a drum-shaped cylindrical body. The body is covered with the skin of the *tan* snake, of which the natural vestment is divided by cloudy lines of brown and yellow into compartments. It is a very handsome snake as well as a very large one. Its jerkin, we see, helps to make melody after its decease, and its liver is much prized by the dealers in medicine; but the flesh is not always eaten, if I may rely upon some of my informants, whose accuracy is, however, not always beyond question.

The strings are tuned as fourths to each other, so that we have another outline of the seven stringed lyre, before Pythagoras made any addition to it. For that embraced only a compass of two conjunct tetrachords or fourths. The *san heën* is played as an accompaniment to the *pepa,* as its sounds are low and dull. It has been said, that the Chinese have no music in parts; we acknowledge very readily, that they have nothing like our score, for their notation is all too unwieldy for any such purpose; but when we see two performers at some of their entertainments sit down with guitars of a different temperament, we are led to suspect at the very first sight, that this must be meant for something like what we in modern times call harmony. And it would require but very little attention to confirm us in this belief, though the result might not please our ears at once, and satisfy our notions of what is excellent, but use would soon

quicken our senses, and we should find beauties where we least expected. I have not had much exercise in this way, but I confess that I relish the singular melodic changes of the Chinese, dipped in pensiveness, more than many labored combinations that I have heard in the west.

Yuĕ kin. The full moon guitar. See fig. 5. This is made of the *swan che* wood, and has a body that is perfectly circular. Its neck is short and the whole contour is neat, and gives one the impression of ease and portability. The table is not coated with varnish, lest it should hurt the sound. Our violins never acquire their purest tones till they have lost the best part of their varnish: would it not be as well to take a leaf out of the Chinaman's book, and bestow all the ornament upon the neck and back, but leave the sounding-board untouched?

It has four strings, but they stand in pairs, which are unisons with each other. The two groups are tuned as fifths to one another. As the strings are short, the sound is smart and keen, and must be drawn out by striking the string forcibly with the nail, or with a plectrum of wood or metal. I have seen a musician on one of the theatrical stages display no mean degree of execution upon the *yuĕ kin*, and with a very pleasing effect too. As the *pepa* and *yuĕ kin* are of easy purchase, and it requires but little pains to learn their touch, I think it would be worth the while of foreigners to study them, which would fill up the intervals of leisure very agreeably, and help to make a good impression upon the Chinese at the same time. I have lately seen the *yuĕ kin* used as an accompaniment to the Chinese rebeck, and as the performers understood their business, the result had something that was peculiarly merry and exhilarating about it.

The *urh heën.* The two stringed fiddle. See fig. 4. The rebeck of the Chinese. This is in outline merely a stick of bamboo passing through a hollow cylinder of the same material. This cylinder is between four and five inches long, and answers the purpose of a sounding-board. One end is open, the other is shut, and covered over with a piece of snake's skin. Upon the surface thus covered by the snake's skin, stands a minute bridge, over which two strings are led, and then are made fast to the end of the projection of the bamboo stick or stem, after it has passed through the cylinder.

The stem, about eighteen inches long, is provided with two pegs at the upper end, which serve to tighten and relax the strings in tuning. The strings are drawn towards the stem by a loop; by shifting this, the pitch is varied, and the purpose of a nut in our violin answered

The bow is in all its original simplicity, being a staff of bamboo, with its ends drawn towards each other by a small bundle of horse-hair. The strings are usually tuned as fifths to each other, as is practiced in our violin. The hairs of the bow are fastened upon it after passing between the strings, and as they are very close, it requires no little practice to keep them clear of one while drawn over the other.

As it is a very cheap instrument, it is in the hands of a great many learners, who fill up the vacuity of their leisure moments by grating the strings of this scrannel coagmentation of silk and wood. In better hands, however, its notes though shrill and piercing, are by no means contemptible, and I have sometimes seen a musician upon the stage apply the bow with so much address, that I have wished him the use of a better instrument. From this brief account, it will appear, that the *urh heën* embodies the principle of the violin, which is comparatively a modern instrument. Its great powers and capabilities were, I believe, first pointed out by Tartini. The Chinese were in possession of the idea ages ago, but while the Italians labored to give the original draft every perfection it was susceptible of, the eastern Asiatics left their's to enjoy its primitive simplicity, as if the inventive powers of man had at some particular season fallen into so deep a sleep, that all the multifarious hints and stimuli of occasion could not awaken them to any second dawn of discovery.

Since the above was written, I have seen a rebeck of larger size and better workmanship. Its tone was low and plaintive, and therefore served well enough to soften the shrill sounds of the *urh heën* just described, to which it was played as an accompaniment. It seemed to be made of the swan che wood, as it was of a dark color, but as it belonged to some strolling musicians, it was hard to get even a glance at it, for a great press of people thronged to listen, and crowded the door of the house, where the minstrels were laboring to win a few 'cash' by delighting the shopmen with the strangeness of their harmonies.

Instruments of Percussion.

Among these, the great bell claims the first place, both on account of the importance it had in the musical system, and the care which the ancient Chinese took to delineate and preserve its proportions. It was the regulator of the harmonic scale, as it gave the fundamental note, or which is equivalent in modern language to the *concert pitch.* I use the term harmonic in the appropriate sense bestowed upon it by the Greeks, from whose language it was derived, agreeably to what has been laid down at the beginning of this article. As this bell

produced a note, which we may call its generator, we should be easily led to infer, that its dimensions had been carefully defined. In fact, as soon as I had discovered that it gave the fundamental note, I immediately guessed that this was the case. To establish this, however, to my own satisfaction cost me more pains than I had anticipated, not from a deficiency of information, but from the complex manner in which the several proportions were interwoven with each other. It is intimated that the ancient monarchs were anxious to have this bell nicely adjusted in its weight and size, which was done we may suppose by keeping one in the ancestorial temple, or in a chamber of the royal exchequer to serve as a standard for all the rest. Its use is stated to have been extended beyond the mere regulation of the musical pitch, which, in a nation that makes music a part of religious worship, was not a small one, to the adjustment of weights and measures. Its weight seems not to be given in the statements before us, but it is easy to infer, that a certain aliquot of the weight of this standard corresponded to some weight that was familiar in the daily transactions of business, which we will for easier conception take the liberty of calling a pound. A measure that would hold just a pound of water taken from a certain spring, or from a well in the regal demesnes, would serve as a standard or *common measure* in multiple and sub-multiple of all the rest. For a standard of length, they must have taken the *ching* or the *koo*, certain divisions of the bell, which, with some allowance for the thermometric changes in the metal of the bell, and the hygrometric effects upon the wood, bone, or ivory, of the measure, was sufficiently exact to settle any dispute between the buyer and seller, and to secure a general honesty and fairness in commercial dealings. Being in this way provided with standards of weight and length, they were enabled to adjust the balance with the like accuracy. As the Chinese beam corresponds to our steelyard, a reference must have been had to the length of the shorter arm, as well as to the weight suspended from it.

These remarks show that the ancient princes felt the importance of having a just weight and a just balance, and embraced the best means then within their reach to secure it. After they had shown so much care and sagacity in the first instance, it is hardly conceivable that they could have remained altogether strangers to some of the fundamental theorems of statics. It must have occurred to them, that if the beam had no weight of its own, the two weights would counterpoise each other, when they were reciprocally as their distances from the fulcrum or point of suspension. If the beam tapered gradually to

a point at one end, so that the centre of gravity coincided with the point of suspension, the truth of this theorem must have struck them, and this is not at all improbable, for the steelyard employed in weighing money tapers, though not enough to give it the effect of which we are speaking. Mŭhkung, an old poet, alluding to the care which the ancient sovereigns took to have this bell in a state of adjustment, says:

In size, it did not travel out of the *keun*, or standard of measure.

In weight, it did not overpass the *shĭh*, or standard of weight.

The concert pitch, the measuring rod, the standard of capacity, and the balance, were all derived from this.

The musical instrument waits for the sound of the bell, and then it is tuned.

The musical scale also waits for the sound of the bell, and then commences.

These investigations are of great importance to us Chinese students, for they not only bring to light very curious facts of an antiquarian sort, but they help us to an exact notion of the sense affixed to certain characters. For example, we find that *leŭh* meant the the *prostambanomenos*, or the lowest note of the scale. And hence by a tropical use, it seems to have been applied to other instances of nice adjustment, which resembled that delicate effect we aim at when we set one instrument to the exact pitch of another. They seem to warn us also against too much haste in our belief touching the non-existence of certain departments of knowledge and science, and tell us to wait till we are competent to judge from an insight into the very subjects whereof they treat. It has been declared that the Chinese have no science, but of a surety, if we advance in the free and scholar-like spirit of antiquarian research, we shall be obliged to set our feet upon the head of this assertion at every step in our progress.

In ancient times, the bell was used for recording the twelve periods into which a lunation or synodical revolution of the moon was divided. In modern times, we see it in all the principal temples, hung in a large wooden stand, when it is struck upon at vespers, and at other times when prayers are offered up, with a maul or wooden hammer. It was invented in the east many centuries before it was known in the west. But among us, this instrument has a clapper, is suspended upon a wheel, and demands a great deal of skill and dexterity to manage it. In the former it requires neither science nor strength to ring it. In Europe, the 'art of ringing' is a most ingenious system of changes, and the evolutions of pleasing variety so numerous, that those who have applied themselves to the study were never able to exhaust

it. In China, it stood as the regulator of the musical system, as the grand referee in statics and all matters of mensuration, as the recorder of the fleeting periods of the month, and still continues to be a sort of precentor in addresses directed to an unknown deity.

The *koo* or drum. The instruments that come under this denomination are of different forms and sizes. In the *ta koo*, or big drum, the body is nearly cylindrical, the skin of the head is stretched over the edges, and is not provided with braces to tighten or relax it at pleasure. Those who have heard the kettle drum used in our orchestras, may form a tolerable idea of that we see resting upon a stand in the temples about Canton. In ours, the performer can tune it or alter the gravity of the sound within a certain interval; the Chinese instrument possesses no such refinement, but has the rim set round with studs both for use and ornament. It is at times suspended under a beautiful canopy, which is supported by a single pillar resting upon a base that expands into four radiating feet. It is then called *king koo* or the pillar drum; for *too* seems to imply in the first instance a support, basement, or undersetter, and was thence applied to the earth, *quæ omnia sustinet*. A smaller kind was suspended by a chain from a beam that joined two posts, and had a very elegant pediment at the top. This was called *yung*, which was perhaps the appropriate term, that in modern use signifies a response and behoof, or what ought to be. The former might have been suggested by the answering echo of the drum. The latter might have been derived from the steadiness and graceful aspect of its framework. There are a variety of kinds besides, for taste and invention have not been asleep, with a multitude of names and designations, none of them destitute of an instructive interest, but incompatible with the length which I propose to occupy on this occasion.

That which we meet with most frequently in their bands, that plays as an accompaniment to theatrical amusements, or as a part of their religious festivities, is the *pe koo* or the low drum, from the smallness of the size and its resting upon the ground or the base of a pillar when beaten. Its yokefellow in a chorus is a small hemisphere of wood, hollowed and covered with horsehide, and is called the *pang koo*. It is beaten with two small sticks, and gives out a peculiarly clicking sound, by no means agreeable to European ears, till use and association, ingredients in our taste, have made it so. In the Chinese drummer, we miss the roll, the peculiarity of which depends, if I am not mistaken, upon each stick giving its strokes in pairs, though it must be said he plies his hands with great dexterity.

The 磬 *king* consisted of a stand like that on which the *ying* drum was fastened, and a piece of precious stone or porcelain or glass, which being stuck, emitted a pleasant tinkling sound, and was perhaps more ancient than either the drum or the bell, and seems to have been used in festive and religious ceremonies in the same way. The original form of this character was 𡆥 *hing*, and was the appropriate connotation of the instrument before us. The addition of 石 *shih*, stone or porcelain, merely points to the material of which it was made. By an easy transition, a sounding instrument was made to stand for musical sound in general. Thence we see it combined with *ear*, and with another character signifying sound for that purpose. The one is the figure called the *keaou*, or the bridge *king*, because it is made after the model of some of the Chinese bridges.

The *lo*, or what the Javanese call in imitation of the sound, a gong. The combination on the right of this character seems to have denoted a platter of some kind, so that with metal on the left it meant nothing more than a metallic pan or flat vessel, for washing and other similar purposes. There are two kinds; one large and flat, used chiefly on board the Chinese junks, where at eventide, at coming home and going abroad, it is sounded in the room of prayer and praise — for a Chinese thinks that he shall be heard for a great noise, more than for much speaking. The smaller sort is round also, with a cylindrical edge. The sound emitted by it when struck with a stick is very loud, and far exceeds what the sight of so small an instrumeat would lead us to anticipate. It is used as an accompaniment to the drum, which, by the grave quality of its sounds, helps to relieve the shrillness of its yokefellow. In a sort of lyrical ballet, danced in pantomimic style, with the slow and mincing gait of the minuet or saraband, one of the performers had a small drum slung gracefully by his side, while the other held a little gong, which he struck with a springing stroke at intervals, without any divisions of rhythm or varying proportions in the frequency of the beats. It seems to be a rule in Chinese music, that the *lo* should only vary in the rapidity of the strokes, while the business of marking the percussive sounds into agreeable periods is left entirely to the drum. Noises, and loud ones too, with little or no cadence, were the first elements of music; the Chinese, who strangely blend the rudest attempts of invention with the highest refinements of art, still retain a fondness for what deafens the ear of a stranger. When I say strangely, I mean to convey no censure, for union of old and new is what makes everything we see here so curious and instructive.

Wind instruments.

Hwăng teĭh. This is made of bamboo, and is nearly twice the length of our fife, and far more sightly in its appearance, though in the absence of a key it cannot be fairly classed with our German flute. The embouchure is a good distance from the end, which adds not a little to its appearance when played upon. There is a second embouchure about two inches below the other, which is covered with a bit of of transparent web, the epithelium from the inside of a reed. It is intended, I suppose, to vary the pitch, by opening one and covering the other at the pleasure of the performer. It is bound with silk between the holes, which preserves the wood from cracking, and helps doubtless to sweeten the sound. The ventiges are ten in number, but only six as with us are effective. These are at equal distances from each other. And here I would call the reader's attention to a little fact in acoustics, though I do not propose to dwell upon it. We see that in the case of the flute before us, if the column of air vibrating within its bore be shortened by equal decrements, it will, with the fundamental, when the fingers are all down, give the seven notes in the diatonic scale. If we take the flute, therefore, and fill it by breathing softly into it when all the ventiges are shut, and then lift up the fingers one after another, we shall get seven notes in a succession that is agreeable to the ear, and find that the octave follows by putting down the fingers, and blowing with some force. There seems to have been a great variety in the length of the instrument, and the number of holes, but it would in all cases follow almost as a matter of course, that the workman would make the orifices at equal distances from each other. If they were six in number, he would light upon a scale of eight notes, wherein the half tones fall between the third and fourth, seventh and eighth of its notes, which is our diatonic. The system of five sounds was derived by tuning strings reciprocally as fourths and fifths.

The diatonic scale owes its birth we see to a fact in acoustics, and the obvious facility with which the inventor fell upon it. Our fondness for the diatonic scale has been ascribed to something instructive in our ear, or in our perception of sounds. But if it were natural, it ought to be universal, which is by no means the case; for in many of the older melodies of the Scotch it is not found; in the madrigals of Monteverde, it is sometimes disregarded; in the canons of St. Ambrose, which were composed upon the principles of the Grecian modes, its appearance is only partial; in the air I heard in the Society Islands, it was absent; and we have seen that by the more

ancient music of the Chinese it was not recognized. We are, therefore, obliged to look out for another reason for the fact, which will be found, I think, in the explanation just given. The ear was not the tutor having naturally no qualifications for that office; it is, on the contrary, at first a very dull scholar as the teacher of music can testify, who finds it as necessary to tune the ear, as he does his instrument, before it is fit for duty. A reed pierced with six equidistant holes taught the lesson, and imbued the ear with such a fondness for a certain series of intervals, that it grew into a habit, and we imagined it was to instinct, and not to experiment, that we owed the gift.

In the hands of Chinese about us, this instrument sounds often very indifferently, as they blow with too much violence, and without any skill in the pressure and adjustment of the lip, which might lead us to form a poor opinion of its merits. But if we look at the neatness of its make, the low price of fifty cents at which it is sold, and find upon trial that the softest breath with a little management will induce it 'to discourse most eloquent music,' we feel no reason to be dissatisfied with either the inventor or with our bargain. It is with this as well as with the lute and timbrel, that the Chinese dame cheers and beguiles the lonely and unexciting hours of her seclusion. There, with softer usage, it speaks a different language, as it does without doubt among the performers towards the north, for we are not always indulged with the best at Canton, though one may now and then get a glimpse of it.

Heäng teĭh. This possesses all the essential parts of the clarinet, except the finish and the sweetness of its sound. The stem is pierced with eight holes, so that there is one for the little finger of the right hand, corresponding to the key in the instrument just mentioned, and another for the thumb of the left. This stem is without joint, but for the sake of ornament, it is cut so as to appear as if it had as many joints as it has ventiges.

The bell is of copper like the mouth of the trumpet or horn, and is moveable upon the stem for the convenience of packing the whole into a narrow compass. The mouthpiece is of copper, and is ornamented with two flat circular nuts and two hemispheric beads. The reed is made from the straw or culm of some arundinaceous grass. At one end it is bound round and constricted by wire so as to fit on to the tip of the mouthpiece; at the other it is flattened and compressed to enter the lips with ease and effect. This is a great favorite among the Chinese, who are so charmed with its loud and deafening sounds, that they make it the principal on all occasions, either

of joy or sorrow. It is heard at funeral processions, it takes a part at marriage entertainments, and leads in the musical companies, both at the theatre and in the temple, and in fact corresponds in use, as it does in form, to the clarinet among us. There are two kinds, differing in nothing save in size and in the number of loops upon the bell, to which certain silken ornaments may be attached at the pleasure of the owner.

Haou tung. See fig. 8. This in form resembles the *heäng teĭh*, and is often called by the same name. It is made of thin copper. It consists of two parts, a conical bell surmounted by a shaft with a ball at the top, and a stem made of bronze, which is retractile within the bell. As the sounding tube is capable of being lengthened and shortened at the will of the performer, the musical reader will easily discern the principle of our trombone, which would perhaps be the best name we could give to it. Its sound is grave, and not very agreeable when heard by itself, but there seems to be no reason to infer that it does not in more skillful hands form a very proper relief to the shriller instruments when blown in concert.

The *chă keŏ* or horn. See fig. 6. The Chinese horn consists of a stem and a crook expanding into a bell The stem is made up of two parts, one of which can be drawn within the other. There are two kinds, a larger and a smaller; they utter very grave sounds, the nature of which the performer can modify by shortening or lengthening the shaft or stem.

Chih teĭh, or in the Canton dialect, *teem tek.* Often erroneously perhaps called *sew*, which is the proper name for the Pandean pipe This is the flute or vocal reed in its most ancient form, for a reference to our old flute the abec, still in use among the Welsh, and to what we see in the South Seas and elsewhere, would teach us that men in their first attempts blew into the end of the tube. The upper end of the *sew* is stopped by terminating at a joint, save where a small notch at the edge makes way for the entrance of the breath. It is pierced with five holes to correspond perhaps to the five sounds in their ancient gamut, which would seem to indicate its antiquity. The holes are at equal distances from each other, so that it is hard to see how they could have made its notes correspond with five notes of the *kin*, tuned according to the harmonic system still preserved.

The *săng*. See fig. 2. Of this, there are two sorts figured in the Urh Ya; one called the *chaou* or a bird's nest, the other *ho* or sweet concord. It is a collection of tubes varying in length so as to utter sounds at harmonic intervals from each other, and thus to embody

the principle of the organ stops, and to form the embryo of that magnificent instrument. Apart from the tubes, we have to establish another analogy with the organ in the presence of a wind-chest, being a simple bowl, into the top of which the tubes enter and are held in their position. The tubes are of five different lengths and correspond in appearance to the very ancient scale of five sounds.* A certain number of these tubes are pierced a little above their base to prevent their sounding, except at the will of the performer. Some of these holes look inwards, and seem thus to have been placed out of reach on purpose. In the one lying before me, there are eleven of these holes under command, and they stand in distinct groups in the following order:

4, 3, 2, 1, 1.

By covering the first set with the forefinger, and breathing softly into the mouthpiece, a most charming concentus of four sweet sounds is heard, with the harmonic divisions of the octave and twelfth as the impulse is augmented. By stopping the second and third groups respectively, and breathing with a full and steady effort, we get harmonies of three and two sounds, which are loud and effective.

To produce the desired result in the two remaining sets, the breath must be drawn with a smart and clear inspiration. In fact any one single tube may be made to sound by itself by stopping the orifice and drawing in the breath in this way, which cannot be done by blowing without the intermixture of other tones. There must be a principle of acoustics involved in this circumstance, which I have not now mental leisure enough to investigate. The most convenient position for holding and stopping the instrument is the horizontal. Some practice is necessary to manage the breath successfully as to intension and remission, and still more to stop those ventiges that lie behind. But the object when gained is worth a little trouble. By a gentle movement of the instrument a beautiful trill will be produced, which combined with the harmonies of the larger sets gives you the organ shake in miniature. I have not met with a single Chinese who knew anything about the *sŭng*, save that it was sometimes used in the religious rites performed in honor of Confucius. The little information here given is altogether derived from experiment. It is proper to advertise the reader of this, for the inventors of, and the players upon it, may have had some ideas, which I have not yet arrived at. I think there is some evidence that they were once in the

* I say in appearance, for their tone is modified and part of their length rendered ineffective by a slit a good distance below the top.

possession of an instrument of a much larger kind of organ than the one we are able to obtain. The well known zeal of a son of Han for antiquity has not kept some things from dwindling from better to worse, though he may not have lost all traces of any one of them.

ART. V. *Wang Keaoulwan pih neën chang hăn, or, The Lasting Resentment of Miss Wang Keaoulwan. A Chinese tale, founded on fact. Translated from the original by* SLOTH. Canton, 1839. Printed at the Canton Press office, pp. 66.

SLOTH and his talented seënsăng are truly indefatigable scholars, and deserve much praise for their translations, into and out of Chinese. We are glad to know that, notwithstanding all the late interruptions and disturbances, they are again vigorously prosecuting their studies. What *Sloth* has done in the language is a good example for others to follow; and we expect soon to see — indeed we already see — the number of our sinologues much increased. The circumstances of the times demand this. We sincerely hope that every foreigner in China, who has leisure, will improve it in the study of this language. Its acquisition, though difficult, will be a pleasing and a useful achievement.—The story of Miss Wang is a fair specimen of the lighter writings of the Chinese. The translator selected it, he says, "for his *coup d'essai*, partly from being pleased with the manner in which the plot is developed, and partly because, from the quantity of poetry interwoven in the piece, this story may perhaps be looked upon as one of the most difficult of the collection," in twelve vols., styled *Kin Koo ke kwan*, 'Remarkable Observations of ancient and modern times.' The same story may be found also in the *Tsing She*, or History of the Passions. The style of the piece, the translator thinks, may be called *demi-classic*, a compound of the *style antique et style moderne*, as described by Rémusat. We have no fault to find with Sloth's translation and the copious notes with which he has illustrated the text; we think the whole performance good. Erelong we shall expect something more from his pen — something which — if not in style more grave,— will not, even in the original, 'be offensive' to European ears. We close this brief notice with two paragraphs from his preface: page vii.

"That the foreign missionaries who resided at Peking possessed every facility for studying the language and literature of the country, that the most educated natives themselves possessed, I believe to be the case; that we who live in Canton, stand upon a very much more favorable footing for prosecuting our researches, than the forlorn student confined to his own chamber in Paris or Berlin, with no one to whom he can look for assistance, I very readily admit:—still is our situation not quite so favorable as the learned and able sinologue [Stanislaus Julien] seems to think it. We are not surrounded by the gens de lettrés, as were the missionaries at Peking; we have not free access to their stores of knowledge as those able men had; nor are we looked up to with that profound respect, which they, for a season at least, exacted from the throne itself. Oh no! Our Chinese associates are hong merchants, linguists, compradors, and coolies, people who make no pretensions to literary merit, people who cannot if they would, and who dare not if they could, convey to us any literary instructions; and who, while they eat our bread, most commonly hate and despise us! Such is the case less or more of every foreigner who sets his foot in China. The writer, during a residence of nearly five years, has only three times (and that by mere accident) conversed with persons who can properly be called by profession *literary men* (*lettres Chinois*). Two of these occasions being upon business, no familiar conversation was permitted: the third occasion was at a hong merchant's, where a hanlin (académicien) was visiting as a friend. This lettré Chinois condescended to ask a few questions, but smiled with incredulity on being told that the English had their poetry as well as the Chinese had theirs, and appeared actually to sicken with disgust, when assured that it was quite possible in our barbarous tongue to compose a *wan chang!* (thesis or homily.) It is worthy of note, that this gentleman — on meeting the writer — gave himself out as a merchant, most probably from the idea that it was beneath the dignity of a lettré to pollute his lips by conversing familiarly with a despised foreigner! In one word then, (and the truth must be told even though with a blush,) the Chinese men of letters look upon us, upon our pursuits, and upon everything connected with us, with the most utter contempt!

"As for the seensăng or teachers who frequent our hongs to teach us the elements of their language, I am not aware of a single one who is a sewtsae, or who has attained even the lowest step in their literary ladder. Many of them would not be kept in a Chinese gentleman's house, to teach Chinese boys out of leading strings. The writer may boast of possessing one of the most talented of the brotherhood, a man already known to the Canton public as the translator of Æsop's fables into Chinese, and it is only common justice to say of his performance, that it has satisfied every person who has seen the fables, i. e. who has education sufficient to read and understand them. Still is his knowledge limited. Having had occasion to consult him continually while translating these few sheets, I was not a little annoyed and mortified to find him giving me random interpretations of some of the most im-

portant lines; the explanation he would give me to-day, would be entirely altered to-morrow, and when taxed with inconsistency, would merely say, that every man when reading Chinese poetry would read it his own way; that it was; *quot homines, tot sententiæ*, every man had a different interpretation. That this is to a certain degree the case, I believe as firmly as that many Englishmen slur over Milton and Shakespear without being able to parse what they read, far less to understand it; but it cannot for a moment be supposed that the Chinese lettrés are in this predicament, any more than that our professed scholars are blind to the beauties of our own poets. I also took Mr. Davis' plan, viz. that of consulting different seensăng separately; but this was a new annoyance; their opinions being incongruous, it cost me more trouble to weigh, select, and reconcile them, than to write out the passage from my own indistinct notion of its purport. It is therefore but too probable that I have erred more than once."

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. Disturbances in Szechuen and Fuhkeën; measures for the suppression of the use of opium; departure of the Larne; arrival of the U. S. ships of war, Columbia and John Adams.*

DURING the current month, nearly all the means, for gaining information of what has been passing in the wide empire around us, have been cut off. Neither Peking Gazettes, nor the ordinary reports of occurrences have reached us. We have heard rumors of disturbances in Szechuen and in Fuhkeen. From every quarter, there are rumors of new and severe measures adopted to prevent the sale and the use of opium. A more rigid system of prevention is to be carried into effect, it is said, throughout the empire. In our next number, we shall endeavor to give some particulars respecting these measures.

H. B. M. sloop of war Larne, captain Blake, sailed for the Indian station on the 29th instant; not a sail of the British navy is now to be seen in the Chinese waters.

The U. S. frigate Columbia, and sloop of war John Adams, have recently arrived, and are expected to remain some time on this station. The following lists of officers have been kindly handed to us. The officers in the Columbia are:

Commodore, George C. Read. *Lieutenants*, George A. Magruder, John W. Turk, James S. Palmer, Joseph W. Revere, Alexander M. Pennock. *Lieut. of marines*, Daniel D. Baker. *Sailing master*, Edwin T. Jenkins. *Surgeon*, John Haslett. *Assistant surgeons*, W. E. Coale, J. Harrison. *Purser*, Francis G. McCauley. *Chaplain*, Rev. Fitch W. Taylor. *Passed midshipmen*, James McCormick, D. Ross Crawford. *Midshipmen*, Edward Donaldson, Charles Linkler, J. N. Barney, Thomas L. Kinlock, W. A. Henry, J. Dorsey Read, J. L. Toomer, W. M. Green, Charles Fauntleroy, W. B. Fitzgerald, J. J. Guthrie, Charles R. Smith, James M. Duncan, Hezekiah Niles, C. Ap R. Jones. *Prof. of mathematics*, J. Henshaw Belcher. *Captain's clerk*, John Clar. *Boatswain*, John Miles. *Gunner*, John Martin. *Carpenter*, Thomas Johnson. *Sailmaker*, Benjamin Crow.

Officers of the U. S. sloop of war, John Adams. *Commander*, Thomas W. Wyman. *Lieutenants*, Andrew H. Foot, Thomas Turner, Edward R. Thompson, A. H. Kilty, George B. Minor. *Purser*, D. Fauntleroy. *Master*, Robert B. Pegram. *Passed asst. surgeon*, John H. Lockwood. *Assistant surgeon*, Joseph Beale. *Passed midshipman*, Edward C. Ward. *Midshipmen*, John V. Hixon, John Q. Adams, R. B. Reill, J. W. Wainwright, James H. Spott's, Donald M. Fairfax, Charles T. Crocker, Robert S. Morris, W. H. Thompson, Robert H. Wyman. *Prof. of mathematics*, A. G. Pendleton. *Acting boatswain*, George Turney. *Acting gunner*, John H. Ryder. *Acting carpenter*, John Hayden.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—JUNE, 1839.—No. 2.

ART. I. *Crisis in the opium traffic; continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c. (Continued from page 37.)*

MOST untowardly, on the 24th of May, while celebrating the anniversary of queen Victoria's birthday, shot were fired from one of the British ships lying off Macao. The Chinese war-junk, at which they were aimed, immediately moved from her anchorage, without returning the fire. Rumors of the affair produced no small degree of concern and excitement among foreigners. For a while, it was not known whether any life had been lost or not; and as captain Elliot and the party accompanying him from Canton, were still within the Bogue, painful apprehensions were entertained for their safety. Fortunately no life was lost, or serious injury sustained, on board the junk; nor did the party, with the chief superintendent, meet with any interruption on their way down to Macao. We understand that a correspondence on the subject, with the Chinese authorities, ensued; but the particulars of it have not come to our knowledge.

It should be stated here also, that H. B. M. sloop Larne, captain Blake, the only British ship of war in the Chinese waters, went to sea May 29th, and was followed the next day by the clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, destined to the Red Sea, bearing dispatches for the home government.

The number of foreigners now in Canton, (June 1st,) does not, we believe exceed thirty, and will probably be reduced to fifteen or twenty in the course of a few days. The pecuniary losses occasioned, first, by the detention of foreigners, and now by their departure from

the provincial city, and the detention of ships outside, are running up to a very large amount. It is difficult for us to say whether they will fall heaviest on the native, or on the foreign, merchants. Some of the members of the cohong must suffer severely, perhaps will fail; nor would it be matter of surprise or regret, should that honorable body be broken up before the present crisis is fairly passed.

The following translation is taken from the Canton Press; and we give it insertion here as a specimen of the passports granted to foreigners on leaving Canton for Macao, in Chinese boats by the inside passage. The list of articles, on which a duty is payable by law, will be seen to comprise only such as are of Chinese manufacture, or origin. But it is well known that, on the present occasion, many illegal duties have been levied and paid. In some instances, boats could not be obtained except on condition that the duties should be paid as levied by the linguist. This, the editor of the Press informs us, was done in his own case. The document consists of several distinct parts, which are numbered by the letters of the alphabet.

No. 45.

Passport to Macao.

(A) Petition from the hong merchants to the hoppo, applying for the pass for Macao. The hong merchants Woo Shaouyung, Loo Kekwang, Pwan Shaoukwang, and Pwan Wantaou, respectfully petition. Whereas it is our duty to petition for the favor of obtaining passes for Macao, as usual in such cases; it now appears that the barbarian merchant A., having clearly set forth that on a former year he came to this port to trade, now wishes to go and reside at Macao, and not daring to resort to illegal or irregular proceedings, has begged us to entreat the favor of an official passport being granted, duly made out, which he can submit for inspection at the various custom-house stations on the route;—such being the barbarian's views, we beg that official permission may be granted him to proceed.

Memorandum. The barbarian merchant A., for the protection of his person carries with him one gun and one sword, together with baggage and cooking utensils. Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 15th day.

L. S. *(Signed)* Howqua, Mowqua, Ponkequa, Mingqua.

(B) The hoppo's reply. It is granted that he go to Macao, and as customary, this must be exhibited at the various custom-houses on the route, and delivered to the custom-house at Macao on arrival

L. S. [of the hoppo.] To be countersigned on passing the West fort.

L. S. To be countersigned on passing Tszenei.

(c) Pass to be countersigned on the route. Yu, by the imperial pleasure, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas it has been established, that for safety and regularity in granting passes, proof of the business be obtained; it is evidently consistent that barbarians of all nations, in passing to and from the capital and Macao, should be furnished with passports to be shown at the various custom-houses on the route, the time of arriving at which should be noted, and they allowed to proceed; by this no difficulty or delay will occur; neither will foreigners be allowed to loiter or wander about, which doings would give rise to disturbances. When this pass reaches Macao, it must be delivered to the custom-houses there, to be returned to this office to be canceled. It is highly necessary that those through whose hands this passes attend to these injunctions.

Memorandum. One boat, containing one barbarian, A., who in the 4th month, 16th day, leaves the capital.

L. S. On the 16th day at noon, arrived at, and left the head custom-house.

L. S. On the 16th day in the evening, arrived at, and left the West fort.

L. S. On the 17th day at 1 A. M., arrived at, and left Tszenei.

L. S. On the 17th day at daylight, arrived at Heängshan; 18th day at daylight, left Heängshan.

L. S. On the 18th day in the evening, arrived at Macao.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. (Date of taking out the pass written on it at Canton.)

(D) An official pass, registered number 2. Yu, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas, by the pleasure of the emperor, he controls the maritime affairs, now grants the merchant A., by means of the boat belonging to Yin Paouchang, liberty to proceed with fine tea, &c., from this port to Macao for sale, the duties having been paid; besides granting this pass, he herein also registers the articles on which duties have been paid, viz.:

63 catties fine tea in 5 boxes.
612 catties sundry woodware, in 8 boxes.
4 large silver spoons, and 8 small.
30 pairs of shoes in one box.
270 catties ironware in three boxes.
45 catties oil in two jars.
18 catties hams in one package

10 catties pictures.
1 large wooden table.
27 catties white sugar in one package.
36 catties preserves in one box.
27 catties salt fish in one package.
3 small oil paintings.

On these a duty of 2 taels, 6 mace, 1 candareen.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 14th day.

The barbarian merchant A., going to Macao, takes the following stores, &c., viz.:

524 bottles of foreign wine.
30 foreign glass cups and bottles.
30 foreign knives and forks.
2 boxes shaving implements.
1 trunk woollen clothing.
250 catties foreign clothing.
30 catties candles.
30 bottles fragrant water.
10 cakes foreign fragrant soap.
70 catties eatables.
1 glass mirror.
270 catties foreign white paper.
1 large glass lamp.
200 catties lead.
1 small foreign gun.
1 foreign sword.
1 hat.
1 spy-glass.
5 pictures with glass fronts.
40 catties rolled tobacco leaves (segars).
20 catties foreign crockery.
1 foreign white blanket.
10 catties foreign copper ware.

(E) An extra pass granted by the officers appointed by the imperial commissioner Lin, on account of the opium matter now in hand, and stationed at the jetty in front of the factories, to take cognizance of all foreigners arriving at and leaving Canton.

Le, expectant sub-prefect, delegated especially by the imperial commissioner, and the Kwangchow heĕ. It having become known to us, that the fastboat owned by Chang, having on board the barbarian A., on this 16th day of the 4th month, leaves the capital for

Macao, and as no delay must take place, and as the boat does not contain either of those 16 proscribed [foreigners] who are detained in Canton, all custom-houses on the route will allow her to pass, by this guaranty.

No. 196. L. S. of the Kwangchow heĕ.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. To be returned.

From the following edict it appears that captain Elliot has applied to the commissioner, asking permission for British merchants to conduct their commercial business at Macao.

No. 46.

Injunctions to enter the port.

Yu, hoppo of Canton, &c., &c., proclaims to the hong merchants for their full information. On the 24th day of the 4th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang (June 5th, 1839), I received a joint communication from their excellencies, the high commissioner and the governor, to the following effect: "It appears that the English superintendent, Elliot has petitioned us, saying, 'that the foreign ships fully laden have left Whampoa, and will immediately get under weigh to return to their country, &c., &c.'

"Now this coming before us, the high commissioner and governor, we at that time gave an answer, to say: that as regards the foreign ships laden with full cargoes having left the port of Whampoa to return immediately to their countries, we find this to be perfectly true; and those having requested their port-clearances to leave the one after the other, they may all be urged to get under weigh as speedily as possible. But in reference to those merchant vessels which during this year have arrived at Canton, if they are indeed willing to trade, then they ought immediately to proceed to Whampoa, and wait till they be examined in conformity with the regulations; if they are not willing to trade, then they ought to return home as speedily as possible, there is no use in their remaining loitering about here. As to what he (Elliot) says, that the ships must wait till they can get a reply from the sovereign of their country, this is clearly an evasive excuse. Think for a little: every one of these ships has got a clearance from their respective countries, permitting them to come to the Inner Land to trade, and therefore it is that they come hither with full cargoes: what reason can there be, on their first arrival to wait for edicts in reply [from the sovereign of their country]? The said superintendent thinks, that because his country is distant and difficult of access, that he may borrow these excuses to loiter and

delay. Who does not know that all these foreign merchants bring large capital along with them; and who is there that likes to involve himself in loss, or to ruin his own business? Moreover, the laws which guard our seacoast are exceedingly strict and severe; if these ships be not merchantmen, how can we permit them to roam and loiter about at their ease? In reference to what he begs about being permitted to load cargo at Macao, this is still more at variance with the established regulations, and is still more difficult to be permitted. He ought instantly to urge the empty opium ships to return to their country; let each follow after a lawful trade, for we will not permit the scheming after anything beyond this. The said superintendent ought from first to last to secure the foreign merchants from loss, and think anxiously how they may enjoy their blithesome profits; he should keep the old laws, and discharge his duties with propriety and in unison; let him not set about producing thorns and briars, which will choke up business and prick himself. Besides giving instructions to Lew, the acting tungche of Fŭhshan, and Tseäng, the acting keunmin foo of Macao, that they lay these commands upon the said superintendent, Elliot; we hereby see it fit also to advise your excellency, the hoppo, that you duly examine and put it in force, &c., &c."

Now this coming before me, the hoppo, I accordingly issue this edict that the same be duly known; and when my edict reaches the said hong merchants, let them forthwith, in conformity with the spirit of the accompanying communication, lay the commands upon the superintendent Elliot, that he obey accordingly. Besides urging all the vessels, proceeding from Whampoa with full cargoes, to return home forthwith, as regards the merchantmen which have arrived this year at Canton with cargoes, if they really wish to trade, let them proceed to Whampoa, and conformably to the regulations, let them wait till they are examined; if they do not trade, then let them not loiter about here; for there are only two ways, either to enter the port, or begone; there is no medium course to be followed. Seeing that he has previously delivered up the opium in the store-ships, this is proof enough that he is respectful and submissive; the said Elliot need not be ashamed to be called a superintendent of trade. But now with these present foreign merchant ships, he has turned to give birth to other kinds of expectation: it is, indeed, as their excellencies, the high commissioner and governor, say in their communication; the said superintendent ought from first to last to secure and protect the foreign merchant, and think how he may enjoy his blithesome profits to keep the old regulations, and perform his duties in unison

and with propriety let him not himself give birth to thorns and briars. Tremble at and think of this! A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 28th day. June 9th, 1839.

The present position and prospects of British trade in China are pretty fairly indicated by the following minutes of two meetings of British merchants, which include a communication from captain Elliot.

No. 47

(A) Minutes of a general meeting of British merchants held at Macao, June 12th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co. On the motion of Mr. A. Jardine, seconded by Mr. W Dent, Mr. G. T Braine was called to the chair.

Moved by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Constable, and

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting sees with regret that there are parties preparing to send British ships and property to Canton, in opposition to the strict injunctions of her majesty's chief superintendent.

That with the view of ascertaining the position of British ships and property, a requisition be made to her majesty's chief superintendent to state: (firstly,) whether the several public notices issued by him are to be considered as placing a positive embargo on British ships, and (secondly,) whether he considers the present tone of his negociations with the Chinese government such as to warrant a belief that, at no very distant date, we may except such an arrangement of existing differences, as to admit of British property being sent within the Bocca Tigris.

Moved by Mr. Leslie, seconded by Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee, and

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be formed, to communicate with captain Elliot; such committee to consist of Messrs. G. T. Braine, chairman, A. Jardine, W. Thompson, W. Dent, W. F. Gray, Dadabhoy Rustomjee, C. B. Adam, and C. Kerr.

Moved by Mr. Fox, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

3. *Resolved*, That this meeting be adjourned, pending the receipt of captain Elliot's reply.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

(B) The above resolutions were communicated to capt. Elliot, who returned the following answer.

Macao, 14th June, 1839.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date. The meeting will permit me respectfully to remark, that I

understand an embargo to be an act of the government of a country, prohibiting the departure of the ships and goods of another. Founding my reply, to the first question proposed to me, on that impression, it will be obvious that the several public notices issued by me cannot place an embargo on British ships and goods. Their purpose and effect remain to be noticed. A crisis, of a nature unparalleled in point of importance, has recently supervened, in which I have found it my duty, for the general safety of the public interests under my superintendence, to issue certain prohibitory injunctions to her majesty's subjects, and careful reflection upon the act of parliament, the orders in council, and all previous analogous practice, pending our intercourse with China, has carried me to the conclusion that I have not transcended my lawful powers by issuing the notices in question.

I am of opinion, therefore, that the ordering of British ships or goods within the Bocca Tigris, under present circumstances, may, and most probably will, involve persons, upon whom such a responsibility can be fixed, in consequences of the most serious description. The stringency, however, of these instruments, the construction of their language, and the liabilities of every kind to be incurred by a departure from their terms, must be left to the attentive consideration of parties (if such there be) proposing to postpone public authority and general considerations, to their own views and particular interests. At all events, it is my duty again to warn her majesty's subjects in the most emphatic manner, that the entrance of British ships and goods within the Bocca Tigris, in the present state of affairs appears to me to be perilous in the highest degree. Beyond this consideration of danger, too, such a measure would be intensely humiliating and mischievous, because it establishes the principle that British subjects entertain a confidence in the justice and moderation of this government, notwithstanding all that has passed; consenting for themselves and their countrymen to trial and condemnation by Chinese officers and forms of Chinese judicature, for capital, and *a fortiori* all lesser, offenses. I trust I shall never be placed in the painful situation of addressing a special injunction to any subjects of her majesty's requiring them to desist from a course so unworthy of their country, and so dangerous to innocent men, whose lives may fall a sacrifice to their reckless cupidity, before the certain and powerful intervention of the queen can reach these shores, and disabuse the Chinese government of the imagination that such will ever be tolerated. I am conveying the plain sense of the instructions under the sign manual, when I declare that it is impossible of admission, at least till our

relations with this empire are more extensively modified. After this exposition, it is to be concluded that we shall hear no more of the entrance of British ships within the Bocca Tigris, under actual circumstances.

In reply to the second question submitted to me, I beg to say that I see no present reason to believe that her majesty's subjects may expect such an arrangement of existing differences as to admit of British ships and goods being sent within the Bocca Tigris, under the sanction of my authority, before the pleasure of her majesty's government be known to me.

I have the honor to remain your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,

G. T. Braine, esq. Chief superintendent, &c.

(c) Minutes of an adjourned general meeting held at Macao, June 17th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co., G. T. Braine, esq., in the chair.

1. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the public notices of her majesty's chief superintendent, coupled with the explanations contained in his letter of 14th instant, are to be considered as conveying a positive order from him, as the organ of his government, prohibitory of British ships and property being sent within the Bocca Tigris, in the existing state of our relations with the Chinese government.

2. Proposed by Mr. C. Kerr, seconded by Mr G. Smith, and

Resolved, That it now becomes necessary for British subjects to make some proper arrangements for the present disposal of ships and property in the outer anchorages; and that the committee be authorized to communicate with the chief superintendent, with the view of determining what course is most proper to be pursued.

3. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. J. Holliday, and

Resolved. That Messrs. A C. Maclean, T. Fox, and Gilbert Smith be added to the committee.

4. Proposed by Mr. W. Leshe, seconded by Mr. G. Smith, and

Resolved, That with implicit reliance on the chief superintendent, and the most entire dependence on the justice, wisdom, and power of the government of England to redress the wrongs of British merchants, this meeting is of opinion that the interests of all connected with the China trade will be best promoted by a cordial unanimity, and a strict adherence to the orders of the chief superintendent.

5. Proposed by Mr. Maclean, seconded by Mr. Kerr, and

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be submitted to the chief superintendent at an early date, and that they be printed in the Canton newspapers.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned

(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE, Chairman.

In accordance with the preceding resolutions and opinions, expressed by the British merchants and chief superintendent, their regular commercial intercourse will probably remain suspended, until some new measures are taken to place it upon a secure and more honorable basis. Their last ship, the Ann Jane, passed out of the Bogue on the 16th instant.

With a view to hasten the entrance of the ships within the Bogue, and in compliance with orders received from their excellencies, the commissioner and governor, the keunmin foo and his coadjutor published the following edict, and caused it to be translated and distributed among the shipping, as well as to be placarded in the streets of Macao

No. 48.

Lew, the assistant prefect of Kwangchow, and Tseäng, the sub-prefect of Macao, make this clear proclamation. Whereas the commodity of opium, a deep and flowing poison, has by its extent aroused the great and terrible wrath of the emperor, he has specially commissioned a high officer to come to Canton, in conjunction with the governor, to examine and regulate the affairs of the ports of entry, more especially to extirpate the opium trade root and branch, and drive away all the store-ships to their own country, not permitting the least particle of it to remain to entail untold injury. He has ascertained that the store-ships have for successive years and months remained at anchor in the open sea, accumulating and housing the drug; and that sordid avaricious and scheming foreigners have desired to receive the freight offered to them for so doing. But now the drug has all been surrendered, and your ships are at liberty to return to your own country, or engage in honorable traffic; and why do you still remain anchored in every offing, protracting your stay in order to watch events, and hoping for a favorable change?

More particularly, the 18 sail of merchantmen from various countries, which have all come from their own ports bringing valuable commodities, and sailing myriads of miles over vast oceans to reach this land; there is not one of them which does not wish speedily to dispose of their cargoes Lately, because the holds were closed while the opium was being delivered up, none of the merchants, although they

wished to enter the port and trade, could do so; but now, the drug having been wholly surrendered, their excellencies have graciously permitted the embargo to be taken off, and we the sub-prefects do transmit these orders to you, that you enter the port and trade. Already have two American ships, the Paris and Nantasket, applied for permission to enter the port and trade as usual: why do you who remain, (16 sail of vessels) still continue at anchor in the broad ocean, without thinking of entering the port? We cannot explain the reason fully, but suppose that both store-ships and merchantmen have all received the superintendent Elliot's commands, by which he tries to delude you with the extravagant notion that you can trade in the offings about Macao. But we have received a reply from their excellencies, reprimanding the said Elliot, and disallowing Macao as a port of entry, and also prohibiting all vessels alike from remaining in these anchorages and trading, which is in accordance with the fixed regulations. We wish to inquire of you both, of the said store-ships and of the merchantmen, what you are still waiting for or expecting? When we think of you foreigners, that you have come hither over such a vast and dangerous abyss, we cannot bear to sit still, and idly look on.

Wherefore we issue this lucid proclamation, which when it reaches each of the said foreign ships let them fully understand it. Let all of you who have surrendered the opium, instantly spread sail and return home; and let those who are fair traders also weigh anchor and enter the port. Let all those who are planning to get profitable trade be persuaded to become good foreigners, not idly listening to vain words, waiting to watch the course of events and hoping for a favorable change, which will only give cause for future repentance. Let every one arouse himself and examine his conduct, offering no opposition. A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 5th month, 4th day. (June 14th, 1839.)

This called forth a notice in reply from captain Elliot, which we believe reached his excellency the commissioner, though no reply to it has hitherto been published.

No. 49.

Public notice to her majesty's subjects.

The officer deputed by the commissioner, and the keunmin foo, having caused certain notices to be publicly placarded at Macao, inciting British merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard the lawful injunctions of the undersigned, he has this day transmit-

ted to those authorities the accompanying declaration. A copy of the same will be submitted to the commissioner.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,

Macao, June 21st, 1839. Chief superintendent, &c.

Elliot, &c., &c., learns that official notices have been publicly placarded, and sent to the ships of his nation, inciting the English merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard his lawful injunctions, issued in the name of his most gracious sovereign. But wherefore are these notices silent upon the causes which have produced the conclusion of trade and intercourse at Canton? The high commissioner has published his own communications to Elliot. But where are the replies? These proceedings are highly inconsistent with the principles of peace and dignity: and Elliot must now declare the motives which have compelled him to require the merchants of his nation to leave Canton, and the ships no longer to return within the Bocca Tigris.

On the 24th of March last, Elliot repaired to Canton and immediately proposed to put an end to the state of difficulty and anxiety then existent, by the faithful fulfillment of the emperor's will: and he respectfully asked that he and the rest of the foreign community might be set at liberty, in order that he might calmly consider and suggest adequate remedies for the evils so justly denounced by his imperial majesty. He was answered by a close imprisonment of more than seven weeks, with armed men day and night before his gates, under threats of privation of food, water, and life. Was this becoming treatment to the officer of a friendly nation, recognized by the emperor, and who had always performed his duty peacefully and irreproachably, striving in all things to afford satisfaction to the provincial government? When it thus became plain that the commissioner was resolved to cast away all moderation, Elliot knew that it was incumbent upon him to save the imperial dignity, and prevent some shocking catastrophe on the persons of an imprisoned foreign officer, and two hundred defenseless merchants. For these reasons of prevailing force he demanded from the people of his nation all the English opium in their hands, in the name of his sovereign, and delivered it over to the commissioner, amounting to 20,283 chests. That matter remains to be settled between the two courts.

But how will it be possible to answer the emperor for this violation of his gracious will, that these difficult affairs should be managed with thoughtful wisdom, and with tenderness to the men from afar? What will be the feelings of the most just prince of his illustrious dynasty,

when it is made manifest to him by the command of her Britannic majesty, that the traffic in opium has been chiefly encouraged and protected by the highest officers in the empire, and that no portion of the foreign trade to China has paid its fees to the officers with so much regularity as this of opium! Terrible indeed will be his imperial majesty's indignation when he learns that the obligations into which the high commissioner entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign nation were all violated! The servants were not faithfully restored when one fourth of the opium was delivered; the boats were not permitted to run when one half was delivered; the trade was not really opened when three fourths were delivered; and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual when the whole was delivered, has been falsified by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet, the expulsion of sixteen persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad, and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations.

Can a great moral and political reformation be effected at the sacrifice of all the principles of truth, moderation, and justice? Or is it believed that these spoliatory proceedings will extinguish the traffic in opium? Such hopes are futile, and the emperor has been deceived. But it is asked, on the other hand, whether the wise and just purposes of the emperor cannot and should not be fulfilled? Most assuredly they can, and they ought. It is certain, however, that the late measures of the commissioner have retarded this accomplishment of the imperial pleasure, given an immense impulse to the traffic in opium, which was stagnant for several months before he arrived, and shaken the prosperity of these flourishing provinces. It is probable that they will disturb the whole coasts of the empire, ruin thousands of families, foreign and native, and interrupt the peace between the celestial court and England, which has endured for nearly two hundred years.

The merchants and ships of the English nation do not proceed to Canton and Whampoa, because the gracious commands of the emperor for their protection are set at nought; because the truth is concealed from his imperial majesty's knowledge: because there is no safety for a handful of defenseless men in the grasp of the government at Canton; because it would be derogatory from the dignity of their sovereign and nation to forget all the insults and wrongs which have been perpetrated, till full justice be done, and till the whole trade and intercourse be placed upon a footing honorable and secure to this empire, and to England The time is at hand; the gracious sovereign

of the English nation will cause the truth to be made known to the wise and august prince on the throne of this empire, and all things will be adjusted agreeably to the principles of purest reason.

Elliot and the men of his nation in China submit the expressions of their deepest veneration for the great emperor.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent, &c.

The following memoranda, first published in the Canton Register, will afford the reader some idea of the manner in which the high commissioner executed one of the most remarkable parts of the trust confided to him by the emperor. The memoranda, it will be seen, are in the form of a private journal.

No. 50.

Destruction of the opium at Chunhow (Chinkow).

On the afternoon of the 15th instant, at the request of Mr. King, I embarked with him from Macao, in the ship Morrison, captain Benson, and proceeded up the river to Chuenpe. Mr. K.'s object was twofold: first to witness the destruction of the opium, then going on in that neighborhood; and in the second place, to make inquiries respecting the conditions, on which ships may hereafter enter the Bogue. Since many had declared that the Chinese would not destroy one catty of the drug, and many others had expressed their belief that, should the destruction be actually undertaken, great quantities would be purloined; it seemed the more desirable that some foreigners should obtain admittance to the place where the drug was actually being destroyed.

The opportunity, therefore, of being an eye-witness of a scene so novel, was gladly improved, with the determination to make every practicable inquiry and observation, respecting the fidelity of the work as it went on under the immediate inspection of the high commissioner. Contrary to our expectations, no obstacles were opposed to our wishes; and I have only to regret, that others could not have availed themselves of a like opportunity to witness the same scene. That liberty to do this should be given, seems evidently to have been intended by the emperor's own mandate, in which he commands, that the opium should be destroyed in Canton, where natives and foreigners 'both alike might hear of it, and see it.'

About noon, on the 16th, the Morrison anchored at Chuenpe, near the station where the deliveries were made from the receiving ships, perhaps two miles below the fort on Anunghoy, and less than one fourth that distance from the guns on Chuenpe, and those in the war-junks in Anson's bay. In the course of the afternoon, a card

and an open note, stating the object of the visit, were put into the hands of the chief naval officer on the station, who after some demurring, saying the request ought to have been made at Macao, &c., promised to send off both by express to the commissioner, and to return an answer before noon, next day A pilot, who came off from the fleet at sunrise the following morning, to make inquiries about the Morrison, said a favorable answer would be given; and his report seemed to be confirmed by the unusual display of flags on board the junks, and by the appearance of several large barges in the fleet.

At half-past nine o'clock, A. M. one of the large boats came alongside, having on board Loo Taeyuĕ, a naval officer of the rank of captain. He was immediately received on board, and conducted into the cabin. After being seated, and passing compliments, he said he had been directed by the high commissioner, and the admiral his master, to convey in person their pleasure that Mr. K. should proceed to Chunhow. He asked whether the party would prefer to go in his barge, or in the captain's gig; and remarked that it was unnecessary for us to take any arms, as we should be escorted by several boats, and faithfully protected and conducted back by himself. He further very politely — and very gallantly too for a son of Han — inquired if Mrs. King would like to join the party.

While our boat was being made ready, Loo improved the opportunity to give us some account of his valiant self and of the imperial navy, and made sundry inquiries about admiral Maitland, whom he had the pleasure of seeing some months back. He inquired particularly for Mr. Morrison, who acted as interpreter on that occasion; and wished to know if the English superintendents, Elliot and Johnston, were both at Macao. He did his best to make himself agreeable to us, and was throughout the day attentive and lavish of compliments. He admired the ship and crew, and did not fail to mark the contrast between them and his own.

At 10 o'clock, we left the Morrison, our party consisting of Mr. and Mrs. King, captain Benson, myself, and six seamen. Loo, in his own boat, manned with about sixty seamen, with a few attendants, led the way, and our gig followed. As we passed though the fleet, several other boats, with officers on board, joined the party, some under sail, and others with rowers — all in high spirits and full of glee. When cast of Anson's bay, having a little islet on our right, and the ruins of an old fort on the left, we passed through Saukow (the *three mouths* of the creek), and over Shakeŏ (sandy point), and with fair wind and tide reached Chunhow, in less than an hour from the time

of leaving the ship. Chunhow is, I should think, five or six miles from the fort on Chuenpe; and nearly due east, distant about two miles from the fort on Anunghoy. From the islet above mentioned, our course was northeast up a small creek, with hills and dales, rice-fields and rivulets, on each side. A few thatched huts were seen here and there, with two or three small villages off to the southeast. In the opposite direction, near the banks of the creek, there was a military station, a mere watch-house, and a large ancestral temple A good many boats were passing and repassing the river, exhibiting on all sides the aspect of quiet and industry.

Chunhow is a long narrow village, on the east side of the creek, running north and south, perhaps one third of a mile. The site selected for the deposit and destruction of the opium, is on the bank of the creek, at the brow of a hill, a short distance from the north end of the village, including an area about 400 or 500 feet square, strongly empaled with bamboos. Crowds of spectators appeared in the boats, on the houses, and on the sides of the hill, as our party passed by the village. As we approached the landing-place, the war-boats and junks beat a salute; and two divisions of troops, in full uniform, were drawn up under their respective standards, one on the south, the other on the north, of the enclosure. It was a fine morning, and the Chinese seemed delighted with the arrival of our little gig. The scene around us, taking it all in all, was pleasing and somewhat imposing; still there was something in the work itself which made me feel sad and sick at heart.

Just before reaching the landing-place, Loo, our guide, asked whether we would see the commissioner. Being answered in the affirmative, he inquired what ceremonies we would perform, and whether we would make the *kotow* or not. Refusing to perform the latter, and intimating what would be our pleasure, it was agreed at once, that we should conform to the usages of our own country.

Loo, stepping on shore before us, begged us to wait till he could announce our arrival, and make arrangements for reception. After a short absence, he returned attended by a military officer, named Wongchin, deputed by the commissioner to wait on the visitors. He wore a long heavy cutlas, and was booted and belted like a warrior. He was a Mohammedan, a native of one of the northern provinces; rather tall, stout, of a very dark complexion, wearing a thick long black beard. He had evidently been bred in the camp, and inured to a martial life. As he and Loo approached our gig, the latter pointed out each of us, calling us by name; and then requested me

to step on shore. After a formal introduction to his friend Wong-chin, Loo stated the arrangements that had been made for the occasion; we were first to examine the whole works in detail, and afterwards were to have an audience with the commissioner, if we desired it. Also it was intimated, that we should choose our own time, and inspect every part as long and as minutely as we wished.

Our party now stepped from the gig, and passing along a pier, entered the enclosure. This, as described above, was a large area, surrounded by a strong palisade, like a Malayan camp. There were gates on each side, excepting the east; at these, sentinels were stationed, and no person was allowed to enter without a ticket. And on going out of the place, every one was examined. The number of workmen was said to be about five hundred. The number of officers, civil and military, could not have been less than sixty or eighty. A collection of finer looking men I have scarcely ever seen. Many of the clerks and attendants, too, were young and good-looking. All these officers were employed as inspectors and overseers. A part of them were on elevated seats, under mat sheds, to watch all the movements, in every part of the enclosure: and their position was such that nothing could escape their notice. By alternation, some of these were kept always at their posts, day and night. Another part of the officers superintended the delivery of the opium from the chests, which had been stored up in small enclosures within the large one. Special care was taken to see if each chest and parcel now corresponded to what it was marked down, when taken from the store-ships.

On the west side of the enclosure, just within the palisades, were three large vats or trenches, running from east to west, say 150 feet long, 75 feet broad, and 7 deep, flagged with stone, and lined along the sides with heavy timbers. Each of these three had its own fence, with entrances only on one side. When we were there, one had no opium in it; a second was being filled; and another was nearly ready to be emptied.

The process to which the drug was subjected, was briefly this. In the first place, a trench was filled two feet deep, more or less, with fresh water, from the brow of the hill. The first trench was in this state, having just been filled with fresh water. Over the second, in which the people were at work, forms, with planks on them, were arranged a few feet apart. The opium in baskets was delivered into the hands of coolies, who going on the planks carried it to every part of the trench. The balls were then taken out one by one, and

thrown down on the planks, stamped on with the heel till broken in pieces, and then kicked into the water. At the same time, other coolies were employed in the trenches, with hoes and broad spatulas, busily engaged in beating and turning up the opium from the bottom of the vat. Other coolies were employed in bringing salt and lime, and spreading them profusely over the whole surface of the trench. The third was about half-filled, standing like a distiller's vat, not in a state of active fermentation, but of slow decomposition, and was nearly ready to be drawn off. This was to be done through a narrow sluice, opened between the trench and the creek. This sluice was two feet wide, and somewhat deeper than the floor of the trench. It was furnished with a screen, made fine like a sieve, so as to prevent any large masses of the drug from finding their way into the creek. Loo told us that the destruction of the opium, which commenced on the 3d, would be completed by the 23d. At first, he said, less than 1000 chests per day were worked off; but the day we were there he thought the number would be nearly 1300 chests.

By half-past 11 o'clock, we had examined and reëxamined every part of the process of destruction. The degree of care and fidelity, with which the whole work was conducted, far exceeded our expectations; and I cannot conceive how any business could be more faithfully executed. The watch was apparently much stricter, on every side, than it was during the detention of foreigners in Canton. One poor man, at Chunhow, for only attempting to carry off some small pieces of opium about his person, was, on detection, almost instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the law. If any was pilfered, it must have been in very small quantities, and at the most imminent hazard of life; at least, so I am constrained to believe.

Well satisfied with the inspection of the trenches, we were again asked if we were ready to see the commissioner. A seat for Mrs. K. was provided near the boat in one of the watch-houses, where she was furnished with tea and sweetmeats, attended by captain Benson, while Mr. King and myself, conducted by Loo and Wongchin, proceeded to the east side of the enclosure, to the apartments of the commissioner. These were large and commodious, built of bamboos, like the temporary theatres of the Chinese. The hall of audience was about twenty feet square, a little elevated, and open on the west side, so as to command a full view of the trenches and landing-place. The floor was covered with carpets, and the walls decorated with scrolls. When within a few yards of the hall, Loo pointed out to us one by one, the officers we were going to meet. Lin, his majesty's

high commissioner, occupied the east side of the hall alone, seated in a broad chair or sofa, with two tables near him, one on each side. The admiral, or commander-in-chief, of the maritime forces of the province, occupied a seat alone at the commissioner's right, on the north side of the hall; at his left, on the south side of the hall, the hoppo and commissioner of justice, or *nganchăsze*, were seated. All the other officers were standing, some within and others without the hall, habited in their summer dresses, wearing silken boots, and light straw hats or bonnets, crowned with buttons indicative of their respective rank.

When leaving Macao, we had little expectation of being so soon ushered into the presence of such dignitaries as those now before us. However, we determined to take full advantage of Chinese moderation, and to protract our interview so as to see and to learn whatever the occasion would allow. With a suitable air of indifference, and all due gravity, *à la Chinoise*, we advanced to the west side of the hall. Here we took off our hats, and bowed to the commissioner, standing directly before him, surrounded by a dense crowd of officers and attendants. Loo and Wongchin, at the same time, in the middle of the hall, kneeled and prostrated themselves before his excellency, who immediately bade them rise; and the conference commenced, and lasted full two hours. Loo and Wongchin were chief speakers, first addressing the commissioner, and then communicating with us.

The commissioner opened the conversation by inquiring if Mr. K. had received his communication, addressed to him, sometime back, while in Canton. In replying to this, reference was made to the inconveniences and losses sustained by the late proceedings; and it was inquired, whether any security would be given that such should not occur in future. This prepared the way to ask for a specification of the conditions on which ships will henceforth be allowed to enter the port. His excellency said, the evils had grown gradually and secretly, because their authors had been dealt with so leniently; and that now the time had come when forbearance was no longer possible. It was solely for the suppression of the traffic in opium that the late severe measures had been prosecuted. The illicit trade, he said, must now be stopped; the other should be protected. After speaking long and animatedly on this point, the commissioner gave the following in writing.

"Vessels engaging in the regular and honorable trade, and really having no conneetion with the hurtful practice of introducing opium,

shall assuredly receive additional favor, and shall in no way be involved in difficulties.

"Vessels engaging in the clandestine sale of opium, shall assuredly be examined and treated with great severity, and no degree of favor or leniency shall be shown to them.

"In brief, the good are good for themselves, and the evil are evil for themselves. Let the good, dismissing all anxiety of heart, prosecute their commerce freely, without any apprehensions of difficulty As for those who are evil, it only remains that they early turn about, change their practices, and abandon their vain expectations."

In the course of the conversation, Mr. K. presented two papers to the commissioner, one referring to his own vessels, asking that they might enter and trade as formerly. This, the commissioner said, should be granted. In the second paper, after alluding to the unhappy and dangerous position in which affairs have been recently placed, it was urged, that speedy reparation ought to be made for all losses that had been unjustly incurred, that ample security should be given that the like interruption of the regular trade should not again occur, and that it should be clearly proclaimed that it was only against the traffic in opium that severity is to be exercised. With a view to remove existing evils, to guard against their recurrence, to preserve peace, and to extend commerce, it was further suggested, that the port-charges should be fixed according to the amount of goods; that three additional ports, northward, should be opened to all foreigners; that merchants should be allowed to have their families reside with them; that in all criminal cases, the offender should be tried by his own consul, acting jointly with the local commissioner of justice; that ministers plenipotentiary should be allowed to reside in the capital, near the emperor, &c.

Very particular inquiries were made respecting the intentions of the English in withdrawing from the port, and also as to the best mode of conveying communications to the queen of England and other European sovereigns, in order to secure their coöperation for the suppression of the traffic in opium. Inquiries were made for maps, geographies, and other foreign books; and particularly for a complete copy of Morrison's Dictionary.

From the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was, and is, to do away the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honorable. Both in the manner and matter of his conversation, he appeared well; betraying,

indeed, now and then, more or less of that partiality for his own country and sovereign, and that disregard of all others, which are so characteristic of great statesmen. Throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was "barbarous or savage." He appeared to be not more than 45 years of age; is short, rather stout; has a smooth, full round face, a slender black beard, and a keen dark eye. His voice was clear, and his tones distinct. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness Once only he smiled — almost laughed,— as Mr. K. declined to characterize the members of the cohong. The question was, who of them were good? It was not answered. The accounts given him of British naval power — especially of steam vessels — seemed rather unpalatable, and once or twice raised a frown on his brow.

After taking leave of the commissioner, we were conducted back in the same manner as we came up. A large collection of presents were sent after us. At five P. M., we were on our way to Macao. About nine o'clock in the evening, our old friend Loo came down to us, to return the papers for translation, they having been presented in English, and the commissioner's linguists being unable to understand them. A translation was promised to be soon ready, and he again took leave. The next day at sunset we reached Macao, well pleased with the trip.

P. S. The commissioner has in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue. The first is a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second is an old man, educated at Serampore. The third is a young man who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth is a young lad, educated in China, who is able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease, correctness, and facility.

The manner, in which the Chinese propose to themselves to carry on the trade with foreigners, will be seen by the following regulations, translated by Mr. Fearon, and copied from the Canton Press.

No. 51.

New port regulations.

Yu, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs in the province of Kwangtung, &c., &c., to the linguists Tsaemow (Old Tom), and the others, for their full information.

On the 6th day of the 5th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang, I received the following communication from the governor: "On the

2d day of the 5th month (June 12th), the custom-house clerks, Leking reported that the American ships Nantasket and Paris had entered the port: and on the 4th day, the two sze magistrates made their joint report respecting the new regulations they were commanded to frame, for dispatching civil officers to search and examine the foreign ships, with a military and police force. They report the result (of their deliberations) and wait for orders how to act." A draft is copied out and handed up for the consideration of the governor, containing regulations for guarding against the smuggling of opium by the foreign ships lately arrived. On receipt of it, let the several officers respectfully obey it. We, the sze magistrates, in obedience to the regulations proceed to lay them before you.

§ 1. Immediately a foreign vessel anchors in the outer waters, an officer should be delegated to take her measurement and draught of water; this should be clearly written out and notified in a sealed certificate. After her arrival at Whampoa, it would be expedient to send an officer again to measure her, when, should it appear that her depth of water does not agree with that entered in the certificate, the discrepancy should be reported, that orders might be issued to fine her.

Upon examination it appears that the merchant ships of the various foreign nations which bring cargoes to Canton to trade, anchor, for a time, at Lintin and other places in the outer waters: there, in league with traitorous blackguards of the inner land, they smuggle opium, and secretly dispose of other contraband goods. They then enter the river. These evils are without bounds, and are indeed intensely wicked. The opium ships now in the outer waters have delivered up every particle of the smoking filth which they had hoarded up, and which is now all destroyed; they are also sternly prohibited from ever bringing it hereafter. But it is to be feared that at some future day their former wickedness will again bud forth; we must not, therefore, omit to enact laws beforehand to guard against this. Now the collector of customs has determined that, both in the outer waters and in the river, (the foreign ships) shall be subject to the same laws respecting their draught of water as the grain boats. An officer being delegated to measure them and note their depth of water. By this salutary measure, the evil may be completely guarded against.

§ 2. All foreign vessels coming to Canton, in future years, to trade, (the season of their arrival being always the same,) must be correctly measured outside, ere they will be permitted to enter the port.

Whampoa being situated so near the capital, no officer of rank has ever been stationed there.

§ 3. As the foreign vessels will have to be measured again when there, it would be expedient to appoint an officer of known ability, to superintend the management of the business.

The plan is expedient, and hereafter as soon as it is reported that a ship wishes to come to Whampoa, the government will delegate from Canton an acting magistrate, of known ability and talents, to proceed thither beforehand, taking with him linguists and people to measure the ship. On her arrival there, she must, according to law, be measured; the officer superintending in person. Should her draught of water not correspond with that mentioned in the sealed certificate, it will be apparent that smuggling has been going on outside during her passage up, and a report of the fact must be forthwith sent to government, that the affair may be investigated and punished. When he has completed the duties of his mission, he will be allowed to return to Canton and report himself.

§ 4. When a foreign ship comes into port, she should, on arrival at Whampoa, be watched, and prevented from smuggling. The officer should be stationed on the left, and the custom-house runners on the right side of her, their boats being anchored on each side of her. Thus for keeping her in awe, there would be the deputed naval officer: for guarding against her, the soldiery belonging to the cruisers on that station: for taking account of the lading and unlading of cargo, the Whampoa clerks: and for accompanying the cargo up to Canton, the river police. This regulation comprehends every emergency, and, if only acted upon faithfully, will completely prevent the least smuggling going on. It may hereafter become expedient to appoint another officer to superintend and inquire into the conduct of the military and police forces employed on the above duty. Should he discover that there has been the least remissness, negligence, smuggling, receiving bribes, carelessness in guarding, or any other such vile practices, he should forthwith report the facts, and the offenders should really be visited with the heaviest penalties.

It appears by this, that for guarding against smuggling on board foreign ships which come up to Whampoa, there are, an officer of ability, custom-house runners, clerks, and soldiery, whose duty individually and collectively is to watch and examine. The above regulation is really excellent and most complete, but it does not provide for a high civil officer being delegated to superintend the whole, and to inquire into the conduct of the police and soldiery; to see that their duties are more than nominal, and that carelessness or inattention does not take the place of watchful energy; it is therefore now determined:

§ 5. That an able officer of rank be delegated to superintend the whole, and to keep a check on the police and soldiery. It is

expedient to select an officer who is well known for his ability, acquaintance with the duty, and trustworthiness, who must remain constantly on guard. This will effectually ensure watchfulness and alertness in guarding, and will prevent [the soldiery, &c.,] from secretly enjoying their pleasures, and conniving at the foreigners smuggling.

Respecting the selection of officers for this duty, it may happen at the time that they have other appointments to attend to, which will make it difficult to send them on this mission. The number of acting officers and those waiting for appointments, now in Canton is not great, neither are they well fitted by experience to undertake the duty, and are liable to be called away on any other duty, and are consequently unable to remain any length of time to watch and guard. Besides this it would be an extremely difficult task to muster these gentlemen to select one of their number.

§ 6. It is therefore permitted that, according to the circumstances of the time being, any one, from among the candidates for office, assistant magistrates, &c., who may not be employed on any other duty, may be selected to superintend and guard.

When the foreign ship has completed her lading, and left the port, (should there be no other vessel at Whampoa,) there will be no further occasion for the police and soldiery to guard against and keep them in awe;

§ 7. Orders may, therefore, then be sent to the chief superintending delegate to return to the capital, and report the completion of his duties. Afterwards, another vessel coming up, the same officer, should he be engaged on no other duty, must be sent to superintend this.

The duty of this officer will be extremely onerous, as immediately a ship arrives, he will be sent down, without a moment's delay, to superintend her second measurement. We, the sze magistrates, have hitherto had no reports sent to our office, of the time of a foreign vessel's arrival at Whampoa: and were the report to be first sent in, orders to be waited for ere the officers could go, and consideration as to the selection to be made, much delay would occur ere the ships could be measured. It is therefore enacted,

§ 8. That hereafter, when the merchant vesssels of the various nations come to Canton to trade, the time of their arrival must be immediately reported to government, who will send either an assistant magistrate, or an officer from the cheheën's office, down to Whampoa beforehand, and give his whole energy, day and night, to the maintenance of a strict guard and surveillance.

Should there be any such blackguards among the police and soldiery, as to keep away from the ship, or neglect their watch, or smuggle, or receive bribes, or show remissness and trifling, or dare to borrow pretenses for ex-

torting money from the common people, then the whole circumstances of their offending must be forthwith secretly reported to government, and the offenders sent up to Canton to meet their punishment. As to all those fish, ferry, comprador boats, &c., which ply about the shipping, orders should be requested for the delegate to search and examine them, that all evils which might arise therefrom may be prevented. Whether the number of ships of all nations, which may in after years, resort to China, will be large or small, there is no means of knowing certainly.

§ 9. Should the number of those which hereafter come up to Whampoa, be very considerable, it will be necessary for one officer to superintend the measuring, and another the guard and surveillance. It is expedient therefore that, in such cases, two officers be appointed, one to superintend each department. Should the number, however, be small, the measuring department will be but trifling, and one officer can superintend both duties. The measuring officer will therefore remain to superintend the preventive guard, and to keep the soldiery to their duty.

Thus the whole duty of measuring and watching will be performed, without it being necessary to send two officers, and with much less trouble and inconvenience.

§ 10. Should the said delegate be remiss in his duty, receive bribes, or allow the clerks and soldiery to connive with the foreigners, he should, immediately the fact is known, be deprived of his rank and dismissed the service.

An official court of inquiry, must in such cases be held, to determine his guilt or innocence, and strict justice done. The whole facts of the case, with the verdict, must be reported to government to receive its sanction. At the same time, reports of the case must be sent to the collector of customs, for his information and guidance.

"This coming before me the governor, I do ordain, in reply, that these regulations, setting aside all former ones, be adopted for managing the trade. The hong merchants, Mowqua and Ponkhequa are hereby commanded forthwith to secure the American ships Nantasket and Paris, in accordance with the new and fixed regulations. Let them proceed in person to Whampoa, and there with all sincerity and energy subject [the ships] to the strictest scrutiny and examination. The bond hitherto required must be signed both by the foreigners and hong merchants, by which they solemnly bind themselves cheerfully and willingly to abide by the consequences of their crimes, should they be discovered to have opium, and to deliver it up. His honor the collector of customs will also, on his part,

(should he discover opium) when the holds are opened by his orders, forthwith deliver it up to me the governor, that it may be recorded.

"Business must now be carried on as is above set forth. The hong merchants must accord their most implicit obedience; and in company with the linguists, hasten forward, and in all sincerity give their whole minds to the management of their business. Not a moment's delay will be permitted. If they allow any smuggling, or dare, as formerly, to pass it over as a trifling matter, or do not carefully search and investigate, or if they rashly and hurriedly give the bond, and smuggling of opium or other contraband goods is afterwards detected, then immediately, as discovery of the facts is made, the senior, junior, and security hong merchants, with the linguists, shall all be taken and visited with most extreme punishment. Not a particle of indulgence will be shown them. Let this be circulated among all the officers of the province for their information and guidance."

On receipt of the above I, the collector, in compliance therewith, issue this edict for general information. Immediately the said linguists receive it, let them accord their implicit obedience to the governor's regulations for managing trade. Do not trifle with nor disobey this edict, lest you become involved in guilt. Haste! Haste! A special edict. June 23d, 1839.

After months have been occupied in discussion, the question of the bond has finally been settled, by adopting a somewhat modified form, written both in Chinese and English, of which the following is the English version.

No. 52.

A duly prepared bond.

The foreign captain ———— belonging to the United States of America has now received the commands of the heavenly dynasty rigidly prohibiting opium; and he has had it clearly proclaimed to him that certain new regulations have been established to that effect, and the said foreigner, holding the same in great dread, will not dare to oppose or violate them.

Now the said ship just arrived brings no opium, and I now give this as a true certificate of the same.

Dated Canton, —— ——

At this point of time, we close the series of papers connected with this crisis in the opium trade. The drama seems but just begun. Only the first act is yet finished; and for the second, growing out of it, we must wait until the will of the Indian and the home governments be

made known. We shall endeavor to keep our readers informed of all the principal events which transpire in relation to it. Since the trade was reöpened, none but American ships have entered the port. These, only ten or eleven in number, have found no difficulty in carrying on their trade as formerly. All the captains of these ships have, we believe, signed the bond (No. 52), writing their names between the Chinese and English, so as to sign it in both languages. What consequences will result, should the Chinese attempt to hold the foreigners in Canton responsible for the acts of smuggling on the coasts we cannot tell; none of those who signed the bond, signed it for any others than themselves individually, and there is no valid ground to suppose that the Chinese consider it in a different light from foreigners.

With two or three exceptions, none but Americans now reside in Canton. A small custom-house for the tide-waiters is erected at the landing place near the Company's garden, where proper officers take the name of every foreigner who comes ashore. Two boats, provided by the hong merchants, are anchored at the same place, and boats from the shipping are not permitted to stop at any other landing. The two inclosures, which were so urgently requested by foreigners some years ago, are now completed, and the square is much more agreeable as a promenade than formerly. Many of the sailing and rowing boats which were hauled up on shore by the hong merchants' order at the commencement of the siege, still remain within the inclosure; the houses in which they were kept have all been pulled down; and the little inlet that ran into the square opposite the Swedish hong has been filled. The terraces on the top of the factories have mostly been taken down by the hong merchants; in one instance, the balustrades around a tiled terrace were taken away, leaving it exposed, and comparatively dangerous. New China street still remains closed at the southern end; Hoglane has been reöpened. Many of the thirteen hongs are left without an inhabitant, and the bustle and business which once characterized them are gone. Access to the suburbs in the rear of the factories is free as formerly, several parties having gone around the city walls, and the conduct of the common people towards foreigners seems not to be changed in the least

ART. II. *China Opened: or, A Display of the topography, history, customs, manners, arts, manufactures, commerce, literature, religion, jurisprudence, &c., of the Chinese empire.* By the Rev. CHARLES GUTZLAFF. Revised by the Rev. ANDREW REED, D. D. Two vols. pp. 510, 570. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1838.

THESE beautifully printed volumes recommend themselves to our notice from a number of considerations, not one of the least of which is the celebrity of the author. When the work was first announced, we were eager to procure it, in order to satisfy several inquiries which had arisen in the course of our reading, and to enlarge our small stock of authentic facts from the stores of one supposed to be possessed of so much information concerning the Chinese. The title of the book too, is also calculated to attract notice and excite expectation. Mr. Gutzlaff, some time ago published, as a discovery, that China was open; and this he repeated, until many persons in western lands believed it; but China still obstinately remaining shut as close as ever to all permanent general intercourse, he has occupied the leisure from the duties of his office by endeavoring so to describe the country and its inhabitants, that they shall be open to the minds of his readers in all their multiform phases. To describe any country, or even a single town, so as to enable one, ignorant of the language and customs of the inhabitants, to suppose himself in their midst is very difficult: how much is this difficulty enhanced, and the chances for making mistakes increased, when the writer has never himself traveled in the country, and is obliged to trust to other eyes for the accuracy of what he describes? In this instance, the object proposed evidently was, so to delineate all the characteristic traits of the Chinese people, their country, customs, language, and government, that they should be opened to the reader's mind, and pass before him as if he were among them. If this has not been done, the author cannot blame us if we quarrel with the title of his performance, for otherwise it gives an erroneous impression: and one part of speaking the truth consists in delivering that truth so that it will not convey a wrong idea. There were other reasons, besides the two we have mentioned, found in the interesting nature of the subject, the unique language of the people, and the many idiosyncrasies of this nation generally, which combin-

ed to heighten our desire to peruse these volumes. But having procured and commenced reading them, not the fame of the author, the title of the work, the interest at present attaching to the subject, or any other reason, could induce us to finish them as we began; the materials for the dish may have been good enough originally, but they are served up in so unpalatable a manner, as to disgust the taste, and ill repay the trouble of perusal.

A man possessed of the author's fluency in speaking the dialects of this country, which has of itself been the means of enabling him to voyage very extensively where they are spoken, should give us a work commensurable with these advantages. Most other voyagers have had but one opportunity to examine, and cannot satisfy themselves on all points, but Mr. Gutzlaff's numerous voyages have given him better opportunities. The world anticipate, in such a case, and justly too, we think, the results of his own repeated observations, combined with suitable remarks upon the writings of his predecessors; thus enlarging our present, and rectifying our former, ideas, and giving at one view whatever is truly valuable concerning the Chinese. The public have been supplied a long time with books upon China, written for the most part by passing travelers, who, introduced at once into the midst of strange places, and there seeing many strange things, and hearing more still stranger, were immediately seized with the disease peculiar to such circumstances, and in due time produced a bantling, varying in size from a single duodecimo to a post octavo of three volumes. The mere mention of such authors as Wood, Holman, Meyen, Dobell, Roberts, Downing, Ruschenberger, and others, sufficiently describes the class of books to which we refer. But when, to a respectable knowledge of the manners and customs of the Chinese, and a pretty general acquaintance with their literature, is superadded a long residence in the country, with leisure to investigate new topics, and opportunity to verify such as are doubtful, we expect more than the superficies of society, we demand from such authors the reasons for what we see about us, a development of the secret springs which move, and the influences which regulate, this immense empire. In all these particulars, our reasonable expectations have been sadly disappointed, and the author must not to be displeased if we deal with him in proportion to our dissatisfaction. The volumes before us are hastily written and carelessly revised; for what is asserted on one page is sometimes greatly modified, if not contradicted, on another; the materials are thrown together without much regard to their order, and the whole performance evinces a great lack of

research and judgment. For variety of subjects treated upon, they somewhat resemble a dictionary, but the absence of the useful alphabetical arrangement prevents the completion of the comparison.

Without spending more time in general remark, let us take up a chapter, and examine its contents seriatim, which will prove whether or not the observations already made are just. The fourth chapter of the first volume contains a summary of the natural productions of the Chinese empire, nearly all of which, judging from internal evidence, was derived from the author's own observations. On this point, however, we are not quite sure; for not only in this chapter, but in various other parts of the book, paragraphs occur as original which are surprisingly like some we have seen in other works, both in sense and sound. But more on this anon. This chapter is oddly placed between the one giving a general view of China, and that describing the provinces composing it, subjects which ought not to have been thus separated; the last paragraph of the third chapter giving a short notice of the climate, appears to have suggested the one we propose to examine. After telling the reader that he intends to describe the productions of the whole empire, the author says:

"In China Proper, the domestic animals are in smaller quantities than we find them in Europe. The Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; and were it otherwise, the greater part of the population are too poor to procure animal food. They have besides a strange aversion to milk and butter, and have therefore no inducement to feed cattle in order to obtain these articles. Beef, of all animal food, is the least in use among them; many Chinese abstain from it entirely from religious motives. Though if they even wished to induge in this luxury, there are no meadows in which to graze the cattle, nor would an overflowing population admit of great herds of brute consumers."

In the first place, we are here told that 'domestic animals are in smaller quantities in China than in Europe,' an assertion that may or may not be true; for neither the author nor any of his readers can satisfactorily prove or disprove it. The reason given for this "smaller *quantity*," is that the Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; but if their preference was the other way, the greater part of the population could not gratify it on account of their poverty But this is not all the reason; "they have a strange aversion to milk and butter," articles which most of them never saw, because, as follows just below, "an overflowing population would not admit of great herds of brute consumers." The sum of all this is, that the Chinese, being poor, cannot procure animal food: but there are no meadows to graze cattle, and for the products of the dairy they have a great

aversion, and therefore the Chinese do not eat beef, because they do not want it, and cannot get it. A few sentences ahead, we are told, however, "that a diminutive species of oxen is very common, which is used exclusively before the plough;" and that, "in the southern provinces, the buffalo is everywhere to be met with." It would have been proper to have told us where these cows and buffaloes get their living, since a few lines above they were deprived of grazing ground. The fact is, however, that the Chinese do consume large quantities of flesh, chiefly pork and poultry, but they do not eat much beef or mutton, at least in the eastern parts of the empire

In a short paragraph upon the horse, we are told that "the Chinese horse is *very* small," but then that "the Mantchou horse is not much larger, and *very* hardy;" an exception, however, occurs in the "horses of Shantung and Szechuen, which are *very* celebrated," though by whom, or for what excellencies, they have become famous, does not appear. "In the north, the animal is far more frequent than in the south, ... but the use of it is *very* limited, and the Chinese are *very* awkward riders," all of which is doubtless *very* instructive to those who have never seen a Chinese horse. If the author had extended his researches in Chinese literature, he would have found the ***Ma King***, a work upon the veterinary art in four volumes, from which he could certainly have extracted something more novel to his readers than the see-saw paragraph just quoted. He also ought to have been more explicit in describing the difference between European and Chinese pigs, which he says, is in "the formation of the head and neck;" we always thought, from the specimens in the streets, their peculiarities consisted in their short legs and bent backs. Speaking of the dog, he observes; "throughout the *whole empire*, there seems to exist only one species of dog, which nearly resembles the shepherd's dog in Europe. In *Tibet*, the dogs belonging to the mastiff species, are very ferocious, whilst the China breed is very tame and seldom bites." Strictly speaking, there is only one species of dog known in the world, the varieties having all been induced by domestication, but if "there *seems* to exist only one species in the *whole empire*," is it not singular that the author should forget this, and in the next sentence, speak of the Tibetan mastiffs: is not Tibet a part of the empire?

Again; "the tiger *seems to be* the most frequent of all the wild beasts, though it is *never* found in the well-inhabited districts. It *is said* even to live in the high latitudes of Tartary. The freckled skin is much esteemed by military officers; its gall, as well as bones, is

mixed with their food, in order to inspire their souls with tiger-courage. Panthers and bears are occasionally found; the paws of the latter are considered the greatest delicacy one can eat."

This extract contains one of the faults most common in the book; it also occurs in the last quotation, and in both places we have marked it by italics. If as readers, we are expected to put the least faith in the assertions contained in these pages, there should be more stable grounds for credence, than a "seems to be." Take these two instances:— how does the writer know that there is only one variety of dog in the whole empire, or that the tiger is the most frequent of all wild beasts? He has never traveled the length and breadth of the country to verify the former, nor made many investigations to prove the latter; and although both of the assertions may be true, it is more than probable that they are not. It might also be added, by way of emendation, to the assertions in this paragraph, that the Tartarian tiger is a different species from the Bengal animal, with which he evidently confounds it; that the true panther has seldom if ever been found out of Africa; that the "freckled" skin of the tiger is also worn by other classes than military officers; that its gall and bones do not form so frequent an ingredient of their food as his general assertion intimates; and lastly, that a bear's paw is not, even to a Chinese palate, considered the greatest delicacy that can be eaten.

Speaking of monkeys, he says, that the monkeys found in the southern parts of China do not differ from those in the Indian Archipelago, which is a mistake; for the singular proboscis monkey *(Cercopithecus nasicus)* is peculiar to the southwestern parts of China and to Cochinchina. Following this single sentence, which finishes the account of monkeys, occurs a singularly expeditious mode of reasoning, and one too by which the author arrives at a great many of his conclusions. "As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited, venison and fur-bearing animals of every description abound." To our fancy, a truer mode of expressing this syllogism would be as follows, and we venture to fill up the outline:

As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited,

[Therefore nobody knows what is to be found there;

But as something is probably found there, and wild animals as likely as anything else,

Therefore] venison and fur-bearing animals of every description ıd.

ɔy the way, "*venison animals* abounding" (a term we always under-ʻood was applied to the flesh of deer only after death,) reminds one

of the markets of Archangel in winter, where the frozen carcases of cattle, deer, and other animals, are said to be exposed for sale in such positions that the beholder imagines them to be alive. Perhaps the same custom obtains in Tartary.

Passing over the paragraphs on ornithology — which contain but little worthy of the labor of criticising, and wind up with a syllogism precisely similar to the one just quoted, proving that sylvan songsters are scarce in China, because there are "only a small number of trees in the best inhabited districts,"— we proceed to those on fish. Imprimis, we are here told, "that the male of the gold fish is of a beautiful red from the head half down the back, whilst the remaining part is of a golden hue: a silver color is the tint which adorns the females." If the author had inquired of competent persons among the natives, or if he had gone a few rods to Mr. Beale's garden in Macao, from either source he might have learned, that the sexes of the gold fish are of the same color, and that the same fish at different periods of its existence is of a beautiful red, a golden hue, and a silver tint, and that varieties of it are found of a dark brown verging to a black.

"The Shantung sea eel is considered a very great dainty, and much sought after. Here also we meet with the mullet, which abounds likewise on the coast of the Yangtsze keäng. Carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod, are indigenous in the Chinese waters The Chinese do not engage in the whale fishery, nor do whales often visit their coast; herrings are almost unknown.

This extract wears the appearance of knowledge, and deserves a little examination. The author first carries his reader off to Shantung to speak of its eel, which, for aught we know, may be the dainty he describes; he then comes a little farther south, and mentions the mullet: while both of these fish are common in the markets of Canton and Macao. There are four species of mullet, two of surmullet, and five or six kinds of eels known here; why does not Mr. Gutzlaff speak of the near as well as of the remote? Of that which he could have seen in the streets of Macao almost every day, while the productions of Shantung, and the *coast* of the Yangtsze keäng, may not have been seen more than once or twice? We are told, moreover, "that carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod are indigenous, but herrings are almost unknown, in the Chinese waters." While he was writing this book, Mr. G. resided in Macao; and if he had taken the trouble to go into the fish market, he would have seen two or three species of herring, and by continuing his researches a few days, found half a dozen more. We know

that about fourteen well-determined species of *Clupea* occur in the waters about Macao, and that more than as many more species of the same great family are found in this part of China; while we have never seen a cod from Chinese waters, nor a drawing which resembled a cod in Chinese authors. If, by "a species of cod," the garoupa is intended, he should have mentioned it as the rock cod, by which name it is sometimes called by foreigners; but this latter fish is as diverse from the true *Gadus* or cod, as it is from a sole or ray.

After this, the reader is taken down to the shoals of Borneo, and the coasts of Cochinchina, to follow the fishermen from Hainan; and anon he must fly off to Mantchouria to see the pearl oyster. Why does not the author tell us something of the fish under his nose, and describe at least one of the 250 species found in the markets of Canton and Macao? Why does he not speak of the delicate garoupa and pomfret; the Polynemus (or salmon as it is here called); the singular white porpoises found in Lintin bay; the curious, semi-transparent, white rice fish; the sole; the 30 sorts of mackerel; the remarkable Ophiocephalus or "living fish" of the Chinese; the sharks; and the rays? Why does he not? Plainly because he knows nothing about them, and never took the trouble to examine them, but gathers a few random remarks from different sources, most of which, we are certain, it would be nearly impossible for him either to verify or disprove, and thus fills up his book with the semblance of research. It is the same with what follows. "It is very remarkable that there are few species of venomous serpents, scorpions, and centipedes." But, in our humble opinion, it would be still more remarkable to know how the author arrived at this conclusion; for if this part of the country can be taken as an index of the rest, venomous serpents are not at all uncommon in China; centipedes frequently occur, but scorpions rarely.

We will now leave the zoölogy, and proceed on to the botany. "We cannot," says the writer, and the remark is quite indisputable, "give a botanical description of all the plants which are found in this empire. Very many are still entirely unknown to the European botanist; others are scarcely worth notice in a general description of the country." And a little way on: "In the deserts of the dependencies, we must not expect many botanical specimens; but the mountains of Tibet, and the plains of Mantchouria furnish varieties with which the European botanist is entirely unacquainted." And so, we doubt not, would also the centre of New Holland, the gardens of Timbuctoo, and the marshes of Patagonia, furnish many unknown

plants. He is certainly one of the most erratic writers we ever read, and what is odd, he expatiates so frequently upon the productions of countries and places he has never visited. The mountains of Tibet, the remote dependencies, plains of Mantchouria, high latitudes of Tartary, transgangetic regions, well cultivated districts, and a hundred other like places, (which for all authentic information are really nowhere,) are to Mr. Gutzlaff what the island of Serendib was to Sinbad the sailor, a place where was found whatever was curious and rare.

But we pass on. Speaking of the tallow tree, he says,

"The fruit grows in bunches; in form it resembles the berries called priest-cap (?); it is enclosed in a brown capsula, which encloses three kernels, every one of which is coated with tallow, and the kernel contains a great quantity of oil, which is pressed out and used for the lamp. It grows in Keängse, Keängnan, and Chěkeäng, and is one of the most useful trees which the country produces; but the tallow it yields melts very easily, and does not burn so clear as our own. The candles made of it are generally dyed red, or gilded and painted with flowers, so as to serve the double purpose of ornament and usefulness." page 43.

The tallow tree also grows in Macao, and that within a short mile of Mr. G.'s house. If he will, some leisure day, turn to page 439, of vol. V. of the Repository, he will find a fuller description of the tallow tree than we have space here to give. But we suspect that the candles made from it are not *dyed* red, as he asserts: if so, he ought to have mentioned this new dye, and detailed the manipulations of so curious a process as *dyeing a tallow candle.* That the camphor tree of Borneo is a different tree from that which produces the camphor of China, is well known to others, if not to the author; and Chinese paper is mostly made of full grown bamboo stalks and not of the young stunts, nor of the *koo shoo* or paper tree, as he would lead us to suppose. On the 148th page of volume II. he gives a more accurate account of this manufacture, but by the time he had proceeded thus far, he partly forgot what he before said in this place, and the two accounts do not tally in all particulars. The tea plant justly engages a large share of his attention; twenty pages in both volumes are filled with an account of it, in which he has probably given us all the knowledge he possesses upon the subject. He, however begins the description with a singular mistake; "Our botanists seem hitherto only to have discovered two species, and class the shrub amongst the dicotyledons; but the plant has *never* been thoroughly examined"—(we will add,)—by the writer: for from this use of the

word dicotyledons, we might infer that as he is no botanist, (and he says he is not,) he used the word without knowing what it meant. Some parts of the information contained in the twenty pages will be new to most of his readers, although it is mixed with the usual proportion of error, but we think he ought to have confined himself more closely to describing the plant as it exists in China, and not occupied so many paragraphs with the statistics of its consumption in other countries.

"The cassia tree," *(lignea cassia)* he tells us, "grows in Yunnan; ..... the cassia pods are said to be produced by the *cassia fistula;* but it is pretty certain that the *lignea cassia* also bears this fruit." This extract very appropriately succeeds the sentence just preceding it on the 47th page, where the author tells his readers that he is no botanist; for he supposes the words *lignea cassia* (which he perhaps met with in some book he extracted from,) to be the scientific name of the cassia tree, and is desirous to reconcile the confusion he is in with the extracts, by guessing that the *lignea cassia* bears the same fruit as the *Cassia fistula*. We did not know that any one, be he a botanist or not, ever called the pod of a tree its fruit; a little more research would have disclosed the fact, that both these wise-looking words are pharmaceutical names for cassia bark and cassia pods; and that the former is the product of the *Laurus cassia*, and as appears from late investigations, is produced from several other species of Laurus also; while the latter only is the pulpy pod of the *Cathartocarpus fistula* or the *Cassia fistula* of Linnæus. Speaking of Chinese fruits, he says, "they have received undue praise;" and then adds, "in some districts one can walk for miles without seeing a single fruit tree, and an orchard is quite out of the question," though just before, he admitted there were a few orchards. These "some districts" are probably in the "deserts of the dependencies," where some other curious things occur; for, from the piles of oranges, plantains, plums, pears, loquats, leches, and other fruits, which one sees at every corner of the streets in this city, we should infer that fruit trees were no rarities in China, though we cannot certainly say how many trees constitute an orchard, and therefore it may be true that none are found.

Sentence succeeds sentence, and one paragraph follows another, for the most part written in this same vague, rambling, helter-skelter style, amusing the reader with the appearance of knowledge, but leaving him dissatisfied with the book, and weary of the subject. What might be true if a little differently expressed, is thrown into

such a shape as to convey a wrong impression, and sometimes a positive untruth. "The paper tree . . . . . of which *the* Chinese paper is made," is an instance at hand. If it had read, "the paper tree, from which paper is made in China" in small quantities, the reader would not have been misled. "The Chinese are really ingenious in the cultivation of *all* sorts of grain; in *no* branch of industry do they excel so much, nor is *any* occupation so honorable." The ingenuity of a Chinese husbandman is chiefly seen in the various modes he adopts for irrigating his lands, but an observer does not see much ingenuity exhibited in the general routine of agriculture in China; ancient and well understood rules are implicitly observed, the consequences of some of which are good, of others bad; but compared with an English farmer, the Chinese cultivator of "*all* sorts of grain" is slovenly, unscientific, and not at all ingenious. Besides, how can a husbandman be said to excel a weaver, a carpenter, or a workman in any other branch of industry? Or what is it that makes the cultivation of *grain* particularly so much more honorable than of pulse or mulberry, or other branches of agriculture? We are half disposed too to find fault with the array of untranslated Chinese terms, which to an English reader convey not the slightest information, such as le-te-kwan, koo-ko, nan-muh, le-tun-yew, le-tun-shoo, lan-hwa, mow-le-hwa, kwei-hwa, kwan-lan, le-cha-yew, le-pĭh-lă-shoo, &c., for if the author knew the plants intended, he could surely, have given some account of their affinities, and not left his poor reader, ignorant as he is of the Chinese language, in a still deeper maze of doubt and ignorance.

A few miscellaneous extracts will conclude the remarks on the vegetable kingdom. "The *leën hwa* or water lily is not only esteemed as a flower, but the fruit furnishes an excellent meal, similar to our gruel, which is in great request." This excellent meal is a coarse kind of arrowroot made from the dried root, but wherein consists the similarity to "our gruel," we are ignorant. "Among the medical roots peculiar to China, the ginseng deserves, in the estimation of natives, the first rank, whilst among us it has not even obtained a place in the pharmacopœia;" which is an error of our author's, as ginseng is a common tonic in American practice. "It is rather extraordinary that most of the trees [in China] are of a diminutive size, and generally devoid of that rich foliage, which gives to the islands of the Indian archipelago so attractive an appearance." "*Every* ridge of mountains, which can possibly produce the fir, is planted with it; but with the exception of the mountainous districts,

there are few forests in the country; for *every* inch of ground is arable soil." "The simples the Chinese use in medicine are perhaps fifty times the number that have been admitted into our European pharmacopæia; they extend their researches only to useful plants, and seldom condescend to examine *weeds*." How Mr. Gutzlaff attained to such an intimate knowledge of the height of the trees, the productions of *every* ridge of mountains, the extent of arable land,—to say nothing of the extensive swamps in Keängsoo,—and the number of simples used by Chinese doctors, is far more extraordinary than all the other wonderful things he describes.

The section on the mineral kingdom is rather the best of the three, because it is the shortest; and we shall soon be done with it. The author first transports his reader to "the mountainous districts of Kweichow and Yunnan," which he tells us are very rich in mineral treasures; and immediately adds, that as "mining is not encouraged, the greatest treasures are still hidden in the bowels of the earth." "There are gold mines, but no European can point out the place where they are to be found." Truly, our author is endowed with as much knowledge as the ring of King Solomon, which according to Arabian story could disclose mines of rubies and diamonds, for he not only knows what is in the mountainous districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, places he has never visited, but he is also aware of what is there hid beneath the surface. He then carries us all over the empire with the rapidity and superficialness of a will-o'-the-wisp, but is careful *not to tell* of the mineral productions found in the vicinity or in the shops of Canton, where one could examine his wonders He winds up this section, and closes the chapter on natural productions, in his own genuine style, thus: "various other stones, which it is difficult to classify, with excellent granite and quartz, make up the list of the mineral productions."!!

Perhaps some of our readers, who have perused China Opened, will say that we have not taken the best chapter in it for examination; and do not give it a fair chance. It may be so, but no other could be so easily verified; and if we see marks of haste and inaccuracy in those parts we are able to test, the result will serve as an index of the credibility of other parts. It is not necessary to drink a whole cask of wine to know its flavor. A synopsis of the remaining chapters is, however, all we can spend time for at present; but if any one of our readers is disposed critically to examine them, we think he will find that all parts of the book bear indubitable marks of the same carelessness and ignorance. Volume first, from page 55 to 280 is

occupied with the topography of China and its dependencies; for which, (except perhaps some of the maritime parts,) in the present situation of foreigners, he must depend entirely upon authorities, and these often present many discrepancies, to reconcile which and give a well digested account of so large an empire, requires more acumen and knowledge than has fallen to the lot of the compiler of these volumes. His lists of authorities on this subject are placed in the last paragraph of the chapters, and among them "Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty" is quoted three times; we were wondering for some time what book this could be, when it occurred that he referred to two articles, by that name, in the first vol. of the Repository, and this on comparison proved to be the case: it is however, a somewhat singular mode of quotation, especially when the author's name is not attached to the articles in question.

Eighty-three pages are occupied with a sketch of Chinese history, chiefly an abridgment from his former work, succeeded by one hundred upon the language and literature, neither of which require any particular remark; some parts are not so bad as others, some are good, and others are hardly worth printing with such fine materials. Many of the statements, regarding the language, must be received with caution, and all of the surmises, with doubt. To say (page 383 vol. I.), "that one might write a perfectly intelligible treatise in which only the sound E was employed," is affirming more than there are sufficient grounds for believing: as are also the assertions, that "it would be next to impossible to preach sermons [in Chinese] of any length;" or, "that orators in a Chinese parliament would be obliged to print their speeches before delivering them;" or, "that it would be almost impracticable to carry on *intellectual* discourse to any length." Notwithstanding Mr. Gutzlaff's assurance concerning the prevalence of infanticide, and the countenance his authority gives to the common ideas among foreigners of its extent among the Chinese, we doubt very much whether he does not belie the character of the people, and make them to be worse than they are: we have no space here to give the grounds of our belief, nor does the subject admit of statistical demonstration. Infanticide no doubt exists to an extent that must shock every feeling mind, but from the loose way in which authors have stated their observations and opinions, leaving much room for the reader's imagination to fill up the picture, ideas have become current which place Chinese parents in a light, much worse we think than sober investigation would warrant. On this subject, which it is well known has been misrepresented and without much doubt exag-

gerated, Mr. Gutzlaff should have given facts, and the unequivocal testimony of an eye-witness.

Two fifths of the second volume are occupied with the arts and the religions of the Chinese; and as a whole, with all their imperfections, these two chapters are not destitute of information; a little wheat among some chaff, which as elsewhere are with difficulty separated. The remainder of the volume is filled with an account of the government, and is perhaps much the best part of the whole work; the list of provinces and their subdivisions, the table of latitudes and longitudes, and the account of the six tribunals, are valuable for reference. But as two or three articles upon these subjects are already in our fourth volume, from whence we think Mr. Gutzlaff derived much that makes his compilation valuable, we need not stop to examine them

Before dismissing these volumes, we wish to make a few remarks upon them as a whole. Among that class of persons who have had their attention attracted towards China a good deal, by the eclat attending the author, they will probably get many readers, and many of the assertions in them will go far to influence the minds of such persons. Those who possess but few facilities for extending their knowledge of China from other sources, but are desirous to learn a little of what is everywhere talked about, are here presented with a cheap compendium of all that is known, and they too will regard the work as oracular. It comes, moreover, recommended by Dr. Reed, a man not unknown to the English public, and his recommendatory advertisement will no doubt procure it many purchasers But we have half a mind to file a bill against this preface. If Dr Reed is merely a wellwisher of the author, he should content himself with saying how he came by the manuscript, and why it was put into his hands, and there stop. If he wished to recommend it to the British public, as a valuable addition to our previous knowledge of the Chinese empire, he ought to be very well acquainted with the subject in hand, able to form an unbiased, intelligent, opinion of the performance, or else he may commit himself by crying up spurious wares, and thus jeopard his own reputation In our humble opinion, it does little credit to his taste or knowledge to compare the *salmagundi* before us with the careful and systematic work of Davis. Dr Reed appears to think that the omissions he was advised to make in the copy have improved the book, and from what is left, we are inclined to coincide in his opinion; we think, however, that his revisions were strictly speaking mere reductions, since he must have

confined himself to leaving out portions, without correcting what was wrong in the remainder. In either view, we think he has done amiss. If he knows nothing about China personally, he ought not to have undertaken the revision of a work of this nature; if he does, he ought to have been more thorough in his pruning, and made it a perspicuous, correct, and methodical treatise.

We are disposed too to find fault with the unblushing plagiarisms in many parts of the book, and to cavil at the manner of quoting authorities, when it is done. On the 159th page of the second volume, are some remarks upon education, which we have no doubt were drawn from the May number of our fourth volume; on the 161st page of the same volume is another instance; and we have marked several other paragraphs that appear to be taken from the same work. We do not object to an author's using all the helps he can procure in making his book, for it is generally expected; but for the free use here made of the series of papers in the fourth volume of the Repository, by R. I., entitled, "Notices of Modern China," common politeness requires a more explicit acknowledgment than that on the 335th page. Even when Mr. Gutzlaff does acknowledge the sources from whence his paragraphs are drawn, it is done in some instances in such a way as leads his readers to suppose the books named are rather collateral works upon the same subjects, than, as is the case, the sources from whence he obtained much of his *materiel*. For instance; "See Du Halde, 11 vols.; Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty; Timkowski's Travels of the Russian Mission. The latter researches of the members of this mission will doubtless have greatly added to our information about these countries." Indeed, from what Dr. Reed says in his advertisement, he plainly appeared to think that the materials for the work committed to his care were mostly drawn from Chinese sources, and the author's own private notes. Much, if not all, of the forefront of this charge against him, of appropriating the labors of his predecessors, would have been avoided by a short preface from his own pen, stating such of the circumstances attending the compilation of his work, as his readers would naturally wish to know, and which they usually expect. That such a preface was not written, is, we suppose, attributable wholly to the same haste that is so evident in every other part of the work.

The vagueness which marks so many of the sentences as to form a distinctive feature of the work, the confusion of arrangement which characterises their collocation, setting at defiance all rules of perspicuity, and the abundant use of expletives, superlatives, and unmeau-

ing epithets, all combine to confuse the sense, and hinder the reader from obtaining a definite apprehension of the subject. General expressions, very frequently occur, which in their present form are not quite true, but would have been so by a slight modification; and that these slight changes were not made before the manuscript was sent off, we also attribute to the author's haste. We have already noticed one or two instances. On page 399, vol. I., he says, "The Chinese are proud of being in possession of a language which speaks far more distinctly to the eye than to the ear." Did any one ever hear or conceive of a *written* language that could speak to the ear? Is such a thing possible as to put sound on paper? Certainly not; and no man would ever think of saying so in plain terms. But by such expressions as the one here quoted, persons unacquainted with the Chinese language, suppose there is some inherent difference between it and other languages, by which, when written, it conveys its meaning directly to the mind of the reader by the form of the characters.

The complete exhibition of the fallacy contained in this and a few other sentences upon the language would require much more time and space than we can at present afford, but we much doubt if Mr. Gutzlaff's remarks will set the subject in a true light, or help to unravel the "puzzle" (as Mr. Du Ponceau calls it,) of its construction. The Chinese must be great simpletons if this sentence is true: "*everything* beyond the range of sight is difficult to be described by them, and even when represented, it can be scarcely understood." Such sweeping assertions as this in one author, must necessarily be partially or wholly contradicted in another, who views the matter differently; and between the two, it is impossible for uninformed persons to discriminate, and gradually erroneous notions come to be held almost as accepted truths.

With this brief notice we dismiss China Opened. We have tried to find portions of it worthy of commendation, but can only say that some darts are not so bad as others. There is a good deal of authentic information between the lids of the volumes, but it is so mixed up with crude theories, careless expressions, and partial mis-statements, that it requires more than all the knowledge of the learned author himself "to separate the gems from the stones." It is not such a book as Mr. Gutzlaff ought to make, or such an one as the public had reason to expect from a person possessing his advantages.

W.

ART. III. *Notices of the geological formation of the western part of Java.* Extract translated from M. Horner's Report.

"The hills appear partly of volcanic, and partly of sedimentary formation. Naturalists, who have previously made inquiries, state the greatest part of the hills of Java to be of volcanic formation, and that the working of the subterranean power is yet observable. In the western portion of the island visited by me, the mountain masses do not appear to be the formation of any working volcanic power of extinct volcanoes, if the Karang and Pula sari are taken as separate groups of hills.

The volcanic rocks form here the nucleus of the hills. They are what geologists call trachyte, dolerite, and basalt, but the composition varies extremely, so as to puzzle even a practiced geologist. These rocks belong to a relatively newer period, and have been melted and thrown up by subterranean heat. The trachyte is of a more or less fine granular mixture of different substances of a dark gray, dark green, and even dark blue, color, in which glassy felspar abounds in crystals, sometimes 4 or 5 lines in length. This last mineral is a distinguishing mark of trachyte. The masses, with augite or hornblend, also quartz in small crystals, have the appearance of European dolerite. On the gunong Angsana, north of Jasinga, I found olivine, a distinguishing mineral of basalt. The glassy felspar, which is never found in European basalt, is here abundant.

In the beds of most of the rivers, I found rolled pieces of chalcedony, white amethyst, jasper, and agate, also the appearance of amygdaloidal structure near these places. In the gunong Munara, near Rumping, I found a gray trachyte, with many small crystals of glassy felspar, and dark hornblend. To my surprise, I found about a mile north from the foot of gunong Kendang, near the small rivers Kopit and Liman, hornstone and red porphyry, much older than dolerite, trachyte, or basalt.

I also unexpectedly found, in the rivers on the southwest, the Tji Madhur and Tji Ara, boulders of genuine granite of different varieties: the greatest part a fine grained, with new white felspar (qu. albite?), abundance of white quartz, and a small quantity of mica; also much rose-colored felspar, with quartz, and dark green hornblend, with portions of the same having iron pyrites. These boulders are too large and abundant, to admit of the idea that they

were brought thither by the sea; I should rather suppose that they were washed down from adjoining vallies of granite. This granite much resembles the granite of Banca. (Qu. does it also contain tin ore?) The volcanic rocks are covered by a very thick formation of sedimentary rocks.

Throughout my tour, I found generally a formation which owes its origin to a fine, light volcanic ash; also of volcanic conglomerates, and vulcanic tufa. To the west of Jasinga, I found this formation, and followed it up to Ceram and Tangerang, near Batavia.

When at Pandoglan, masses of lava were visible, which in old times came down in streams from the Karang: the tufa then disappears, until you approach Baros. The lava from the Karang is all porous; a sign of its having flowed in open air. The tufa is found under water, a sign that these great volcanic eruptions took place at a period, when this part of the island had assumed its present form and shape. The depth of this formation is sometimes 500 feet, and it generally consists of fine or coarse conglomerate, of white colored, yellow, or gray earthy stuff, mingled with small grains of quartz, and magnetic iron ore: which latter is observable on the highways, glittering in the shape of black iron sand, washed out by the rains. In this formation, I found coal at Bodjo Manic, five miles southeast of Sebak.

From the stratification and composition of the rocks, it seems to me, that this portion of volcanic ash and pumice was formed under water. The thick structure of the volcanic rocks already mentioned, indicates their having cooled under great pressure. For submarine volcanoes throw up quantities of ashes, which spread over a vast extent of country, and form in time mountains of volcanic tufa. That the sea once covered this part of the island, appears from the fossil remains of shells. I found, half a mile south of Jasinga, specimens of the genera Cyprea, Venus, and Donax.

Let us now speak of the lime hills, which are found in different parts of the island. They are of irregular heights, full of clefts, in which the swallows build their famous edible nests. Their color is white or yellow, and sometimes rose color. They are all over covered with traces of marine remains and zoöphytes, to which coral insects they probably owe their origin.

I found a range of sandstone rocks, on the southwest, in the volcanic tufa formation, and on the same coast, there are evident traces of the elevation of hills, not being of old date proved by the fresh rocks found upon them

ART. IV. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; government of Vargas, Cruzalaegui, Cruzat, Zabalburú, Bustamente, marquis of Torre-Campo, &c. (Continued from Vol.* VII., *page* 541.)

THE year after De Leon's death (1678), the very illustrious don Juan de Vargas Hurtado arrived, and assumed the reins of the colonial government. Like many of his predecessors, his first public acts were well-directed and popular. The restoration of ruined edifices, the protection and extension of commerce, &c., afforded him ample and useful occupation. But erelong, the gains of this commerce began to work on the public spirit of the governor, and as this was the very point whereon the citizens were most sensitive, they soon came to ill terms with each other.

We turn aside from the detail of these growing disaffections, to notice a fact or a statement, connected with the conquest of Mindoro. This populous island had been represented to the 'council of the Indies,' as capable of being made a valuable appendage to the colony. By their order, a new effort was now made, and with considerable success, to reduce and civilize it. Its interior was represented by the invading party, as still retaining the aboriginal, negro-population; while on the coasts, men were found of complexions so light, as to induce the supposition, that they were of Chinese or Japanese descent. The statement, we wished to notice is, that one of the Mindoro tribes actually had tails. 'This fact,' says our Augustine authority, 'is so well attested, that I cannot doubt it; though I suppose it to have been an individual singularity, propagated through a race.' This 'singularity,' valuable as it might have been to lord Monboddo, seems to have been a very uncomfortable thing to the parties chiefly concerned. It interfered sadly with their dignity and comfort, when sitting down. Under the care of the Recollect fathers, who were transferred hither by a Dominican intrigue from the province of Zambales, these poor natives were gradually led to put off the works of darkness, and hence, perhaps, it is, that no more is said in the sequel of their tails.

We are again upon a period, when the colonial annals present an unrelieved mass of dissentions; the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, conflicting with each other, and their subalterns contending among themselves The bold reforms of the archbishop Pardo were

the beginning of these troubles, which seem (at least to the reader of the original record,) never to have an end. Information had been laid before him, that the Jesuit order in the colony, were engaged in commerce, contrary to papal decree. One hundred and fifty bales of goods, on board the Santa Rosa, were pointed out to him as the property of the fathers of the Company, and sequestrated by command of the archbishop. The Jesuits, supported by the Audiencia, resisted the ecclesiastical sentence, and for once, the archiepiscopal innovator was obliged to yield. Other occasions of strife did not fail to follow, and at length the prelate's bearing became so irritating to the civil functionaries, that they unanimously agreed to send him into exile. In pursuance of this resolution, the archbishop was arrested in his palace, in March, 1683, and transported to Lingayen. This deportation of the head of the church seeming, to certain of the Dominican clergy, unjust, and they abstaining from any intercourse with its authors, the dominant party turned its resentment upon them also, and sent them after the archbishop. These rash proceedings of Vargas and his associates, were cut short in April, 1684, by the arrival of a new governor, the admiral don Gabriel de Cruzalaegui y Arriola. The archbishop was forthwith recalled, and reëntered his cathedral triumphant. Unhappily, he did not get the victory over his own vindictive feelings, but proceeded without delay to bring his late persecutors to public confession and penance. Most of them submitted, but Vargas found such a load of humiliation laid upon him, that he rebelled, and claimed exemption, under the immunities of his military order. A legal process of extraordinary obstinacy ensued, running through four whole years, and filling twenty large volumes. This period of incessant litigation was further marked by a succession of public disasters. The vessels put back in distress; the harvests failed; and epidemic diseases prevailed extensively.

At length in 1687, a judge arrived from Mexico, commissioned to decide on the matter of Vargas and his associates. These last, however, had already disappeared from the scene, and Vargas went alone into exile. The clerical opponents of the archbishop now felt his severity, and then, the venerable prelate, having tasted the sweets of revenge to the full, departed this life aged 78, in December, 1689.

His superior in the civil administration, the timid and feud-disliking admiral, had deceased some months before; and in the following year, Vargas died also. From the courts, where they had appeared a little while before, as accusers and judges of each other, they were thus transferred in quick succession to the tribunal of infinite justice

The colonial administration had hardly been a year in the hands of Don Alonso de Avila-fuertes, when he was superseded (1690), by don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora. This new governor was a zealous economist, and proceeded, soon after his arrival, to the recovery of large sums due the colonial chest, by various residents. In carrying out his plans of retrenchment, he fell somewhat into the extremes of more modern economists. The pay of the military, for instance, was reduced so low, that at a later day, when one of his successors examined into these matters, it was found that the soldiers often stood sentry — shirtless and barefoot,— a sort of uniform, for his Catholic majesty's service, which was considered rather too much *à la Gongora.*

It was, however, a time when retrenchment became the colony. The last galleon owned in the islands, had just been lost on one of the Marianas. Great exertions were made to build one of extraordinary size, and in nine months she was ready for the voyage to Mexico. A cargo of immense value was laden on the ill-fated vessel, but she had scarcely left the port, when a furious gale drove her on the island of Luban, where she was totally lost, and 400 of the crew perished. A third galleon followed (in 1693), and was never after heard of.

We must here turn back a few years, to notice for a moment the progress of depopulation in the Marianas. As early as 1684, those islands had again become the scene of new excesses. The Spanish force at Guam, was at that time weakened by the absence of a detachment on a campaign of civil and spiritual reduction, among the northern islands. The natives of Guam seized the occasion to revolt, and a large number of the Spanish residents fell under the rude arms of the insurgents, before their comrades returned, to save them from total annihilation. Quiet was again restored, but the colony came very near being the victim of a plot formed by a crew of runaway convicts from Mexico, in 1690. This danger escaped, new troubles arose with the aborigines; for the remedy of which, it was determined to concentrate the native population on the chief island. This policy was henceforth pursued, and the result was, as has been already remarked, that island after island was dispeopled, and the Mariana tribe was reduced to about 4000, collected on Guam and Rota.

The Philippine missions had received a strong reinforcement, of sixty Augustine and thirty-eight Dominican friars, in 1690, but the archiepiscopal chair remained vacant seven years longer. In September, 1697, don Diego Camacho arrived, and assumed the mitre—

a man of kindred spirit with his predecessor Pardo. He early involved himself in difficulties with his clergy, by requiring them to submit to visitations, reëxaminations, &c. The united opposition of the regular clergy rendered his efforts, for the time, ineffectual. So decided were they on this point, that when they had occasion, soon after, to resort to the ecclesiastical tribunals, for protection against a governmental inquiry into the titles by which they held their lands, and the archbishop pledged his aid on condition of their submission to visit; they one and all rejected his assistance. It is not our province to decide on the point at issue between them. It is worth noticing, however, as a matter of fact, that the Catholic missions in China, had been already disturbed again and again by like difficulties. In 1684, and 1688, for instance, almost all the missions there had been thrown into confusion, by decrees requiring the regular clergy to take oaths of subjection to the papal vicars. And now, in the Philippines, when Camacho pressed his demands to extremities, declaring the churches of the recusant clergy vacant, the immediate result was, that the suburban parishes, and a hundred other *pueblos*, were deprived of their parochial teachers. These consequences compelled the archbishop to pause, and after a time, to suffer the deprived clergy to return to their altars. The contest was not, however, ended, though we spare the reader the long details, which fill almost the whole of the 8th volume of our authority. At length, when these dissentions had gone on even to public encounters in the streets, the interference of the governor became more decided, and the whole subject was referred to the decision of his most Catholic majesty. The royal reply of May, 1700, was an unqualified approval of the course of the archbishop, and the audiencia was required to aid him, in enforcing the submission of the regular clergy.

The difficult post of mediator between these contending parties, continued to be held by governor Cruzat, until September, 1700. Don Domingo Zabalburù y Echeverri, who had been named governor six years before, then arrived, and the worthy economist and peacemaker had the double pleasure of resigning his mediatorship, and of handing over a well-filled treasury.

Several years of quiet now intervened, and from such scanty notices as our authority bestows, it may be inferred, that the Philippine commerce was again flourishing. The war between Spain and England does not appear to have affected it much, the only notice taken of it, being the escape of the galleon of 1704, after a sharp contest with an English frigate.

The administration of Zabalburù was now drawing to a natural and quiet close, when unhappily, the celebrated father De Tournon, on his way to China as visitor-general of the papal missions, touched at Manila. He immediately showed his extreme punctiliousness, and the governor, aware probably of the danger of quarreling with churchmen, yielded to his pretensions, although he showed no authority or *exequatur* from the council of the Indies. Not content with this minor triumph, De Tournon proceeded to assume ecclesiastical authority in the Philippines, and even made some alteration in the terms of one of the royal charities.

When the account of these submissions, reluctant as they were, went home to Spain, it drew out a severe censure on the governor and his *oidors*. Zabalburù was deprived of his office, and ordered back to Mexico. The members of the Audiencia were fined and otherwise punished. The archbishop too was made to suffer by a removal to the see of Guadalaxara, and prohibited further correspondence with Manila. It was ordered anew, that no person assuming ecclesiastical authority, be received as such in the colonies, unless he exhibited the royal rescript, and this being refused, his reception was to be confined to a mere discharge of the claims of humanity.

These severe visitations seem to have been provoked by the fact, that De Tournon was a meddling foreigner, and the Spanish court had no mind to brook interference from such a quarter. This jealousy of foreign intervention was clearly shown, in the restoration of the college, with whose rules De Tournon had meddled, to its old foundation, and the strict limitation of its privileges in future to Spanish students.*

After the departure of De Tournon, we are told, "that the commonwealth, afflicted by many and long-continued trials, betook itself to prayer and penitence. After many and general confessions, a real reformation of manners was evident. Under these pious dispositions, Divine Providence consoled the republic with the safe arrival of the galleon, with a great quantity of silver; and further in 1707, with the appearance of a new archbishop Fr F de la Cuesta.†"

* The course of De Tournon, after leaving Manila, belongs to another history, It is sufficient to add, that he carried over to China the same lofty demands, and that the regular clergy there soon became united in opposing him. He next ran foul of the Board of Rites and the emperor Kanghe, by whose decree, he was compelled to retire to Macao, an exile. Roughly treated even by the Portuguese government, he lived on in his place of banishment under many humiliations, and, at length died; an example of the truth, that whosoever exalteth himself, shall be abased.

† Under date of 1706, our authority mentions, in noticing the death of the Jesuit father P. I. Davila, that he was the introducer of the cocoa plant into the

It became the duty of this prelate to put in force the right of visitation, so fully sanctioned by the late appeal to Madrid, but which still lay unexecuted. But De la Cuesta, finding that the opposition of the regular clergy continued unabated, consented to a second reference of the question to court, where, on further deliberation, the archiepiscopal powers received considerable limitations.

The waters of the Pacific Ocean had not yet been sufficiently examined, except in the direct track of the annual galleons, to make it evident, that other valuable islands were not still in reservation. Magellan had seen land south of the Marianas; other later navigators had done the same; and in 1696, two boats with 29 natives on board had been driven on the coast of Samar. The report of these discoveries in reserve reached Europe, and pope Clement XI. was earnest in his recommendations of farther exploring voyages. Philip Vth yielded to these instances, and enjoined the governors of Mexico and the Philippines to proceed in the matter, in connexion with the fathers of the Company. These orders reached Manila just before Zabalburù's recall, and a vessel was immediately dispatched to do the work, but returned unsuccessful. A second arrival of shipwrecked Carolinians now took place, and a second ship was sent out to find the group from which they came, but with no better sucesss than the first expedition.

In the course of the same year (1709), don Martin de Orsua y Arismendi, conde de Lizarrága arrived, with the appointment of governor, and by his order, a third vessel was dispatched in the following September. This ship made the Palaos group in 5 to 7 degrees of south latitude, and held some friendly communications with the natives; but being afterward driven from her position by gales, returned to Manila, leaving two padres on the islands. The report of an actual discovery of a new group led to the preparation of a stronger expedition, but the unfortunate party perished, almost to a man, by shipwreck, in the straits of St. Bernardino. Again, the annual ship to the Marianas was directed to revisit the Palaos, and did actually touch at them in 1712, but the 18 islands sighted on this voyage were of inconsiderable importance. The existence of any extensive land in that quarter was now discredited, since so many costly expeditions had failed to find it. The search was given over, and the only intelligence ever had of the lost padres, was a vague report of their falling victims to the ferocity of the Palaons.

Philippines It still flourishes in the colony, yielding a berry inferior only to that of Soconuzco.

The conde de Lizarrága was a man of most amiable character, and his administration was throughout, unusually popular. A condescending deportment gained him the affections of his countrymen, while his patronage of native industry, especially in checking an excessive immigration from China, endeared him to the people. He died, deeply regretted, in 1715, leaving the administration in the hands of the Audiencia, headed at that time by don Joseph Torralba. This very unfortunate, or very mischievous, person soon contrived to embroil himself in several suits with strong antagonists.. An order came, to reinstate one of the displaced *oidors* of Zabalburù's time, but Torralba refused to fulfill it, and thus exposed himself to an appeal to the council of the Indies. A feud arose between the clergy of Arragonese, and those of Castilian, extraction, and Torralba succeeded in drawing on himself the animosity of the latter party. He had also become deeply implicated in fiscal malpractices, when the arrival of don F. M. de Bustamente y Rueda, in August, 1717, again reduced him to a subordinate position.

This energetic, but ill-fated governor began his course with fiscal reforms, which were equally efficacious in replenishing the public chest, and in making him unpopular.

His attention was early drawn to the value of the island of Paragua (Palawan), as an outwork of the colony. For the protection of the mission already exsting there, and for the complete reduction of the island, he built a fort at Labo near its southern extremity. This post was continued for a few years, and then abandoned by his successor. The old fortress of Zamboangan, too, was rebuilt by Bustamente's order, after 57 years of neglect, and in opposition to the wishes of his advisers. Desirous to mark his administration by further enterprises, Bustamente dispatched an envoy to Siam, in 1718, whose reception is detailed at great length by our Augustine chronicler. From this account, we may extract, for amusement's sake the question, so often asked by eastern princes, in later times, "whether the letters of the envoy were from the king of Spain, or from the governor of the colony." If we record, furthermore, that on the presentation of these letters, the Jesuit college struck its bells, and the Dutch factory saluted and showed its colors, it is not for the sake of the ceremony, but to notice the fact, that there was then such a factory and college at the Siamese capital. The fruits of this mission were, a commercial treaty, a plat of ground for a factory, the privilege of building ships in the Meinam, mutual exemption from port-charges, &c. The advantages thus gained appear to have been

ill kept, for we are told, that a Siamese junk, visiting Manila the following year, was so ill received, as to destroy the confidence reposed on their part, in the whole treaty.

Orders now came from Madrid for the apprehension and trial of Torralba. He was accordingly committed on charges of mal-administration, amounting to $600,000 or $700,000. His acts as governor *ad interim*, were annulled; his goods sequestrated; and he himself confined at Cavité.

A singular train of circumstances was now operating to undermine the authority, and shorten the life of Bustamente. The annual galleon (of 1716), was just being dispatched for Mexico, and along with a valuable cargo, she bore a laudatory memorial of their governor's acts, from the city and citizens of Manila. As she slowly left the bay, a suspicion crossed Bustamente's mind, that she was lingering for dispatches of an opposite tenor. He hastily ordered the captain on shore, and the angry crew threw the unwelcome messenger overboard. Suspicion now became proof; the vessel was pursued and brought back: her captain displaced; and the command given to another.

It so happened, that, at this time, the imprisonment of Torralba, and other circumstances had almost annihilated the Audiencia, thus placing the sole authority in the hands of the governor. At this moment, a conspiracy (involving the friends of the displaced captain and other chief citizens,) was reported to be in existence, and Bustamente, in an evil hour, taking counsel from Torralba, resolved on crushing the supposed conspirators. The accused individuals fled for refuge to the churches and convents, and from these asyla, the archbishop was called upon to dislodge them. The prelate questioned the validity of orders, emanating from the governor, unsupported by the Audiencia. His scruples on this head having been referred to the universities, and sustained by them, were submitted to the governor. The reference only added to Bustamente's exasperation; he demanded a full retractation; and charged the consequences of the alledged conspiracy on the prelate and his advisers. Following up his harsh resolves, the governor called the citizens to arms, pointed the guns on the walls of the city, and gave the signal for firing on the people.

The archbishop, on his side, buckling on his spiritual weapons, excommunicated Torralba, as the secret foe of the clergy; whereupon he was arrested and confined, with several of his party. Bustamente had now united both clergy and people against him, and

when his call to arms came, they assembled, but not to support him. Alarmed by the defection, the governor ordered the artillery to be fired on the gathering masses, and it was only because the aim was bad, that they escaped with slight injury. The crowds pressed on to the palace; the guards fled; and the governor was left to a single-handed encounter. Disdaining accommodation, he threw himself upon his assailants, wounding the nearest with his sabre; but the contest was short; he was cut down, and his son, a gallant young officer, rushing to his father's rescue, fell beside him. The exasperated mob wreaked their vengeance on the dying men, dragging them through the streets, and covering them with filth and ignominy Torralba, and the other advisers of the governor were now in turn thrown into prison, and the archbishop and his fellow-sufferers set at liberty. The prelate was further hailed as the chief of the popular party, conducted to the now vacant palace, and entreated to take the administration of the government. His clerical friends, to whom he referred the question, united in pressing his acceptance. Yielding to their arguments—the danger of the colony, the broken condition of the Audiencia, his power to restore order, &c.,—he besought their prayers, and support, and assumed the office. An Audiencia *ad interim* was reconstructed; quiet restored; and the prelate, turning from these civil cares, ordained a solemn funeral for the dead —the victims of popular fury. In illustration of the "lucid pomp" of these ceremonials, our author adds, that 7½ quintals of wax were consumed in candles. Provision was also made for sending to Mexico, the family of the deceased, consisting of six orphan children.

It now appeared that unfavorable representations of Bustamente's acts, had long before gone to Madrid, for royal orders now came, directing, that the old Audiencia be restored, and in case of the governor's evasion of these commands, requiring the archbishop to supersede him. This almost prophetic provision arrived after its own fulfillment, so far as concerned the suspended officers; but it had all its intended weight, in quieting men's minds, and confirming the archbishop's authority. Thus supported, the prelate, by a decree of October 19th, (1719), eight days after Bustamente's death, instituted a solemn inquiry into the causes and manner of that tragedy. In the course of the trial, it was deposed by seventeen witnesses, that the vexatious proceedings of the deceased; his imprisonment of various citizens, lay and clerical; his declared designs, driving many others to the asyla of the altars; his call to arms; and lastly, his attack on the foremost of the crowd; were the causes of the fatal casualty

One or two went farther, and justified the act, as necessary to the general safety. Torralba outwent them all, charging his murdered friend with avarice, oppression, and inhumanity; and finding a divine intervention in his sudden removal. These depositions were full as to the circumstances of the day, but when the inquiry came to turn upon the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, and the authors of the bloody acts, not a single witness could testify to their identity. The investigation closed; the evidences were transmitted to the council of the Indies; and the people of Manila consoled themselves, while waiting for the consequences, with the persuasion, that they had been "the executors of divine and human justice."

When the news of this event reached Mexico, the representative of Bustamente in that country presented himself before the viceroy, and demanded the arrest of several persons, lately arrived in the galleon, as participators in the death of his kinsman. They were accordingly arrested, but it being decided, that the Mexican courts had no jurisdiction in the case, the accuser and the accused were remanded to Manila together, there to take their place in the trial before the marques de Torre-Campo, the new governor.

This nobleman had been called to the office on the receipt of the news of Bustamente's death at Madrid, in 1720. He reached his post, the following August. The archbishop gave way to the new officer, and submitted also to the royal comment on his own share in the late proceedings, conveyed in orders to exchange his chair for a see in Mexico. He survived the voyage, but expired in a little more than a month after entering his new cathedral.

Several matters of pressing importance engaged Torre-Campo's attention on his arrival, and for a time, diverted him from the discharge of his special commission, to inquire into the death of his predecessor. The piratical states on the south were extending their depredations, and the marques was not at first very successful in his efforts to check their atrocious visitations. A mass of legal processes, and other unfinished business was also on the hands of the law-officers, and before this was disposed of, a further difficulty was started. The royal order of inquiry had been based on unofficial information, and it was held, that no steps should be taken, till the receipt of further instructions. The marques entertained the doubt, and submitted the knotty point to his confessor. The Franciscan father (he should have been a Jesuit) argued it with admirable ingenuity, and finally decided, that the inquiry ought not to be pressed, until new reference was made to his majesty.

In 1724, further orders came, requiring the investigation, and again the marques repaired to his ingenious confessor. The padre found in this second rescript, "a most elegant proof," that he was quite right in his previous argument. If the first order *had* been sufficient, why this second. But this second rescript was dated *previously* to the receipt of the representation made by the marques, and hence it is evident that a *third* must be coming, and should be expected. A multitude of reasons concurred to demand delay, and the matter being submitted to two Jesuit fathers also, they on other grounds, decided against immediate investigation. The marques yielded to these able casuists, and the inquiry was suspended. It does not appear, that the question of guilt or innocence was ever decided. Years passed by; the actors in the tragic scene disappeared from the stage; and the whole transaction was suffered to sink into oblivion. Among the latest survivors, was the much-to-be-blamed, or much-to-be-pitied, Torralba. Heavily fined by the court for his doings as acting governor; transferred and re-transferred from prisons at Cavité to prisons at Manila, he lived on in wretchedness till 1736; owing his subsistence in his last years, and his burial after death, to the hand of charity.

We here arrive at the close of the second century of Spanish intercourse with Eastern Asia. The notices we have extracted are far from conveying what we most desired to exhibit, the steps by which the Spanish power was extended over the islands from the Bashees to Basilan; and still more the process, by which 3,500,000 men of Malayan origin and habits were brought to a comparatively high point of civilization, and to a zealous attachment to the church of Rome. These successive steps, our authorities do not supply, and we cannot go beyond them. The reader must therefore imagine, that, while we have been detailing the succession of colonial rulers, the fate of expeditions, the bitter results of controversy, or the ravages of the mob or the earthquake; the work of conquest and civilization had been going on slowly but surely. The Spanish soldier and the Catholic father have been co-workers together. The latter especially, with all his imperfections as a moral and religious guide, has been rearing, the while, in his remote parish, the church and the altar; spanning the neighboring rivulet with its arch of stone; introducing articles of comfort and sale; superseding the native character by the Roman letter; training the voices of Bisayan or Tagalo children to the music of Spain and Italy: standing, as does all this, between the restive subject and his subduer, a constant mediator and pro-

tector. Making his home in remote hamlets, unknown to us even by name, he has toiled on in the cause of civilization, forgotten and alone. The detail of his labors is already lost, but the results remain. They are honorable to their author; and as we contemplate them, our only grief is, that a vicious influence went with him to deprive him of the best instrument ever wielded by human hands, for the uses of philanthropy. Had the Catholic missionary been permitted and required to carry with him the HOLY SCRIPTURES, his track would not have been marked merely by the bestowal of present and temporal benefits. His civilization would not have stopped at the mean point, at which it is now nearly stationary in the Philippines. His influence would have gathered new strength with every exercise; the impulse given to the native mind would have become a permanent, self-sustaining power; and they who imparted it would have been permitted, ere this, to rejoice over a whole people, raised from idolatrous barbarism to high refinement, and pure piety.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences. Seizure of opium; indemnity for that surrendered; renewed operations in the traffic; detention of Chinese officers on board a foreign ship at Hongkong.*

THE reports of seizures of opium in the provinces continue still numerous. An officer at court has brought it to the notice of the emperor, that while all classes, from princes and high officers down to the lowest of the people, afford parties guilty of smoking or of dealing in opium, not a single individual of the police has ever been found guilty; and asks the pertinent question, whether the police are a better class of men than all others, or if the cause be the negligence of the officers who keep the police in exercise, but never trouble themselves to look after their conduct.

The claim of indemnity for the opium recently surrendered to the chief superintendent of British trade is denied by many in the Straits, and in India. A writer, under the signature of Nomen, in the Hurkaru, ably, and we think justly, maintains the *claim on the British government.*

There are rumors—no doubt true—of renewed operations in the drug, by vessels on the coast and elsewhere. "We trust the controlers of these will not hoist any flag belonging to civilized nations." *(Canton Register.)* And, "we hope the visits of opium-clippers to the coast will soon cease altogether." *(Canton Press.)* It is melancholy to think that men will persist in such a traffic. They may evade human laws, and escape "condign punishment;" but there is a *conscience* in man, and a *just God* in heaven.

Recently a comprador, belonging to one of the ships at Hongkong, was seized by the authorities there; in consequence of which some Chinese officers were taken by the commander of the vessel and detained. The arrival of capt. Elliot, secured their immediate liberation. Further particulars we know not.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—JULY, 1839.—No. 3.

ART. I. *Remarks on the question of indemnity for the opium surrendered to the chief superintendent of British trade for the service of her majesty's government.* By Nomen. In a letter to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru

SIR,—I have read with some surprise the arguments which have been advanced by you and your cotemporary of the Englishman, regarding the asserted right of the British government, to repudiate the pledge given to the opium holders by her majesty's representative at Canton. The question is important on both public and private grounds, and I propose to discuss it, as one involving the relative duties of the sovereign and the subject, so far as the government and the opium dealers are concerned, and as one of national right, as relates to the question of indemnity between the countries.

I shall commence by endeavoring to meet a difficulty, to which you have alluded, though you state that you are not prepared to go the whole length of the party by whom the objection will be urged; that objection is to the opium trade itself, "from its deteriorating effect on the moral character of the consumers," and a consequent want of sympathy for the losses of those by whom it was conducted. The poets feigned a golden and silver age, but there is no fiction in describing this as the age of cant and humbug, as an age in which many thrive "who make piety a profit, and godliness a great gain;" whose cry is loud, if clamor avail their interest; but who blench from all attempts by which rank or riches are likely to have their pleasure or profits impaired. Numbers will be found to anathema-

tize our Calcutta merchants for the crime of purchasing opium, manufactured by their own government, and selling it to the Chinese, with the notorious connivance of the provincial authorities at Canton. The walls of St. Stephen shall ring with the epithets, smuggler and poisoner, applied to men who have assisted the government in reaping an enormous revenue. The legislature shall be called on to place these men out of the pale of protection, for trading in an article supplied to them by this government for the very purpose of that trade; yet what shall rouse that sanctified legislature into ire against the hells called clubs, the gin-shops called palaces, the brothels called saloons, all of which exist in our moral evangelical England? Legislative enactment touches them not, for they administer to the pleasures, or enhance the profits of those classes, to whom rank gives influence, or who by wealth have acquired power.

I feel assured that it is from this species of cant, the claims of the opium dealers are most likely to suffer, while it must be difficult to stem it, fostered and augmented as it will be by the British and Indian governments, who will allege the unworthiness of the objects, as the excuse for withholding the compensation. If this manœuvre be resorted to, it should be met by a firm and clear exposition of the merits of the case, and the relative position of the parties.

It can be shown from the 30th, 31st, and 32d sections of the late Indian act, 3d and 4th, Will. IVth, c. 85, that the Board of Control have the fullest knowledge of and power over all the acts and regulations of the Court of Directors and Indian government, and, therefore, the Board is fixed with having sanctioned whatever it permits to remain unrepealed. This responsibility also extends to the queen's government, for a cabinet minister presides at the head of the Board. The parliament have likewise similar controling powers and means of knowledge, for by the 51st section, their right is preserved to legislate for India, and all the laws and regulations which may be enacted in this country are directed to be laid on their table.

This, sir, establishes sufficiently for my argument, that species of direct privity, subsisting between the British parliament, the English cabinet, and the Indian governments, that if the latter could not reject a claim by an opium trader, the two former would be equally precluded from putting forward a similar objection. The position of the parties is this, the Indian government have created, and supplied the trade and profited by it, the parliament and cabinet have given it their sanction, the trader has been merely the person employed, and through whose exertions the immense revenue has been obtained.

Under this state of facts, looking at the question in a moral and legal point of view, I broadly lay down, that the parliament, the cabinet, and the Indian government are, by every principle of justice, stopped from objecting to the claims of the opium merchant, on the ground of the illegality of the trade. Viewing it as a moral question, I ask, would it excite anything but laughter, should we hear a man, who had supplied a highwayman with weapons, charging him 400 per cent. above their value, proceed to edify the thief with a lecture on the crime of robbery, which he was enabling him to commit; but as a legal question, what is in the traffic, contrary to English law which could prevent the Company from suing or from being sued for transactions, which might arise out of the trade.

If this clears away the objection which I have classed under the head of cant and humbug, I come next to the question of the relative duties of the sovereign and the subject, as applicable to this case.

The whole point turns on the proclamation of Mr. Elliot, his right to make it, and the necessity of obeying it. The 3d and 4th, Will. IVth, c. 93, sec. 5 enact, "that it is expedient for the objects of trade and amicable intercourse with the dominions of the emperor of China, that provision be made for the establishment of British authority in the said dominions;" and it proceeds to authorize the appointment of superintendents of the trade of his majesty's subjects. The 6th section enables the king "to give to the superintendent powers, and authorities, over, and in respect of, the trade and commerce of his majesty's subjects, within any part of the said dominions, and to make and issue regulations, touching the said trade and commerce, and for the government of his majesty's subjects within the said dominions, and to impose penalties, forfeitures, and imprisonments for the breach of any such directions or regulations." Here by the statute, captain Elliot had full power to issue the order which he did, and to enforce obedience to it. But the common law will carry the matter much further. The act confers on the superintendents a power of issuing proclamations in particular cases, and therefore the whole law as to proclamations in England will be applicable to British subjects in China. The statute 1st Edward VIth, c. 12, repealed the infamous act of 31st, Henry VIIIth, c. 8, declaring that the king's proclamations shall have the force of acts of parliament, and therefore the motion stands, that the king cannot create an offense which was not an offense before; *ibi non est lex, ibi non est transgressio.* (12 Coke 75.) But, says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "though the making of laws is entirely the work of a distinct part of the legislative branch

of the sovereign power, yet the manner, time, and circumstances of putting those laws in execution, must frequently be left to the discretion of the executive magistrate. And therefore his constitutions and edicts concerning these points, which we call proclamations, are binding upon the subject, where they do not either contradict the old laws, or tend to establish new ones, but only enforce the execution of such laws as are already in being, in such manner as the king shall judge necessary." (1 Com. 270.) This is precisely the present case. The law in being was, that the superintendent might issue directions and regulations touching the trade, and for the government of her majesty's subjects. This is what he has done; to obey was the duty of the subject; to have disobeyed, would have been to incur a penalty. The right to order, the injunction to obey, are distinctly defined; if there be error of judgment (no matter how gross) in the order given, the consequences must fall on those who conferred upon an incompetent person, the power to make orders, but not upon those who under penalties were enjoined to obey. There can be no doubt that, under the authority of this act, and his commission, Mr. Elliot might have forbid the opium trade altogether and imposed penalties upon and imprisoned those who disobeyed his order, but as he could only act according to English law, he could not confiscate the opium, which had been previously brought to China, without any breach of English law. He considered it necessary for public purposes, that it should be given up to him. As the queen's representative, and under the authority with which he was vested, he made his requisition, the holders of the opium acknowledged his authority, and surrendered their property on the terms proposed by himself; how can it then be said that the government are not bound by his acts? If he possessed the power, which I contend he did, under the words of the statute, the only possible objection which could be raised is to the improvidence of the act, but no such doctrine has ever been broached either in politics or law, that a principal can annul the engagements made for him by a fully authorized agent, under the pretext that his interests have been injured. I am not attempting to argue either for or against the expediency, of the superintendent's measures. I deny that their folly or wisdom have anything to do with this question; it is not a question between the envoy and the sovereign, it is a question between the sovereign and the subject: she has enjoined obedience to her envoy's orders, that obedience has been shown, and her order that he should be obeyed will be just as binding on her to complete the terms of his agreement, as a man would be bound to pay

his tradesman for goods, which he had directed him to supply according to his steward's order.

It has, however, been urged that, supposing all this to be true, the command to deliver the opium is invalid, because it was given under duress. The constraint to which this term is applied, is of two kinds; the duress *per minas* or fear of loss of life or limb, or the illegal restraint of liberty. But in both cases, there must be a reasonable ground of fear, *non suspicio cujus libet rari et meticulosi, sed talis qui possit cadere in virum constantem; talis enim depotesse metus qui in se contineat vitæ periculum, aut corporis cruciatum.* Before, therefore, the queen's government can avail themselves of this excuse, it must be clearly proved, that Mr. Elliot was in that situation, which would have induced any firm man to believe, that he could only preserve his life, limbs, or liberty, by consenting to the delivery of the opium. It must also be remembered, that the duress of third parties, unless they be husband, wife, parent, or child, forms no excuse, and this was determined in the case of Hanscombe and Standing in the reign of James the Ist. But all the cases, in which duress has been held to put an end to an engagement, have arisen between the part guilty of the act of violence, and the party on whom it was committed, and depending, therefore, on the acknowledged principle, that no man shall profit by his own wrong. The present, however, is a case of third parties, and if there was duress, these third parties have sacrificed their property for the preservation of another. The more imminent the danger, the greater was the service, and the more meritorious the act, the less is the excuse for setting up such a defense But if there was no danger, then was there no duress, and this species of defense altogether fails. Let us suppose a man seized by an Italian bandit, and carried into the mountains, from whence he writes to a banker in the next city, stating, that if he would give ten thousand scudi to the bearer, it would save the writer's throat from being cut, and that as soon as he had regained has liberty the money should be repaid; let us suppose the banker admitting to the messenger, that he was well aware of the captive's ability to repay him, but that he would not send the money to relieve the captive from his danger, merely because he was in danger, and therefore in duress — let us suppose the throat of the captive cut, and the most eminent counsel being of opinion, that the banker's law was right, what, I ask, would be the opinion of the world of that banker's conduct, and where is the man who will name the prize, for which he would endure the banker's feelings. I ask you, Mr. Editor, what your own

feelings would have been, if you had received that requisition and solemn pledge from Mr. Elliot, if you had sent him for answer: Sir, you are in duress, and I cannot therefore legally part with a ball of opium to relieve you — and the next morning you had heard that he and a hundred Europeans had been strangled at the stake? I believe that you would have thought your property well lost had it been given to save their lives. But I have as yet only stated one side, and that not the strong side of the question. I have only put the case of the banker or the opium dealer, withholding their property to save life; let me now put the real case; let us suppose the banker pays the ten thousand scudi, the captive's life is saved, his liberty is restored to him, and when asked to repay the money by which his existence has been redeemed, he replies by stating, duress I was under, and will not pay. I know not the country in which the law prevails by which such a plea would be supported, and I trust I may never know the man who would not pronounce such a defense a piece of measureless villainy. I admit, Sir, that in the present instance, it is not captain Elliot who will refuse to pay, but only the state who employs him; but the morality is the same — if there was duress, if there was danger, then have individuals depending on the pledge of a British official, sacrificed their property to save the life of that official, and the lives of a number of British citizens, and the country should redeem the pledge on which that sacrifice of property was made. But if there was no duress, the question returns to the simple point, that the authorized agent of the country has issued an order, which he was competent to issue, and which order every British subject was bound to obey.

The last point, which is the right of England to demand reparation from China, hardly requires an observation. But the demand must not be limited to mere apology for the insult offered to our representative. The mordacious mandarins may be easily frightened into such a concession, and will as easily keep the emperor and the people in utter ignorance of their submission. The only effectual and notorious reparation will be to exact from them the full value of the property of which they possessed themselves by a breach of all national law, and by committing a national insult: as long as they can keep that, they will never believe that they have made any reparation for their conduct, or that they ought to have the least respect for your power; nay, so far from it, they will heartily despise the folly which may induce you to put up with the loss of your money, and accept in its stead the untruths which the mandarins may coin.

I admit that the Chinese were fully entitled to seize any smuggled goods wherever they could find them, and, if the laws of their country authorized it, to inflict even the punishment of death on the detected smuggler. But this is distinct from the question of imprisoning the official representative of the British empire, and threatening his life when he had been guilty of no offense; and if some letters are correct, even this is nothing to the outrages perpetrated on the person of the second superintendent, Mr. Johnston. The barbarian poltroons had not the courage to attack the vessels at Lintin, and, therefore, they seized helpless individuals, and are guilty of a personal outrage and national insult to achieve an act, which they had a right to perform, but which they had not courage to attempt. I feel convinced that the whole of this violence has been occasioned by the commendable policy of Mr. Elliot in disclaiming the opium trade, and endeavoring to suppress it. The moment they saw it abandoned by the ruling authority, they feared that authority no longer, and they attributed his measures to pusillanimity Impressed with the notion that he was afraid of them, and knowing he was the first man there, it became a matter of policy to seize his person and threaten his life.

It is puerile in the extreme not to accommodate yourself to the people with whom you have to deal. Who would give a lecture to a mechanic's institution in the language in which he would write a paper for a royal or antiquarian society, or address to a country vestry the arguments he would employ in a congress? How vain would it be to point out to the Chinese, that they had sinned against Vattel, Bynkershock, and Wicquefort; that even the admirable works of Story and Wheaton, though both American republicans, would unqualifiedly condemn them; it would be absurd to reason with men who are not sufficiently advanced in civilization to reason with you; you must meet them on their own ground. They understand no national rights, to them it is a science unknown; but they do understand how to bully, and therefore, when they seize your national representative and a hundred of your citizens, and threaten to strangle them, unless they compel others, to give up two millions of property, you should canopy Canton with your congreves and shrapnells, until the last pice of the plunder is disgorged. If this be not done, look well to your Indian possessions, those which are separated from them by Burmah and Nípál, will be the first to feel the effects of your policy. These states have been long disposed for resistance, and if Canton does not turn or pay tribute, the impunity which it

enjoys may encourage the Nipalese from the north, and the Burmese, from the south, to impose that fate on the metropolis of British India. *From the Canton Register.*

Such are the views of the able correspondent of the Hurkaru. His remarks on cant and humbug may be passed by in silence. In the main position, advocated in his letter, we readily concur. To us the traffic has ever seemed full of the worst of evils; and it has been with wonder and sorrow that we have seen honorable men embarked in it. Yet these persons are merely junior partners in the great undertaking; for, as Nomen declares, "the Indian government have created, and supplied the trade, and profited by it; the parliament and cabinet have given it their sanction; the traders have been merely the persons employed, and through whose exertions the immense revenue has been obtained." Accordingly it seems unfair that the latter should alone sustain the loss. If their claim be paid — to the full cost of the drug as it lay on their hands when they made the surrender,— their loss will still be great; if it be not paid, many, we fear, must be ruined. Why not then divide the loss, and let a generous government act as it did on the great question of the West Indian slavery?

In the course of his letter, Nomen touches some points, which deserve the most careful consideration; but in the present state of strongly excited feeling, pervading the foreign community, we hesitate to enter on a discussion of them, lest we should be found to deviate from a course of strict impartiality, which as faithful chroniclers we wish to maintain. We leave them therefore, not without the hope they may be taken up by other and abler pens.

ART. II. *Seamen's Friend Association in China. Quarterly report, &c. Communicated by the secretary of the Association.*

THE late day in January, at which the Association was organized, and its circulars prepared and issued, confine the present report to the short period, intervening between the Chinese new year, February 12th, and the suspension of communication with the fleet on the 22d of March. Within this period, returns were received from sixteen ships, nine of which were American and seven English, the results of which we lay before the public.

There were on board 7 English ships, (including 1 country ship)	}	252 sailors.
On board 7 American vessels		168
	Total	420

Of this number, 262 were Europeans, 95 were Americans, 58 were Asiatics, and 5 Africans. Of the whole, 96 persons were under twenty years old, 226 were between the ages of twenty and thirty, 78 were between thirty and forty, and 20 were over forty years. The years of sea-service are not always given. The extremes in ten ships are six and fifteen years, and the average about ten years.

In giving the number of readers, the returns show that the same individuals are in some cases twice counted, as reading two or more languages. The information is, however, still valuable. The numbers are as follows: There were readers of the English language 329, French 18, Dutch 15, Spanish 4, Portuguese 7, Italian 4, Danish 9, Swedish 17, and in Asiatic languages 47. The number of persons who can write is 302. The number who have a Bible is 170, and those in possession of only a Testament amount to 48 persons.

None of the crews are entirely without other books, but the number of owners seems small. Not one of the American ships, and but three of the British ships, carry a surgeon. Spirits are given on board the British ships, with one exception; but all the American ships are navigated without them. In these vessels, tea and coffee are supplied to the crews, but no commutation in money is paid to the seamen.

Divine service is performed on board of five ships only. The crews of all these are reported as generally attending. To the inquiries of the committee, if the services of a chaplain in port would be agreeable, the replies of thirteen masters are a cheerful affirmative. One regards it as incumbent on the commander, one declines, and one is silent. Four ships only have libraries for the express use of the seamen. There are in special cases, small collections of select books put on board by Seamen's Friend societies.

Several ships, however, have "many books" at the service of the seamen. Five only of these seamen are known by their commanders to have deposits in saving's banks, though "several" are connected with Seamen's Friend societies.

These are the general results of the earliest inquiries made under the auspices of the Association. It would be premature to press them to conclusions. The committee hope that the circulars will be more and more generally responded to by commanders, and that the statistics thus collected will soon be complete enough to admit of their being submitted to the societies established elsewhere in behalf of seamen, as a sufficient title to a share in their sympathies, and in their benevolent appropriations.

ART. III. *Correspondence between the British merchants and captain Elliot, concerning a scale of demurrage.*

THE following correspondence between the committee appointed at the general meeting of British merchants, June 17th, 1839, and capt. Elliot, was in pursuance of the second resolution passed at that meeting, as reported on page 65. Its insertion is necessary in order to complete our account of the arrangements respecting the British ships while detained at the outer anchorages.

Captain Charles Elliot,

Chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China.

Sir,—With reference to the interview of the committee, appointed at the public meeting held at Messrs. Den t& Co.'s office on 12th and 17th of June, with you, on the 8th instant, I am now directed to hand you the inclosed copy of the notes of a meeting of that committee, with a proposed scale of demurrage for ships now lying in the outer anchorages. I am particularly to call to your attention that the committee do not profess, in the absence of legal decisions on strictly analogous cases, to determine on what parties any claim for demurrage may eventually fall, the point being one which it may be necessary to determine in the English courts of law, unless the British government should, by admitting in the first instance, the validity of the claim on them, render any such reference unnecessary. In regard to such ships as may be partially loaded, and be desirous of transhipping their goods to other vessels, it appears to the committee that such transhipment could only be made, on the government, or you as their representative, taking the responsibility of insurance, inasmuch as the owners and consignees of goods at present hold the underwriters liable under the original policies of insurance, and cannot be expected to perform any act, which would release them from that liability, without some other equally effectual security. The committee are clearly of opinion that as the ultimate incidence of the payment for demurrage must be left for adjustment by the British government, or courts of law, the consignees of goods here cannot be expected to make any payment on that account, and as goods cannot be detained except for freight, the captain and consignees of vessels should sue for their demurrage in England, under protests to be made and recorded here. In cases of transhipment, the consignees of

goods, the committee apprehend, will hold the ships liable for eventual due delivery of the cargo under the original bills of lading; and transhipment would therefore be most properly made the subject of arrangement between the captain and consignees of the ships bringing the goods, and those of the vessels to which they may be transferred. And with this view, the committee consider that, should, under special circumstances, such transhipment become necessary, the hiring of the requisite store-ships would rest with her majesty's superintendent; who could best decide on the necessity of that measure, with reference to the particular merits of each individual case. Should you have any suggestions or observations to make with reference to the enclosed paper, or the remarks connected with it, I shall be happy to receive and communicate them to the committee.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE,

Macao, 10th July, 1829. Chairman.

Notes of an adjourned meeting of the committee appointed at the public meeting held at Messrs. Dent and Co.'s office on the 17th June. Present:—W. Dent, A. C. Maclean, D. Rustomjee, C. Kerr, A. Jardine, G. Smith, and G. T. Braine—Chairman.

1. In accordance with a suggestion made by captain Elliot in a personal interview, the committee consider it desirable to frame a scale of demurrage for goods on board ships now lying at the outer anchorages.

2. At the same time the committee deem it proper to record their opinion that in the absence of any decided cases of strictly analogous character to the present position of matters in China, they are not competent to form any conclusion as to whether the ships have a valid claim for demurrage, and if demurrage be actually due, on whom such claim may equitably fall; the object of forming the proposed scale being merely to establish uniformity of practice in respect to the rate of charge. The committee consider it desirable to divide the vessels for Whampoa into three classes.

1st class, above 600 tons register;
2d class, from 350 to 600 tons register;
3d class, under 350 ,, ,,

3. The committee are of opinion that demurrage, if due, might fairly, under the circumstances, commence one month after arrival in Macao roads, or Hongkong; but in no case to begin until one month after the date of captain Elliot's public notice of March 23d, 1839.

4. The committee have thought it desirable to propose the fol-

lowing scale as a reasonable claim for demurrage *on the part of the owners of the ships.*

1. *Ships from India.* Rate of charge per month on cotton

1st class ships, 50 cents per bale of 300 lbs.

2d do. 60 „ „ „ „

3d do. 75 „ „ „ „

Sandal wood and fishmaws, 20 cents per pecul in all ships.

Saltpetre, betel nut, pepper, tin, and any other Indian produce, not enumerated, 10 cents per pecul in all ships.

2. *Ships from England.*

Measurement goods, $2½ per ton of 50 cubic feet. Metals and other dead weight, $1 per ton of 20 cwt.

(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE, Chairman.

To G. T. Braine, Esq.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 10th instant, and I beg you to convey to the committee my thanks for the assistance they have afforded me on this occasion.

My own opinion is concurrent with theirs, that the determination of the parties, upon whom any charge for demurrage should eventually fall, must be left to the decision of the courts in England.

Respecting ships partially unloaded, and which it may be desired to discharge, I am ready, for convenience sake, to undertake the public responsibility of insurance of any goods or produce (not contraband in the country) transhipped for safe deposit into British bottoms: upon an understanding, however, that the charge should devolve upon the shippers, if it should hereafter be legally determined that the master, under all the circumstances of the case, would have been justified in making such deposit, at the risk of the merchant.

I agree with the committee that as the ultimate incidence of the payment for demurrage must be determined in England, it is not reasonable that any payment should be made here on that account. It is likewise my impression that the terms of transhipment should most properly be left for arrangement between the masters and consignees of the carrying ships, and those of the vessels to which they may be transferred.

The opinion of the committee, concerning transhipment at all, expressed in the last paragraph of your letter, is coincident with my own.

I have the honor to remain, Sir, &c.

Macao, July 15th, 1839. CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief superintendent of British trade, &c.

ART. IV. *Edict of the king of Siam against the introduction and sale of opium within his dominions.*

[We republish the following Siamese state paper from the Singapore Free Press of the 13th of June. The correspondent of the Press states that, severe measures had been instituted against the dealers in the drug, many natives and Chinese seized and confession extorted from them, and their opium taken away. By these procedures, the king obtained about 500 chests, and became acquainted with the traffic in the article. It is also said, that the government had been stimulated in their endeavors to suppress the traffic by a rebuke from the Chinese government to the Siamese embassador last year, on its being ascertained that his retinue had been engaged in dealing in it. The edict has been widely distributed among the people, ten thousand copies having been printed at the American mission press in Bangkok. We wish that more care had been taken to make the translation smoother, as the document appears to have been well drawn up in the original.]

WHEREAS the governor of the sacred treasury, and director in the place of Samuha, phra Kalahom, did receive the sacred royal words, placing them on the tuft of the hair of his head; his majesty did exercise divine compassion, condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, and commanded saying:—

From the time he ascended peacefully to eat the kingdom, he established his divine mind to protect the divine and holy religion of Búdha, and protect the land, overruling the sacred and kingly race both great and small, and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the feet, and the plebeians and merchants. His majesty will have all seek their living without crime, and will have them universally obtain emolument of property, and live coolly, being happy henceforward agreeably with his divine mind, being determined to extend onward in his own person the race of the gods, he being endowed with very much divine exalted mercy and compassion towards mankind universally, giving himself to exercise the sacred and royal thoughts, perceived, that people smoke and eat opium, which is a thorn in the bosom of the divine religion of Búdha, giving the lands to bring forth confusion and distress of various kinds; his majesty perceived that opium is an evil thing and contraband in every reign (land), from time immemorial till now. He therefore formerly condescended graciously to the tuft of hair of the head, with grace to the head, and pronounced a divine word — a commandment giving it to be distributed and published abroad, not allowing any person whatever to buy and sell opium, prepared or raw, be the same

whose it might. It required every item of opium to be brought and delivered over into the sacred treasury, on the left hand of the throne, until it might be conveyed away from time to time, and sold in foreign places. It forbade that opium should be kept in villages, houses, sheds, stalls, boats, or floats, and clandestinely sold among the people. In case of disobedience, it required, that if the transgressor was taken, his opium should be brought and judgment instituted, fining the owner ten times the value of the opium. The opium thus taken, his majesty graciously granted to have taken away and sold in some foreign place. The price obtained for it, whatever it might be, he granted to be deducted, from the amount of the fine inflicted upon the owner of the opium. He gave the royal servants to form themselves into companies for the clearing away of the opium concerns, and inflict punishment by the fines agreeably with his divine mind, to punish covetous persons who secrete opium, buying and selling it. He would have them to sacrifice their property by the amount of the fines inflicted upon the owner of the opium, that it might operate as a restraint. Accordingly, men who regarded the welfare of the land, who were grateful for the divine favors of the king, the god Búdha who dwells at the head, brought opium and delivered it over following the law, the divine royal commandment. There were those who were wicked, reprobate, covetous, greedy, in the business of buying and selling opium. These continued clandestinely to buy and sell opium until certain persons caught them, and inflicted fines upon them; of such there were very many in many places. Thus his majesty has given to establish companies for catching and inflicting fines very many, for a period of ten years or more, but still smuggling, receiving opium, and bringing it in and selling it, has increased greatly beyond what it was formerly. Persons who smoke and eat opium have become very abundant and increasing. There is no restraint to it—no forsaking it. Therefore the king, the god Búdha, living at the head, does with solicitude exercise his divine mind to silence, and cut off opium, that it shall not be allowed to exist in the land. Again; this opium has no seed, no fruit, no stalk, or root, within the bounds of the kingdom. This opium all comes from foreign countries. If there were no persons to receive and buy it, and seek to have it come hither, opium would cease to exist here, and those who have become accustomed to smoke and eat it, would have none to purchase, and then they would of necessity diminish the quantity they consume, smoking less and less, until some could abstain entirely, and those who are not accustomed to smoke opium,

would not henceforward become intimate with, and be led together by opium smoking and eating.

Again; now at this present time, there are traders and merchants in the angelic city of the exalted country, owners of junks and smaller craft that go to trade in foreign countries, and still purchase opium, and come and smuggle it in, buying and selling one with another. Again to instance; traders in foreign places, understanding that merchants in the angelic city of the great exalted country, do clandestinely purchase and sell opium, will consequently freight with opium, come and secretly trade in it at the extremities of the kingdom. There are others who receive it, and bear it from one to another coming into the country; consequently opium remains in the land as much as before without any cessation. This business of smuggling and clandestinely buying and selling opium is for money altogether. The silver and gold of the land consequently goes out to foreign countries in great quantities. It is therefore indispensable to prohibit this and cause it to cease, by taking as prisoners those concerned, causing it to operate as a restraint without fail. For these reasons there is issued a divine royal decree, speaking and commanding the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the phra Kalahom, giving him to investigate, search out, meet and catch the traders and owners of opium, and those also who receive it, buying and selling on commission, making sure their persons.

When in the fourth month of the year of the dog, the last year of the cycle of ten, his honor the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha, Kalahom, went out to conduct the fleet to sea, he was made acquainted with a matter saying, that certain Chinese fellows with two oared boats had entered and made fast their boats, and were selling opium at the place Sam-muk. He carried the matter up, prostrating himself, and addressed the divine royal compassion, informing him at the dust of the soles of the divine feet.

His majesty graciously condescended to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, granting the governor of the martial power Kose, the governor-commissary Sak-da, to muster soldiers armed with guns in the province of Somut Parakan, gave them to go down in war-boats, and go forth following up, until they captured a Chinese oar-boat, and obtained twenty-three chests of opium.

The Chinese fellow of the boats testified saying, that he put into Ban-lem, and sold 8 chests of opium to a certain person of that village. His majesty therefore graciously gave the sacred and exalted angelic

phra Maha Thep, to go out and clear away the concern; they took the Chinese fellows who received the opium purchasing it. By investigation, they were found to be stationed in many places, all joined together. His majesty therefore gave the royal officers to divide themselves asunder, and go to clear away the companies of opium traders in the order of all the head countries, on the sea-coast, and in the angelic city of the sacred exalted country, and all the head countries at the south and north. Both Siamese and Chinese merchants, and dealers very many, do still bring opium and smuggle it in, lay it up, and clandestinely buy and sell it together. Formerly his majesty graciously gave the royal servants to establish companies for the clearing away of the matter, to search out and capture the transgressors, with the opium, and bring them to determine and inflict fines upon them. But these officers were only of the lower orders of the royal servants. They did not make a finish of the work of cleansing away, searching out, and taking the opium. But now the king, the divine Búdha, dwelling at the head, will exercise himself to cleanse away the opium. He therefore condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, speaks commanding saying; that he now appoints only the sacred most excellent princes, and the less noble ministers of state, among whom is that royal beloved Ronnaret, which honor is a free gift, and the governor Bedin Decha, who bears also the office of Samuha Nayok. The governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha, phra Kalahom, and the supreme judges, and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the divine feet, these all being duly sensible of the divine power and divine favor, are united harmoniously to aid in protecting the land.

They will aid each other in protecting the land. They will aid each other in searching out and cleansing away the opium business, and taking the owners of the opium, and the opium, making a complete finish of it without fail. If in clearing away the concern, they take the persons of those who keep opium, those persons shall be accounted capital criminals, and shall be fined and severely punished, giving it to operate as an effectual restraint upon them, and that all other persons may fear and revere the divine royal absolute power and authority, that henceforward they may not presume to buy and sell opium any more. Opium being all gone, the thorn in the bosom of the land will have been removed entirely, at least in one particular. Nevertheless, his majesty does exercise a tender affectionate regard toward the farmers of the revenue —

the masters of the royal business, merchants and traders generally, who have taken shelter in the divine beneficence, and have found protection in the land, trading for a livelihood, and have obtained happiness coming to this time. Perhaps if they have already got opium in their possession, they will fear to bring it and confess, and from fear of being found guilty, and from fear of suffering shame and disgrace, will resolve to conceal it, storing it away, with a heart to contemn the law. Such persons cannot escape justice, they must and shall be scoured out and brought to justice, to suffer the divine royal absolute power, and be rewarded with the wasting of their property, the ruin of their persons, and the extinction of their name, without any equivalent.

His majesty, the king, the divine Búdha dwelling at the head, exercising sacred exalted mercy and compassion very much towards the plebeians and all the officers of the land, condescends graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, he desires to give an opportunity of escape to those who have opium in their possession. Get them to bring their opium and confess their sins. Their sin shall then be removed away, together with the fine which the law inflicts. It is a royal free gift, the same as in the year of the fowl, the ninth year of the cycle of ten (three years ago), when robbers, waxing bold, stole elephants, horses, cattle, and buffaloes, plundering, poisoning, and breaking into houses, and taking away goods and chattels; such things were very prevalent. Had a company been set apart to take these robbers, they would certainly have been taken, and they would have been obliged to suffer, some the loss of life, some whipping and imprisonment, according to the law. His majesty exercised himself and considered that all these robbers who were indeed worthy to suffer punishment in this generation, and the generation to come, were the people and the officers of the land: his majesty did therefore graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, giving a decree to write and publish and sound it abroad to the people, saying: whosoever has acted the robber, has been wicked and vile in time past, let him come and confess his sin, revealing the truth to the chief of the company of judges. The companies of robbers, all that knew themselves, feared the divine royal absolute power, and came in great numbers, confessing their sins. His majesty graciously gave to set the punishment aside as a free gift, and vouchsafed that all the justices and judges should forgive such, and forbade that they should call them to account. Afterwards, his majesty granted a divine and royal gift, a

divine and royal commandment and instructions, giving all to know themselves, that they might forsake the wicked works, which they formerly committed, saying: if any one shall turn himself about, and following the ancient proverb saying, 'the beginning was crooked, the end shall be straight,' that man shall certainly obtain happiness in this generation, and the one to come, agreeably with the divine mind endowed with sacred exalted mercy and compassion, which will assist the people, giving them to obtain peace and happiness henceforward.

Now the same shall be fulfilled in case of those who have opium, because formerly they practiced perversely and madly transgressed. If they shall know themselves to be sinners and fear transgression, then let them bring their opium, however much or little, let them bring it and confess their sin before the faces of the governor of curses, the supreme judge, whom his majesty has graciously given to be the chief of the company set apart to receive the confessions of the guilty. Whosoever shall bring all his opium, and confess all his sins, in sincerity and truth, no matter if he shall have bought much or little, his majesty will graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, granting a divine pardon, a divine free gift touching his capital sins, and the fine consequent thereupon. These shall not exist in the case of the person who shall confess his sin.

The king, the divine Búdha, who dwells at the head, begs to prohibit only one thing, viz. the buying and selling of opium. Let no one henceforward trade in it. As to sapan-wood, pepper, rhinoceros' and elephants' teeth, and cardamums, which things were formerly contraband articles of trade, his majesty now graciously grants that they be made articles of trade in the land, giving to buy and sell of the same as may be desired. They are not at all prohibited. Even rice and salt, which are articles for the sustenance of the divine country, these also his majesty grants to be diminished for the purposes of trade; agreeably with the divine mind and will, he will have the farmers of the revenue, the masters of the public business, and the merchants and traders, find protection in the sacred most excellent beneficence, and acquire property in great abundance, and become famous, noble, rising, and will have them obtain beautiful countries in the future. As to opium it is not an article of trade. That it should be made such, buying and selling it one with another, is by no means good. His majesty therefore exercises himself to prohibit it altogether. He therefore graciously condescending to the tuft of the

hair of the head, with grace to the head, gives the good, the royal, beloved Ronnaret, and the governor Bodin Decha filling the station of Samuha Nayok, and the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of Samuha, Phra Kalahom, and the supreme judge, to be the generals of the band, supported by all the royal officers both great and small, constituting a company to cleanse away the opium in the angelic city of the great exalted country. His majesty graciously grants the governor Phon Gatep ('ruler of angelic forces'), with the governor Phra Maha Thep ('the divine exalted angel'), to go out and establish companies to investigate and clear away the opium concern in the countries of Pet Cha Baree, Samut The Song Kram, Sakhon Baree, and Nakoncha-see. He gives the exalted governor Amati-yah, governor Wisut Kosa, Cha Mun Chaiya-phon and Cha Mun Inlhamat to go forth and constitute a company for clearing away the opium in Bamplasoi, Chaseungson prachin, and Na khon Nayok. His majesty graciously grants a seal (a sealed communication) to go forth to governor Yommarat (lord of hell), and governor See Pepat, giving them to clear away the opium in the provinces of Song kla, Thelang Phung Thah, Takúa thung and Takúa pa. His majesty has already graciously given the governor of Chai ya to go forth and purify the opium there. If the companies of opium purifiers in the angelic city of the exalted country, shall, in their inquisitions among the Siamese and Chinese, find owners of opium who are leagued with other proprietors in the provinces, then a sealed letter shall go forth, authorizing the royal officers to take such persons, and bring them in to try and purify them in the angelic city of the great exalted country. If the companies of opium purifiers in the head provinces shall, while making inquiries, find owners of opium, who are in league with others, Siamese or Chinese, in the angelic city of the exalted country, then let the officers give information by letter coming in, and those who are thus in league shall be conveyed, not to be purified in those head provinces. His majesty will have the royal servants of the companies of purifiers, purify and search out the matter, until they shall meet, reaching to the companies of purifiers in the angelic city of the exalted country, making a finish of purifying, only with the taking of all the opium in the country. If there be any persons residing within the suburbs of the angelic city of the exalted country owning opium, however much or little, let them bring all their opium and confess their sins. Whatever owner of opium will not bring his opium and confess his sin, but secretes the opium desiring to trade with it, seeking his living in the

business of buying and selling opium, not fearing nor dreading the divine royal absolute power, he shall be without favor, and shall have the fruits of wickedness. Let him beget destruction and annihilation. His majesty exercises the divine royal thought, giving to search out and cleanse away, and take the persons of these who have opium and try them in righteousness strictly, he will then give to punish, bringing down upon them the divine royal power and authority with tremendous weight. If he be found guilty of death let his life be taken. Let no persons henceforward take his example to buy and sell opium in the land. His majesty appoints Phya Chaduck the royal wealthy governor of the port, and Phya Rong Muong (governor assistant sustainer of the country), and Khrome Ma phra Na khon Ban (god protector of the divine country), to receive this proclamation, write, apply the seal, and distribute to every magistrate of the Siamese and Chinese, giving them to publish, blowing the voice to the people of all classes and merchants and traders, who are established in villages, wooden houses, brick houses, sheds, stalls, boats, and floats, giving all to understand without fail. Let the Maha Thai (name of public servants), the Kalahom (another great and good), Phra Sata Sa dee, write informing the royal servants, both great and little persons, on the side of the soldiers, on the side of occupants of houses, within the divine Royal palace of his majesty the king, within the sacred royal palace of the late most excellent second king, the servants of the lords and of those that are not lords, the lords without and the lords within, every class and every lord; masters shall charge and inform their servants, and people in succession, giving them all to understand together; let there be no exception. In obedience to the commandment of his majesty the king. Written from Thursday the sixth month, coming to the 6th evening, Chun-la-sa-ka-rat 1,201, (the year of the Mog), the first of the cycle of ten years. *Singapore Free Press, 13th June.*

ART. V. *Description of the tea plant; its name; cultivation; mode of curing the leaves; transportation to Canton; sale and foreign consumption; endeavors to raise the shrub in other countries.*

THE tea shrub, indigenous in China and Japan, remained concealed from the rest of mankind for centuries after its virtues were known

to the natives of these countries, and the infusion of its leaves used as a common beverage. While the silk from the same regions early found its way by gradual advances to the capitals and courts of western kingdoms, this luxury was untasted in those countries until about 175 years ago. Since its introduction, however, its consumption has increased with unexampled rapidity, and it now ranks after cotton and sugar, one of the great staples of international commerce; and has passed from being called a luxury, to be held as a necessary of life. "The progress of this famous plant," says an eminent writer, "has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless effects of time and its own virtues." *Edin. Rev.*

The native name of tea in both China and Japan is *cha*, changed into *tay* in the principal dialects of Fuhkeën, from one or the other of which sources the term has found its way, with little or no alteration, into all the leading languages of the world. It has been called by two or three names among the Chinese themselves, and it was not until about the eighth century that it received its present appellation Chinese scholars have supposed that the *keä* 檟 mentioned in ancient books was the tea plant, as its infusion is said to have been drank. Notices of its use, however, which are entitled to credit, occur as early as A. D. 350, about the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, when the plant was called 茗 *ming*. During the Tang dynasty, A. D. 800, the use of tea as a beverage became common among all classes; the name was then written 荼 *too*; but the upper stroke of the lower half of the character was soon after dropped, and it received its present form and name of 茶 *cha*. Writers endeavor to account for some of these synonyms, by saying, that the first picking was called 茶 *cha*, the second 茗 *ming*, and the third 舛 *chuen*, which last is still another term of it. The Pun Tsaou calls the plant 茗 *ming*. Like many other things, which have afterwards become of great importance, the virtues of the tea plant were gradually ascertained and acknowledged, while no one took the trouble to note the earliest stages of its adoption.

Its botanical name is *Thea*, but its affinities with the *Camellia* are so numerous, that some eminent botanists unite it with that genus, and sink the name of *Thea*; whether there are two species is still a

doubtful point, some inclining to suppose the green and black tea distinct, while other observers, judging from the many varieties induced by cultivation in the *Camellia Japonica*, also regard the different kinds of tea as all produced from one species. From all that we can learn, it is more than probable that the two were at first identical, but long cultivation in different climates and soils has wrought changes upon the plant similar to those upon the apple or cherry. Loureiro, in his Flora Cochinchinensis, observes that he had examined the tea which grows in the vicinity of Canton, and the dried flowers of the plant which produced souchong, and compared them both with the *Thea bohea* and *Thea viridis*, and that the same sort from different localities was unlike, and all differed from one another in such a manner, as led him to suppose all of them to have been produced from one and the same species.

The shrub is usually from three to five and six feet high, with numerous branches bearing a very dense foliage, and in its general aspect is not unlike a myrtle, though not so symmetrical as that plant. The wood is hard and tough, and when freshly cut or peeled gives off an unpleasant smell. The leaves are coriaceous or leathery, but smooth and shining, of a dark green color; the edges are notched or serrated, and the leaf itself stands on a short petiole. Those of *T. viridis*, or green tea, are broader than the black in proportion to their length, but not so thick, and are somewhat acuminate or curled at the apex; those of *Thea bohea* are elliptical-oblong and flat. Some authors of note say that the leaves of green tea are three times as broad as long, and those of black tea twice as broad as long, but this is evidently a mistake. Chinese traders in tea say, "that the shrubs cannot be distinguished, they are nearly alike. The leaf of black tea is long and pointed, that of green tea is shorter and somewhat roundish, which is caused by the different soils." The flowers open early in the spring, and appear upon the plant about a month; they are smaller in size, and much less elegant in appearance, than those that render the Camellia so attractive. They are about an inch in diameter, perfectly inodorous, and of a pure white color; they proceed from the axils of the branches, and stand on short foot-stalks, at the most two or three together, but usually solitary. There are five or six imbricate sepals, or leaves supporting the blossom, which fall off after the flower has expanded, and leave from six to nine petals surrounding a great number of stamens, that are joined together in such a manner at their bases as to form a sort of floral coronal. The seeds are inclosed in a smooth hard capsule of a flattish triangular shape,

which is interiorly divided into two, three and even five cells, each containing a firm, white, and somewhat oily nut, about the size of a hazel-nut, of a bitterish and nauseous taste. They ripen in December and January.

The tea plant is said by good Chinese authority to be cultivated in every province of the empire to a greater or less extent, but it flourishes in some of them in higher perfection than in others. The four provinces of Fuhkeën, Nganhwuy, Keängsoo, and Kwangtung produce the largest part of the tea which is exported from Canton Large quantities are also consumed by the countries adjacent to the western frontier; and Russia also carries on an important trade in it, both of which markets are supplied from the western provinces. The northern parts of Fuhkeen afford the finest kinds of black tea. They are produced in the vallies and on the acclivities of the Bohea hills, and lie in lat. 27° 47 north, and long. 119° east, in the districts of Keënngan and Tsungngan, a part of the department of Keënning The name is pronounced Wooe in the court dialect, Moe in the Canton dialect, while in Fuhkeën itself, the hills are known as the Booe hills. The green teas are cultivated in the province of Nganhwuy, in a tract of country lying in lat. 35° north, and long. 116° to 118° east, at the base of a ridge of mountains or hills, called the Sunglo hills, which divides the province from those of Chěkeäng and Keängsoo. With the increase of trade the cultivation has extended. The district of Tsinke in Kwangse produces a small amount. Those kinds of tea, called *Ankoy teas*, come from the two districts of Nangan and Anke in the southwestern part of Fuhkeën in the department of Tseuenchow. Two or three districts in the province of Kwangtung, bordering on Keängse, furnish both green and black tea in considerable quantities; among which Hoping and Tsingyuen furnish the most black, and Heŏshan, the most green tea. The two middle provinces, Hoonan and Hoopih, as well as Honan and Szechuen, also raise a surplus for exportation. In the reign of Hungwoo of the Ming dynasty, it was ascertained by the Board of Revenue, that 447 localities in the province of Szechuen alone produced tea, and probably the number at present is greater. The extreme northern provinces are not very productive; and from what we can learn, the principal supplies for the capital are brought from the other provinces, a large proportion of it as a tax levied in kind.

The soil of those plantations which have been examined by foreigners is very thin, in some places but little more than mere sand; a soil very similar to that which produces pines and scrub oaks. The

shrubs are usually planted on the declivities of hills, where there can be but little accumulation of vegetable mold; not so low as where water springs out, or so high up as to be exposed to the violence of storms. That which is somewhat loamy and dampish is esteemed to be good soil by the cultivators. Dr. Abel remarks that the soil in which he saw the best specimens was composed of disintegrated sandstone or granite. The soil in the Anke hills visited by Mr. Gordon was of a similar nature, and colored by an oxyd of iron; and this also is the character of the plantations near Canton. In the Anke hills, the cultivation of the shrub does not interfere at all with the raising of wheat or other grain, the trees being scattered about on the hill-sides in situations where few other plants would grow.

The tea is always raised from seed, which is first sown very thickly in nursery beds, as the greater part proves abortive; and then, when the nurslings have attained a proper size, they are transplanted to beds prepared for them. The holes into which the seeds are thrown are three or four inches deep, and about three months elapse before the shoots are ready to be transplanted; but the common practice in many places appears to be to sow the seeds in the beds prepared for them, and never after to remove them. The plants are not manured or irrigated by art, nor does it appear to be usual to prepare the ground for their reception; a spot with a southerly exposure is preferred, where they are placed in beds in a regular manner at intervals of from four to five feet. Care is taken that the plants are not overshadowed by large trees, and certain superstitious notions prevail concerning the noxious influence of vegetables and certain trees when growing too near the tea. An easterly exposure is avoided where that would bring a wind from the sea, but cold, hoar-frost, or even snow does not injure the plant. It is sometimes destroyed by a worm that eats up the pith, and converts the stem into tubes, and by lichens which attack and cover old shrubs. Leaves are taken from the plant when three years old, but it does not attain its greatest size under six or seven, and thrives according to circumstances, care, and position, from ten to twenty years. In some instances, the branches are pruned, which, together with the constant abstraction of the foliage, has a tendency to reduce the height; it, however, expands laterally, and after a time spreads so as rather to resemble a collection of plants than a single shrub. In these specimens, the size of the leaves is rather less than when the plant is suffered to grow higher, but they cover the branches so thickly as hardly to permit the hand to be thrust in among them.

From a manuscript written by an intelligent native, whom we infer from its contents to be either one of the traveling traders to the Bohea hills, (a class of persons between the hong merchants at Canton and the cultivators in Fuhkeën,) or else one of the landlords resident in that province, we extract some particulars concerning the hills. There are two ranges, both of which form part of the same great chain, and lie between the provinces of Fuhkeen and Keängse. They derive the name of Woo-e from two brothers, Woo and E, the sons of a prince in ancient times, who, on his decease, refusing to succeed him, left their patrimony, and took up their residence on these picturesque hills; their mansion was after their death called the palace of Woo-e, and now the inhabitants constantly burn incense to their memory. The hills were, however, famous for their tea as early as A.D. 960, in the Sung dynasty, before they were known as the Bohea hills. A legend states, that, on a time there appeared to the peasantry a venerable old man, who held a sprig of the tea plant in his hand, and proposed to them to make a decoction of it, and drink it. They tried his proposal, and approved the plan, when he immediately disappeared The circuit of these hills is about 120 *le*, in all parts of which tea is raised; a stream divides them, on the northern side of which the best tea grows, probably because it has a southern exposure. As these two ranges produce the best tea, their names are most widely extended, but there are between 20 and 25 localities in their vicinity, all of which produce excellent tea. There are several villages among the hills, where the landlords and cultivators reside; and one of them, Singtsun, is a sort of mart to which all those persons resort who deal in the leaf.

According to this manuscript, the seeds are carefully mixed up with wet sand in the spring of the year, and the next year the seedlings are transplanted into beds, where they remain without any further care until the leaves are ready to be picked. Some localities produce tea of a better flavor than others; and care is taken to examine the soil of the beds. Purchasers inquire the position of the gardens from which the samples before them were taken: and tea from near the summit of a hill, from its middle, and base, bear prices corresponding to its relative height. If the soil is good, the leaves can be picked when the plant is of two years growth, but if it is poor and dry, three years are required. There are individual shrubs which are celebrated, either from some accidental associations, or from the goodness of their tea. One, called the egg-plant tree, grows in a deep gully between two hills, and is nourished by the water which trick-

les from the precipice. The produce of another is appropriated to imperial use, and an officer is deputed every year to superintend the gathering and curing. A third is said to have borne leaves since the time of the Sung dynasty; and there are many others, some of which have singular descriptive names, that are held as remarkable. The produce of these trees is never brought to Canton as an article of sale; it is reserved for imperial use and for grandees. It is said, the tea from the most celebrated trees is valued at 120 dollars per catty, and the cheapest is not under 20 dollars.

The picking of the leaf is sometimes performed by a different class of laborers from those who cure it; but in this, as in other parts of the manufacture, the practice is not uniform in all places. There are four pickings in the course of the year, but the last is considered as rather a gleaning than a regular gathering. The first is made as soon as the fifteenth of April, and in favorable seasons even earlier, when the delicate leaf buds appear, and the foliage is just opening, being covered with a whitish down. The quantity obtained is small, but the quality is superior, and the finest sorts of tea are made from it. The next picking is technically called *urh chun*, or 'second spring,' as the first is *show chun*, or 'first spring,' and takes place at the end of the fourth month and beginning of the fifth, answering to the first part of June, when the branches are covered with leaves, and produce the greatest quantity. The third, called *san chun*, or 'third spring,' is about a month after the last, when the shrubs are again searched, and the produce made into the most common sorts of tea. A fourth gleaning, called *tsew loo*, or 'autumn dew,' from the name of a term, is made by some at the commencement of autumn; but this is not a universal practice, for the leaves are old, fit only for the coarsest kinds. Inferior tea is sometimes gathered by clipping the small twigs with shears, a practice that fills it with bad leaves and small sticks; but the usual mode is to cull the leaves by hand, and lay them loosely on bamboo trays or baskets. The produce of single plants varies so much that it is difficult to estimate the average. Our Chinese author says, two catties in weight of green leaves are obtained from some of the celebrated trees, but the usual quantity is between ten taels and a catty of green leaves, or from one pound to 22 oz. av. Mr. Gordon was told that each plant yielded a tael of dry tea annually, which would be nearly five taels of green leaves. He says, that a mow (1000 sq. yds.) of land contains between 300 to 400 plants; and in his visit to the Anke hills, he remarked that the distance from centre to centre of the plants was about 4½ feet, and

they were about two feet in diameter. It is evident, from the nature of the case, that no amount can be fixed upon as the average produce.

The weather has great influence upon the quality of the leaves. If there is too much rain, then they will become mildewed and broken, of a yellow color, and not at all flourishing; if too little, they will be small in size, and the foliage not at all abundant. But if the rains fall equably, and after the showers a bright sun appears, then they will be thick and flourishing, of a bright green color and thick texture, and the flavor superior. "In picking the leaves," says the manuscript, "it is important to regard the state of the weather. When they are fit, and the right day has come, it must be immediately improved; for if one day too late, the leaves will be old and hard, cannot be rolled up compactly, and the flavor will be inferior; so if one day too early, they will not be so good: the proper period is known by testing the leaf. When the time has come, and the weather is fair, then engage a large number of hands,—men, women, and children,—and gather them as fast as possible, for that is especially important. Each person, can on an average, pick ten catties in a day, and for each catty he is paid five or six cash; he should also carry some dry provision in his pocket, that no time be lost in going to and returning from his meals. He must be told not to pick the old and yellow leaves, nor those that are too young, or broken; and after the trays are brought home, such must be sorted out." This account applies more strictly to large plantations, where the landlord directs the workmen, but in smaller establishments and single families, the cultivation and picking are done by the household, and the leaves, after assorting them, are carried to the curing-houses for sale. It is said by the same authority that this mode is practiced in the province of Nganhwuy and the green tea districts generally; and it appeared to Mr. Gordon be the usual mode on the Anke hills. In the vicinity of Canton it is the customary practice; and from the nature of the case, in most instances, no other mode can well be adopted.

The curing of the leaf is performed by persons skilled in the business, and some of the descriptions of tea known in the market depend in a good degree upon the particular mode in which they are prepared. This part of the manufacture has nearly as much to do with the quality of the tea, as the age of the leaf, and much more than either the soil or cultivation. The manuscript just quoted, says, "that on the Bohea hills, when the leaves are brought to the curing-

house, they are thinly spread upon bamboo trays, and placed on frames in the wind to dry until they become somewhat soft; then, while lying on the tray, they are gently rubbed and rolled, until red spots begin to appear, when they are tested by pouring hot water upon them to see if the edge of the leaf becomes yellowish. They must be rubbed many times and equably, and from the labor attending this process, the tea is called *kungfoo cha*, or 'worked tea' [from whence the English term *congo* is derived]. When the leaves have been rubbed sufficiently, they are ready for firing, in which operation several rules must be attentively observed. The iron pan being made red-hot, the workman sprinkles a handful of leaves upon it, and waits until each leaf pops with a slight noise, when he instantly sweeps them all out; he must remove them quickly, lest they be reduced to a cinder. They are now put into drying baskets, and placed over a fire of coals. This fire should be made of compact charcoal, and when thoroughly ignited, a layer of ashes spread upon it, that no smoke ascend into the baskets. About ten catties are put into each basket, and the workman, while it is over the fire, stirs the leaves around with his hand until they are perfectly dry. After this, the tea is poured into chests, and set away in a dry place, where it is presently packed in chests lined with lead, and papered to prevent injury from dampness. In curing the finest kinds of tea, as powchong, pekoe, &c., not more than ten or twenty leaves are thrown into the hot pan at once, nor more than ten taels laid upon a single tray to be rolled, or put into a single basket to be dried. As soon as the curing is finished, these sorts are rolled up in small papers, two or three taels in each package, and stamped with the name of the plantation, and the day of curing, and then put into leaden canisters. A large proportion of this sort of tea is bought up by merchants from Heämun (Amoy) in Fuhkeën, who make advances to the cultivators."

"Whoever wishes to engage in the green tea business," continues the manuscript, "first buys the green leaves, and then hires men to sift and cure them. They are first sifted, and then winnowed in fanning-mills in order to separate the sticks and bad leaves, after which they are fired, four or five catties at a time. Young leaves are fired over a gentle, and old ones over a hot, fire, for about half an hour, or while two incense-sticks can burn out. For firing one pan-full, the workman is paid eight cash." This account agrees in the main with statements from other sources, and the difference in the two modes pursued in curing black and green teas sufficiently accounts for the dissimilarity between the appearance and color

of the dried leaf, even if they had been originally picked from the same plant. This same author says, "that the difference in the color of black and green tea arises wholly from the mode of curing green tea is cured over a slow fire, and not dried in baskets afterwards; but putting the leaf into red-hot pans, and subsequently drying it over a covered fire, makes it black. Green tea can be changed into black, but the contrary cannot be done, because the leaf is already black, and does not admit a further change of color." The Chinese seldom drink green tea, and yet black tea is made in Keängsoo, where nearly all the green tea is grown. Although it may be ultimately ascertained that there are two distinct species of plants, cultivated for their leaves, still all the different sorts known in market, (except those made by mixing two kinds together,) may be satisfactorily accounted for by a reference to the age of the leaf, locality of the plant, and mode of curing it. This statement also very plausibly accounts for the comparative rapidity with which green teas spoil on becoming damp, for humidity and heat combined would more quickly spoil a leaf that was simply dried, than one that was reduced almost to a crisp.

The houses in Canton, where tea is cured, are large buildings, known to foreigners under the name of *pack-houses*, and contain all the implements for curing. Two or three rows of furnaces are built of brick and mortar in a large airy room, having a line of hemispherical iron pans inserted into the brick work on each side of the row, in an inclined position; two pans are placed in such a manner opposite to each other, that they are heated by the same fire. Into these pans, the rolled leaves are poured, two or three catties at once, and the workman with his bare arm stirs them around until they are too hot to be easily borne. He then dexterously sweeps them out, and lays them on a table covered with matting, where they are again rolled; after this second rolling, they are again fired in the pan, and in some instances undergo even a third and fourth application of fire. Two firings are, however, deemed sufficient in most cases. These various manipulations are modified according to circumstances. Tea, which has become damaged during the passage to Canton, is merely subjected to a second drying, to fit it for the voyage to Europe; while in many cases, an extraordinary demand for a particular sort induces the Chinese to endeavor to meet it by taking other, and usually inferior, qualities, and imitating the kind wanted. Fresh leaves which are brought from the neighboring villages, undergo all the usual processes. The rolling of

the leaves after firing is attended with some pain, arising from their heat, and an unpleasant, acrid juice which exudes from them when pressed. In truth, it may be said that all the operations in curing tea, between picking the leaf and nailing up the boxes, are rendered unpleasant, by the irritating dust which fills the atmosphere of the room, and the combined heat of the furnaces and roasting pans. In the Anke hills, Mr. Gordon was informed that it was customary for the curer to furnish the fireplace — a mere temporary concern — and other utensils, and the fuel used in curing the leaves; and that he was paid at the rate of one dollar per pecul of fresh leaves, equal to five dollars per pecul of dry.

At various stages in curing, the leaves are tested by pouring boiling water upon them. When first dried in the wind, some are put into water to see if a yellow edge appears; and after firing, their quality is again tested. "To ascertain the quality of tea," says the manuscript, "take some boiling spring water, and pour it upon the leaves in an empty cup, and then place a cover upon the cup, when the color and flavor will both appear. If the water is not boiling hot, the leaves will float. In the best qualities, the taste is aromatous and oily, and a clear yet strong fluid is in the cup. The inferior sorts are known by an unpleasant smell, and a turbid, weak decoction. Those leaves, which, when in the water unroll without tearing, are the best." Chinese connoisseurs mark the manner in which the leaf unrolls when hot water is poured upon it, from which they infer the degree of care observed in curing it. They also try what number of infusions can be successively made from the same leaves, before the water runs off limpid, and thus judge of the strength and quality. As many as fifteen "drawings" are obtained from the richest flavored teas. It is well known to all in the least acquainted with the business, that the infusion is the most certain mode of testing the quality of tea, and that a sample is always examined in this way before deciding upon its goodness and value.

In choosing green tea, according to the manuscript just quoted, ten things should be regarded, and ten avoided. "The leaf must be green and glabrous; it must be rolled firmly; all the leaf-stalks must be clean picked out; the leaf must be fleshy and well rolled; all the dirt and broken leaves must be separated; the taste of the infusion clear and fragrant; it must be equally fired; the infusion must be of a clear, greenish color, which is the most important point; and lastly, the decoction must be aromatous and oily." The ten things to be avoided are mostly the opposites of the above. "The leaves must

not be yellow; nor should they be smoky, or badly cured avoid that tea which has a musty smell, or that with a pellicle floating on the surface of the infusion, it is an evidence of the use of gypsum or Prussian blue in its manufacture; the infusion if reddish indicates old tea; and it should not give off a bad odor, nor have iron sand in it." These and many other tests are all known to those skilled in deciding upon teas: some of the marks, from which the "tea-taster" determines the quality, depend on the weight, some on the taste of the dry leaf, or its smell when strongly breathed upon and instantly put to the nose; sometimes the color and general aspect of the lot is observed; a loadstone is used to detect the presence of minute particles of iron in some kinds; but the color, clearness, taste, and strength of the simple infusion are regarded as the most important criteria.

Some have imagined that the effects, experienced upon the nerves from drinking a strong infusion of green tea, were owing to its having been roasted in copper pans; but no copper utensils are used in the manufacture; and, moreover, chemical tests of the greatest delicacy prove that no deleterious salt of this metal is contained in green tea; the effect is rather to be ascribed to the partial curing which retains more of the peculiar properties of the plant in the leaf. Our native authority, as we have just seen, cautions the purchaser against taking tea which has a pellicle floating on the surface of the infusion, lest gypsum or Prussian blue should have been used in the manufacture. It is known that these two substances are employed in the packhouses at Canton, when firing the cheapest sorts of green tea, in order to give them a *bloom*, but we think that their application is not extended to all the green tea brought from the northern provinces The chemist Brande detected the presence of a coloring substance in the samples which he analyzed; and it is well known that the Chinese themselves never consume those kinds of green tea which are prepared for exportation. The finest kinds of young hyson and hyson-pekoe have, however, a yellower, and more "natural hue," as Davis calls it, than the bluish-green that distinguishes the cheapest sorts; but, as the same author, remarks, "if deleterious substances are really used, our safeguard consists in the minute proportion in which they must be combined with the leaves." Whatever proportions of them are used, especially of Prussian blue, must be injurious; still we think that the effect which a strong infusion of green tea has upon the nerves, must be ascribed rather to the partial curing than to the presence of these chemical salts.

The tea which grows in Fuhkeen and Keängse is brought to Canton entirely by a water transportation, except that part of the route crossing the Mei ling in the north of this province, and in some cases, a short land carriage from the hills to the boats. The distance from Canton to the Bohea hills is estimated by the author of the manuscript to be 2885 *le*, or about 930 English miles; to the department of Soochow in Keängsoo, he reckons the distance to be 3581 *le*, or upwards of 1190 miles. He has given minute directions on various points, as the forms to be observed at the excise-offices on the road, the prices usually paid for boats, coolies, and transportation, and an itinerary of the distance between the places on the route, affording us an insight into the details of inland navigation in China. He says, "whoever engages a boat, must examine the strength of the wood, the dryness of the hold, and the goodness of the sails, oars, anchor, and sculls. It is necessary to guard against loading the boats too deeply, lest they strike upon the sands and rocks in shallow places, and the tea get wet."

The tea, securely packed in chests, which are also wrapped in matting, and then marked, is first collected at the village of Singtsun, from whence it is carried to the mouth of the Kewkeuh, a stream that takes its rise among the Bohea hills, and empties into the Poyang lake. For a portion of the tea at least, the route to *Hokow*, the principal depôt on the southeastern border of the lake, is by land; but it is probable that the tea is brought from all parts of the hills by the most direct road; not only down the Kewkeuh, but by several minor streams, all of which flow into the lake. From the village of Singtsun to Hokow is 210 *le*, and around the lake to Nanchang foo, the capital of Keängse, is 495 *le*. At these three places are excise-offices to levy a duty on the passing goods; for it is the policy of the Chinese government to collect their internal imposts on manufactures at certain favorable spots on the great thoroughfares, near which not only tea, but all other products and goods, are compelled to pass. Whether this arrangement is made in order more accurately to ascertain the amounts consumed; or for the convenience of the governmental collectors; or whether it arises from a lack of confidence in the honesty of the manufacturer, who would not wish to pay more excise than he was compelled to, may be difficult to decide: probably from all these reasons combined. At any rate, the government have very adroitly taken advantage of the physical peculiarities of the country to place their tax-gatherers at such points as will incommode the people the least, while also they

suffer but little to escape them. It is a part of the same policy to prohibit all native vessels from bringing tea and silk to Canton coastwise.

At Nanchang foo, the boats are fairly afloat in the river Kan, and have only to ascend it as far as the water will permit. From this place to Kanchow foo, in the southern part of Keängse, the distance is 780 *le* by the river. Between the two places, the itinerary has noted upwards of one hundred localities, and added occasional remarks concerning the most remarkable temples, pagodas, &c., passed on the route, as well as the distances between the most considerable towns. There are many rapids in the river Kan, one of which, the *Shihpă tan*, or 'Eighteen rapids,' just below Kanchow foo, is somewhat celebrated as a place of danger; it is in passing this and other rapids, that the tea sometimes gets damaged. From this city to Tayu heën in Nangan foo, where the tea is landed, is 360 *le*. In some parts of this route, the boats are dragged over shallows; in others, the cargo is divided into boats carrying not more than sixty chests each; and sometimes, the men are obliged to wait until the river rises before they can proceed. The foreign embassies to the court of Peking have always ascended this river on their return to Canton, and their accounts state that the boats were dragged for miles in half the necessary depth of water. From the city last mentioned, every chest of tea is carried by porters over the mountains, to Chehing heën in Nanheüng chow in this province, a distance of 120 *le*. On both sides of the mountains, there are certain establishments, like post-houses, where porters are obtained; and it would appear that this part of the road is considered so dangerous, that additional coolies are supplied by them to accompany and guard the tea to prevent attacks from robbers. Large numbers of these porters are constantly employed in transporting not only tea, but goods, grain, and other commodities, as well as travelers, from one side of the mountains to the other. At Chehing heën, the tea is again put into boats and carried to Keuhkeäng heën in Shaouchow foo, where it is examined a second time by the excisemen,* and then reshipped into large boats, in which, by the Pĭh keäng or North river, it reaches Canton, a distance of 920 *le* from the base of the Mei ling. The boats in which the tea is brought to Canton, carry from 500 to 800 chests, and are usually called *tea boats* by foreigners, though they are not exclusively engaged in this business. They are

* Although not exactly appertaining to the subject in hand, we cannot avoid copying a brief tariff, inserted in the itinerary of the duties levied at

fine specimens of the vessels used for inland navigation Their shape is like an ellipsoid; the ledge on the side, where the trackers work, is placed not far above the middle of the hull; and when laden, there is about as much above as beneath the water. Whole families live in them, making them their constant and agreeable residence. They are built of hard wood, are fitted either for sailing or tracking, and we have heard it estimated by naval men, that the largest are capable of carrying a hundred tons of measurement goods. At each of the excise-houses on the road, the supercargo of the tea presents a manifest of the cargo, and the number of persons and baggage in the boats. There are seven of them between the village of Singtsun and Canton; the excise levied at one of them is one candareen and four cash per pecul.

The green tea is cultivated in a large section of country lying partly in Nganhwuy, Keängsoo, and Chěkeäng, but the principal district is that of Wooyuen in Hwuychow foo, in Nganhwuy, at the northwest extremity of a range of hills called Sunglo, which divide that province from Chěkeäng, between the thirtieth and thirty-first parallels of north latitude. They are cultivated near a branch of the Yangtsze keäng, on every part of this range of hills, in a micaceous sandy soil, resulting from the disintegration of the rocks. The contiguity of this region to the large rivers enables the proprietor of green tea to carry his cargo either to Hokow or Kanchow foo on the Poyang lake in Keängse, with only once unlading his boats. This must be done to cross the hills between Changshan heën and Yuhshan heën, which divide the two provinces. This route is taken,

Shaouchow foo, as the gabel of the empire is a subject but partially known to foreigners.

	T. m. c. c.	Dolls. cts.
Lead, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Tin, per pecul	0. 1. 5. 0	0. 208
Raw silk, per pecul	3. 0. 0. 0	4. 166
Pongee, per pecul	0. 7. 0. 0	0. 972
Woolens, per pecul	3. 6. 3. 0	5. 042
Shoes, per pair	0. 0. 0. 4	0. 005¼
Dried rolled fish, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Coarse cotton, per piece	0. 0. 0. 3	0. 004½
Leaf fans, per hundred	0. 0. 1. 4	0. 200
Birdsnests, per pecul	1. 8. 6. 0	2. 583
Black tea, per pecul	0. 0. 7. 6	0. 106
Bicho-de-mar per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Raw cotton, per pecul	0. 0. 3. 8	0. 051
Cotton goods, per pecul	0. 0. 0. 7½	0. 010
Red thread, per pecul	0. 1. 8. 4	0. 255
Sago, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Sandalwood, per pecul	0. 3. 6. 0	0. 500
Coarse grasscloth, per piece	0. 0. 1. 1	0. 015
Cotton, per pecul	0. 0 3 8	0. 051

we suppose, in preference to the nearer one by the Yangtsze keang, on account of the labor of stemming the powerful current of that river, and also to avail of the descending current of the stream from Yuhshan to the Poyang lake. After the tea arrives at this lake, its course is the same as that which comes from Singtsun.

The principal depôt of the tea is at a mart called Shingtang in the district of Wookeäng in Soochow foo in Keängsoo; the village of Nanhaou near the city of Soochow is a place at which large quantities of it are cured. After it is shipped at Shingtang or Soochow, it goes first to the city of Hangchow foo in Chěkeäng, 66 *le* distance, near which is an important excise-post, and a custom-house. This large city is situated at the mouth of the river Tseëntang in the district of Tseëntang, and the tea ascends the river 720 *le* to Changshan heën, on the borders of Keängse, passing through the districts of Yangfoo and Sinching in Hangchow foo, Keëntih in Yenchow foo, and Sengan in Keuchow foo At Changshan heën, there is a post for levying excise, for here the tea is unladen to be carried across the mountains to Yuhshan heën in Keängse, a distance of 120 *le*. The sum paid for carrying the tea across is 225 cash per pecul; 335 cash are paid for the load of two men; chair-bearers are paid 400 cash, and 43 additional for the ascent. A sum of 6 to 10 cash is paid to all for spirits, and the employer is expected to add a douceur for wine to cheer the hearts of those he engages On the arrival of the tea at Yuhshan heën in Kwangsin foo, boats are chartered to take it either to Hokow or Kanchow foo, as the case may be. The distance to the former is 120 *le;* the charge for boats to the latter place is 30 taels, being a journey of more than 600 *le*.

By this long and expensive transportation, the price of the tea to the foreign consumer is greatly enhanced; some have estimated the additional charge for freight on the poorest at one-third of the whole cost, but this cannot be accurately determined. If foreigners were permitted to procure their tea at Hangchow foo or Ningpo in Chěkeäng, the distance for transportation would be reduced to 65 miles for green, and 375 miles, for black, teas; and the whole distance could be performed by water, because, in this route from the Bohea hills, advantage could be taken of the current down the Yangtsze keäng. But on the other hand, its transportation over such an extent of country gives employment to many thousands of boatmen and porters, and enables the government to levy an internal revenue; while the additional expense to the foreign consumer (estimated at £150,000 annually on black teas alone), would never be considered

by a Chinese statesman, as an argument why he should endeavor to increase the consumption abroad by shortening the route, and lessening the charges of its internal transportation. The single fact that so many mouths *are* fed by this branch of commerce, would weigh more with him (and we think justly), than the prospect that by and by many more *might* be.

After the tea has reached Canton, which usually happens about the middle of October, such of it as has been damaged on the route is unpacked and carefully dried. The trade in tea being monopolized by the hong merchants, the cargoes are usually carried to their hongs. But at times the traders from the hills are not disposed to sell immediately at the prices offered by the hong merchants, but hold out for higher terms; at others, the lot was bargained for the preceding year, and advance money paid to assist the cultivator. The E. I. Company frequently made advances, through the hong merchants, to the cultivator in order to assist him, and also to secure a good quality of tea; and the same is frequently done now by private merchants; but, either through the mismanagement of the cultivator, or more probably, the erroneous calculations of the hong merchants, risk and loss has, in some instances, attended the transaction.

The preparation of tea for the foreign market, besides the laborers for cultivating and curing it, and porters and boatmen for transporting it, in the interior of the country, also employs thousands of people in this city. The carpenter finds occupation in making small boxes for the finer descriptions of tea, and large chests for the coarser. The plumber is engaged in manufacturing leaden canisters of proper sizes for the more delicate sorts, and in lining the large chests with lead. In making the sheet lead, he exhibits a mode of manipulation truly Chinese: the portable furnace is placed on the ground in a convenient spot; near to it is imbedded a smooth tile about a foot and a half square, to which there is a mate of a similar size, both of them thickly wrapped with paper. The workman, holding the upper with its edge resting on the lower, pours a portion of liquid lead on the latter, and instantly drops the one in his hand, by which means a thin sheet is made. This he takes out and hands to another workman, who, with a pair of shears and a hot iron, fashions it into various canisters, boxes, &c.

After the carpenter has made, and the plumber has lined, and the packer has filled, the chest, the skill and taste of the painter are called in to adorn its exterior with grotesque flowers and fanciful devices; great numbers of persons are employed in this department,

though only the small boxes containing the finest teas are painted When unpainted, the chests are covered with paper, on which is printed in English the name of the ship, description of tea, &c., &c., and these two branches, the papering and printing employ not a few. When papered and labeled, is has still to be sewed up in a mat, and secured with rattan, and for convenience, another label is pasted upon the outside. After all these operations are finished, and the chest is ready for shipment, there still remains the "chop-boat's or lighter to be engaged, and in these fine boats, it is at last brought alongside the ship at Whampoa.

The usual nett weight and measurement of a chest of the different descriptions of tea are as follows, taken from Macculloch's Dictionary. Teas are at present put up in much smaller boxes than formerly, very few of the largest sized chests being made. The fine, and middling, qualities are often packed in boxes containing ten, and five catties, and even less.

	Weight.		*Sol. meas.*
Bohea, whole chests -	catties 138		feet 8.956
,, half ,, -	,, 84		,, 5.416
,, quarter ,, -	,, 44		,, 3.374
Congo ,, -	,, 63	to 64	,, 4.085
Souchong ,, -	,, 60	to 62	,, 4.025
Pekoe ,, -	,, 49	to 50	,, 4.333
Hyson ,, -	,, 58	to 50	,, 4.000
Hyson-skin ,, -	,, 48	to 50	,, 4.125
Twankay, long chests -	,, 62	to 65	,, 4.864
Gunpowder ,, -	,, 80	to 84	,, 4.100
Imperial ,, -	,, 70	to 74	,, 4.074
Young Hyson ,, -	,, 70	to 72	,, 4.220

The Chinese have a great number of terms, most of them descriptive, to designate the varieties of tea; a part of these are merely the names of celebrated trees, or small plantations, and do not denote prominent qualities; their origin is in many cases similar to the particular brand by which some sorts of wine are designated. It is difficult to describe the nice shades of distinction between the several kinds, for long experience is necessary to distinguish them; moreover, the Chinese mix them to some extent, and traders in London and elsewhere compound them still further, so that, a long course of instruction and experience are necessary before one can become skillful at tasting tea. A general outline, therefore, of all the principal sorts must suffice for this paper. They may be considered in the ascending scale of their value

Black teas are sometimes known by the general term of *hih cha* 黑茶 or 'black tea;' a more common designation, however, is 烏 (or 爨) 茶 *E cha*, which is a contraction of Wooe, the name of the hills. *Bohea*, as we have already seen, is a corruption of the name of the Wooe hills, derived through the local dialect, and is not known to the Chinese as a term for a quality. They call it *ta cha* 大茶 or 'large tea,' which may also be rendered 'large-sized,' or perhaps, coarse tea.' It is distinguished by containing a larger porportion of woody fibre than other teas; its infusion is of a darker color, and, as it has been more subjected to the action of fire, it keeps a longer time without becoming musty, than almost any other sort. There are two kinds of bohea, the coarsest of which is manufactured in this city, and other parts of the province, and therefore called *Canton bohea.* Much of it comes from the district of Hoping in Hwuychow foo in the northern part of the province; a part is raised in the vicinity of Canton. It is frequently mixed with the refuse of congo, and the leaves are much broken in consequence of the mode of packing by stamping them into the chest, and the thorough curing rendering them very crisp and brittle. It is used by the poor to a great extent from its cheapness, and was formerly largely exported. There is a still more inferior sort, seldom or never brought down to Canton, called *tsew loo* 秋露 or 'autumn dew' tea, from the term in which it is picked; it is composed solely of the leaves obtained at the last gleaning, and is very coarse.

Congo, the next higher kind, derives its name from *kung foo* 工夫 or 'labor,' meaning that its preparation is attended with care; it constitutes the great bulk of the cargoes to England. The leaf is not so much broken as the common bohea, and the infusion is not so dark colored, but its quality has of late years deteriorated, and at present, it is more correct to say, nearly or quite all the common sorts of black tea go under the general name of congo. *Campoi* is a corruption of *keën pei* 揀焙 (or *kam pooy* in the Canton dialect,) meaning, 'selected [for] firing;' it is a particular variety of congo, and has a more delicate flavor than the common congo, but is not so strong, and but little of it is exported. There is a sort of black tea called *Anke* 安溪 from the name of the hills where it is grown: its taste and appearance are peculiar, by which it is easily to be distinguished from the tea raised in the Bohea hills, and it is usually inferior in all respects it is also adulterated to some extent. The

Anke hills, being, like the Bohea, of great extent, produce many kinds of tea, which are collectively called *Ankoi* teas by foreigners. The various descriptions of tea enumerated above are chiefly made of leaves obtained at the third picking, and constitute the largest proportion of the cargoes exported.

Souchong is the finest of the stronger black teas, with a leaf that is generally entire and curly, but more young than in the coarser kinds; it is made from the leaves of the second picking. The name is a corruption, through the Canton dialect, of *seaou chung* 小種 or 'small sort.' A variety called at Canton, *padre souchong*, derives its name from being frequently raised by Budhist priests living in the hills, and cured by them in a very careful manner, for their own use and to give away. It is done up in small packages containing about half a pound each. *Powchong*, from *paou chung*, 包種 the 'bundled sort,' is also folded in the same manner. Both of these are fine varieties of souchong; the flavor is fine, the leaves are large, of a yellowish hue, and not very strongly twisted. There are a great number of native names for varieties of souchong, powchong, and pekoe, which have never been Anglicized. Among these may be mentioned the *leëntsze sin*, 蓮子心 or 'nelumbium-seed kernel,' from the resemblance of the cured leaf to the embryo of that plant. The *woo lung*, 烏龍 or 'black dragon,' from a celebrated tree where this kind was first obtained; it is a kind of black tea which nearest resembles green, the leaf is thin and roughish, and the flavor somewhat peculiar. It comes from both the Bohea and Anke hills. The *tseŏ shĕ* 雀舌 or 'sparrow's tongue,' and *lung seu* 龍鬚 or 'dragon's whiskers,' are fanciful names, from the cylindrical appearance of the cured leaf; these two are varieties of pekoe. The *lung twan* 龍團 or 'dragon's pellet,' is in rounder grains, and is also a sort of pekoe. The *hwa heäng* 花香 or 'flowery fragrance,' and *seaou pei* 小焙 or 'careful firing,' are varieties of powchong, and are cured by the priests with much care; the two last sometimes find their way to Canton. The *Sung che* 松製 or 'Sunglo [imitation] cured,' is a variety of souchong, that is cured in a particular manner to make it resemble a variety from Nganhwuy; it is remarkably heavy, and has lately fallen into disrepute from being often found to contain a ferruginous dust, that is detected by passing a magnet among the leaves; it is called *sonchi* or *caper souchong* by foreigners; the leaf is much crisped and curled, and has a fine black gloss

Pekoe being composed mainly of the young leaf buds, the gathering of them must of course be injurious to the future produce of the plant, and this kind of tea is both expensive and scarce compared with souchong. Some have supposed that the flower buds were picked to make the finest kinds of pekoe, but we believe this idea is erroneous, and that it is wholly made from the leaf buds. The name is a corruption of *pih haou* 白毫 or 'white hairs,' from the whitish down that covers the leaf when picked, and which is in a manner preserved in the cured leaf. A variety called *shang heäng* 上香 or 'very fragrant,' or *orange pekoe*, and another *keun mei* 君眉 or 'old man's eyebrows,' both differ slightly in color and taste from common pekoe. The *hung mei*, 紅梅 'red-plum' blossom, or *hungmuey*, is so called from the color of the infusion resembling the tint of this flower. *Tsze haou* 紫毫 or 'carnation hair,' is an inferior kind, sometimes called *flowery pekoe*, and is but seldom seen in this market. There is a sort of pekoe made in Keängsoo from the leaf buds, which is so delicate, and fired so little, that the least damp spoils it, and it is seldom if ever exported; this hyson-pekoe, as some call it, is used by persons of rank as presents under the name of *lung tsing*, which is perhaps the name of the district where it is raised. There is a sort which is rolled up into little round pellets, and hence called *choo lan* 珠蘭 or 'pearl flower;' it is scented with the flowers of the Chloranthus, and cannot be obtained, even among the Chinese, except at high prices. The finer sorts of teas, and sometimes even the cheaper, both of black and green, are scented with odoriferous flowers, of which the *Olea fragrans* and *Chloranthus inconspicuus* are cultivated for the purpose near Canton; the *Gardenia florida* is also employed in the same way. The mode of scenting *chulan* and other teas is to put an open basket of the leaves just after firing over a coal fire, and cover them with fresh flowers; another similar basket is placed upon the top of this, and the leaves also covered with flowers, and a tatch over the whole; the two are then left to the influence of the fire, until the tea is thoroughly scented. If this operation is done, as is sometimes the case at Canton, when the tea is dry and has been cured for some time, this peculiar scent is evanescent, and the flavor imparted by the flowers is soon dissipated. In all the finest sorts of tea, with a view to preserve the delicacy of their flavor, the application of heat is very limited in drying the leaves, and hence it is that they are more liable to injury from keeping than the common kinds.

Green teas are collectively called *tuh cha* 綠茶 by the Chinese, which means teas of a green color; they are sometimes also called *Sunglo*, 松羅 or *Sung cha* 松茶 from the hills where they are cultivated. There are not as many varieties of green as of black tea. *Twankay* is rather the most inferior sort, affording an infusion of a pale brown color; it is the produce of the third picking, and the leaf is not twisted very hard. The name is derived from *Tun ke* 屯溪 or 'the valley-rivulet of Tun' in Chĕkeäng, near Keëntih heën, where it is raised. There are two sorts. *Superior twankay* or hyson kind, which term describes this tea in its original state, when freshly gathered, previous to the leaves being assorted, in which state the flavor is superior. After assortment, the inferior or coarse leaves are denominated *twankay*, the taste of which is coarse and brassy. It is much employed by the dealers in England to mix with finer teas, but the greatest part is consumed by itself, just as it is imported; it constitutes about one half of all the green tea exported to that country. *Hyson-skin*, called *pe cha* 皮茶 or 'skin tea,' is a leafy-looking sort, made from the coarse, yellow, and half-twisted leaves of hyson, and is rather an inferior kind; its name implies the *refuse* of a better sort, the word *skin* meaning the inferior portion, alluding perhaps to the rind of fruit. It has a fresh smell, and the infusion is somewhat yellowish. The qualities comprised under this name vary a good deal in color and value; from its being the inferior assortings of hyson and young hyson, the quantity brought to market depends upon, and bears some proportion to, the whole amount of hyson manufactured. The best *skin* tea is, however, far better than any of the teas usually denominated twankay.

Hyson,* a corruption of the Chinese *he chun* 熙春 or 'flourishing spring,' because the leaves are picked when the plant is in full verdure, is prepared with much care; each leaf is twisted and rolled by hand, and the firing is done in a careful manner. That which is fleshy and light is the best. The ordinary kind of hyson is sometimes called *he pe* 熙皮 by the Chinese, and *old hyson*

* D'Israeli has made a singular mistake concerning the origin of this name, and that of tea, in his section on the "Introduction of Tea." "The word *chia*," says he, "is the Portuguese term for tea retained to this day, which they borrowed from the Japanese; while our intercourse with the Chinese made us no doubt adopt their term *theh*, now prevalent throughout Europe, with the exception of Portugal. The Chinese origin is still preserved in the term *hohea*, tea which comes from the country of Wooe; and that of *hyson* was the name of the most considerable Chinese then concerned in the trade."

by foreigners, the leaves are larger and lighter than the true hyson, and usually more crisp and brittle, showing a nigher degree of heat. The various kinds of green tea are brought to Canton in lots, every chest of which bears the same mark, or *chop*, as it is called. There is no fixed number of chests comprised under the same chop, since it is merely a collective name given to a number of chests owned by an individual; sometimes there are 500 in a chop of twankay, but the number of chests of other sorts is seldom or never so great.

Young hyson is the quality of green tea most commonly exported to America, and the fine lots of hyson are sometimes included under this name. It was formerly called *uchain*, from the Chinese name, *yu tseën* 雨前 or 'before the rains,' implying that the leaves are gathered before the rains set in, and while they are still tender. In consequence of the large demand for young hyson for the American market, it is said to have deteriorated from what it was years ago The manuscript, so often quoted, intimates that after hyson tea is fired, it is put into sieves, and the small and broken leaves which are sifted through are sold under the name of young hyson. There is a variety of young hyson, called *mei peën*, 梅片 or 'plum petals,' on account of the reddish tint of the infusion, caused probably by the ferruginous nature of the soil where the plant grows; it is not often brought to this market.

Imperial is a delicate kind of tea, cured rather slightly, and the leaves are rolled into little round pellets by hand, from whence come the Chinese names of *choo cha*, 珠茶 or 'pearl tea,' and *ta choo* 大珠 'great pearl.' The *choo lan*, 珠蘭 or 'pearl flower,' sometimes called *chulan hyson*, is a sort in which the flowers of the Chloranthus have been placed to give it a flavor. The foreign name *imperial* was probably given from the common practice in Canton of bestowing fine names on whatever was better than common. It is the heaviest portion of the young hyson, and differs from it in being in large and round grains, while the granules of the latter are smaller and longer; and after curing the young hyson, the imperial is sometimes separated by putting it into fanning-mills, when the heaviest grains fall through. It is said, "that out of one hundred pounds, about ten of imperial are obtained." *Gunpowder* is another variety, which usually presents a much finer granular appearance than the 'pearl tea,' and being of a dark green color, and having a lustrous bloom upon it, was named *gunpowder* from its resemblance to that substance. A kind of tea called *ma choo* 麻珠 or 'hemp pearl,' by the Chinese is included under this appellation.

We might add to this list of names by extracts from the *Cha King*, or Memoir on Tea, but as they would convey little or no information to our readers, being for the most part appellations given to the tea levied as a tax, or else to small farms which produce a peculiar variety, it appears unnecessary. Baron Schilling has enumerated thirty-six sorts, to which Rémusat added fifteen, some of which we suspect were taken from the *Cha King*

The principal part of the supplies to the inhabitants of the countries on the west of China is raised in the conterminous provinces, as Yunnan, Szechuen, and Kweichow. Little or none of it ever reaches Canton, but for delicacy of flavor and carefulness of preparation, it is said not to be inferior to that grown farther east. It finds its way throughout the stepps of Chinese Tartary, and into Tibet; and from these regions passes over into Assám, Nípál, Bútan, and Samarcand. It is related in the *Cha King*, that the tea raised in the west of China was once exchanged to the Tartars for horses for the use of government. Russia consumes large quantities, which is stated to be of a superior flavor when it arrives at St. Petersburg, owing to the greater ease with which it can be preserved from dampness during the land-journey, compared with the voyage westward by sea. It is all carried from the northwest of China to Kiakhta, from whence it is distributed over that empire. Tea is a common beverage among the Tartars. To accommodate their nomadic habits, and make it easy of carriage, the tea is frequently cured by pressing the leaves, after a partial drying, into cakes, about 16 inches long by 12 wide, and about 1½ thick, which are thoroughly dried in this shape. We believe it is boiled a little when used, but our information does not extend to the minutiæ of the preparation of this *brick tea*, as it has been called.

There are other modes of curing tea adopted by the tribes resident on the west of China. "The Singphos have known and drank tea for many years," says Mr. Bruce, "but they cure it in a very different way from the Chinese. They pluck the tender leaves, and dry them a little in the sun; some put them out into the dew, and then again into the sun for three successive days; others, after a partial drying, put them into hot pans, turn them about until quite hot, and then pour them into a hollow bamboo, driving the mass down with a stick until it is full, holding and turning the bamboo over the fire all the time. The end is then closed with leaves, and the bamboo hung up tea thus prepared will keep for years." Tea also forms part of the merchandize carried by the caravans between China and Burmah

from whence it gradually finds its way south to the Laos people, the Siamese, and Cambodians. However, we think it very improbable, if a plant so universally diffused over the empire of China, restricts itself wholly to her borders; it is probably indigenous to some extent in these countries, as it is in Cochinchina, and has lately been found to be in Assám, and the borders of Tibet. By some of the tribes on the southwest, tea is used as a pickle, and the leaves are eaten, though the exhilirating properties of the infusion are well known. Specimens of tea have been brought to Canton from those regions rolled into balls, about the size of a peach, and then encased in leaves, two or three together

Few nations use tea more universally than the Japanese, and none have it of a more delicate flavor, or take more pains in curing it. It is cultivated in most parts of the country; and as in China, the spots usually selected for it are on the acclivities of hills; it is sometimes planted in hedgerows, but the care taken of it is none the less. The most celebrated is the *Udzi cha*, so called from the hills where it is cultivated: it is the perquisite of the daïri, and is cured with extraordinary care. The Japanese sometimes triturate the cured leaves to a powder, and pour hot water upon them when lying on a sieve-like dish, and drink the infusion as it runs off; but this is not a common mode of using it, being, we understand, chiefly confined to marriage ceremonies.

Our mode of drinking tea with the addition of milk and sugar, while it may sometimes conceal the inferior taste of bad tea, in a measure destroys the fine aroma and delicate flavor of the finest teas, and renders them comparatively insipid. It would probably better the taste of our tea to imitate the Chinese mode of covering the cup until the liquid is drank. The Chinese in all cases drink the simple infusion, and so common a beverage is it, that in the poorest houses, a pot is usually kept standing to quench thirst; and if a guest is not presented with a cup of tea, it is, ten to one, a designed omission, as it is in Turkey not to offer a dish of coffee.

When we consider the great demand for this beverage, it will not be thought strange if the Chinese sometimes tried to adulterate it with the dried leaves of other plants; or if they should simulate the finer kinds by chemical agents: or if unfair attemps to increase the weight should be resorted to. When, however, we estimate the enormous amount manufactured for domestic and foreign use, we think it will be conceded that, (judging from the data in our possession,) there is proportionably but little garbling or deception practiced in this arti-

cle. Attempts are made at Canton to deceive the purchaser, sóme times in one way, and sometimes in another. Young hyson is now and then made, in order to supply a sudden demand, by cutting up and sifting other kinds of green tea; and even when hard pressed taking black tea, and coloring it with a preparation of gypsum and Prussian blue, after cutting it up to a proper fineness. Mr. Davis describes the various processes which he witnessed in one of the packhouses, in manufacturing a lot of young hyson in this manner. The variety of bohea, called *Canton bohea*, is sometimes adulterated, so as to resemble the very refuse of a firing-house. It was formerly customary, whenever a deception was detected in a lot on opening it in England, for the hongist who sold the tea, to return two chests as an equivalent; but this somewhat excessive demand is now exchanged for a fair bill of damages, which the hongs pay. The adulteration of teas is prohibited by the English laws under severe penalties When one hears so much of the frauds practiced by the Chinese in adulterating teas, he would think the business was of course, confined to them; but these restrictions indicate either, a great fear lest tea will be vitiated by the traders in that country, or a determination on the part of the lawgiver that it shall not be.

The Chinese themselves occasionally employ the leaves of other plants to eke out the genuine leaf, or wholly as a succedaneum for it; and this appears to be practiced to a much greater extent, especially in those quarters where tea is not cultivated, than one would suppose. A species of moss is sold in Shantung for this purpose; and we have been informed that a species of the family of Rhamneæ is employed by the poor peasantry in this region. Dr Abel saw a kind of fern for sale in Nanchang foo, that was employed as a substitute for it. It is highly probable that the leaves of some species of the Camellia are also taken instead of the true tea; in many points they resemble each other, in appearance as well as in their qualities; they are cultivated in the same regions, and both are called *cha* by the Chinese. While passing up and down the streets of this city, trays containing the refuse of tea are seen on shop-boards set out for sale; the coarse leaves are called *cha keuh* or 'tea bones;' the fine dust-like powder, *cha mŏ* or 'tea-leavings.' We have once or twice seen other leaves than those from the tea plant among the tea bones;' and attempts of this sort are not unfrequently detected by the tea-inspectors.

The history of the origin and progress of the tea trade is one of the most interesting in the annals of commerce. Its gradual extension

in Britain and America has also had almost as much to do with improving the social system in those favored countries — as well in softening the asperities, and cementing the bonds of the intercourse between all ranks of society — as it has in developing the enterprise of their merchants. The exhibition of all the happy effects which have resulted from the use of

"—— the cups
That cheer but not inebriate ;—— "

the many associations that cluster around the tea-board, and the full meaning of the simple invitation, "Come and take tea with us this evening," belong to other pens; and we at present must content ourselves with a sketch of the commercial growth of this commodity

The curious D'Israeli has collected various notices of its introduction into England. He thinks that it was used in Cromwell's time, from the fact that one of the Protector's tea-pots was subsequently in the possession of a virtuoso; but it is quite as likely that the latter owner called it a tea-pot from its resemblance to that article in his day, as that Oliver used it to boil water in for his tea. According to common accounts, the Dutch first carried tea to Europe, from whence, in 1666, it reached England; but there are authentic notices of its being known in London in 1660. However, its consumption was so limited for many years, that the whole of the importations were obtained from Bantam in Java, where the English had a factory; but from its first introduction, the use of it surely, and in a short time, rapidly extended. In 1670, the importations amounted to 79 pounds, but in fifteen years, they rose to 12.070 lbs. The rate of increase in its use in England is shown by the following table; which for the year 1839 — supposing none to be exported to the continent — is nearly an average of two pounds avoirdupois for each individual.

1711	141.995	1780	5.588.315	1830	30.047.078
1735	1.380.199	1790	14.693.299	1834	28.347.300
1750	2.114.922	1800	20.358.702	1837	36.315.000
1760	2.293,613	1810	19.093.244	1838	36 416.266
1770	7.723.538	1820	22.452.050	1839	40.678.666

The following table shows the comparative exportation of the various kinds of the tea to England, and the United States. It is partly made out from the returns of the General Chamber of Commerce in Canton.

A TABLE, showing the exports of Tea from China by the East India Company in the year 1832; by British vessels in the years 1838 and 1839; the exports by vessels under the American flag during the same years; the combined British and American trade for 1837; the exports by French vessels in 1837; the average cost in taels per pecul, and cents per pound; and the market price.

DESCRIPTION OF TEA.	Fuhkeen Bohea.	Canton Bohea.	Congo.	Caper Congo.	Souchong	Powchong	Campoi	Ankoi	Hungmuey	Pekoe	Orange Pekoe	Hyson	Young Hyson	Hyson Skin	Twankay	Gunpowder	Imperial
England in 1832.	54,367	—	136,816	—	3,921	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,990	1,181	7,085	30,834	157	—
United Kingdom in 1838.	—	—	169,681	5,040	7,582	—	217	530	2,867	4,382	3,495	10,082	6,404	1,792	31,873	3,433	2,224
U. K. in 1839.	504	355	219,677	2,260	6,497	—	428	795	2,347	4,568	6,687	9,753	4,948	3,893	33,562	5,679	3,137
United States in 1832.	7,519	—	1,128	—	24,616	1,122	268	—	—	404	—	4,590	26,212	8,994	2,069	3,739	3 211
U. S. in 1838	—	—	477	—	30,827	3,860	—	—	—	1.593	—	6,556	47,709	10,702	342	6,915	4,907
U. S. in 1839.	—	—	1,826	—	6,779	3,501	—	—	—	71	195	4,159	41.567	4,003	475	6,278	4.708
Combined British and American trade in 1837.	2,415	—	183,509	5,094	36,583	2,322	287	1274	3,989	3754	7,088	29,916	68,396	25,137	34,629	12377	8.871
In French ships.	—	—	24	—	553	55	—	—	—	396	69	162	13	46	41	123	126
Av. cost, taels per pecul.	12½	15¼	32	26	35¼	25	30	21	22½	62½	31	55½	28	24	29	53	50
Av. cost, cents per pound.	13	—	33½	27½	37½	37½	32	22½	25	64¾	32½	57	30½	25¼	32½	54½	52
Market price, Feb. 1839.			22 a 30	18a25	42 a 52				26a34	40a85	24 a 37	45 a 65	30 a 50	18 a 26		48a62	45a59

Next to England, the United States consume the greatest quantity, principally green teas. It is impossible to arrive at the exact consumption, for much that is carried there is reëxported. In 1832, 9,906,606 lbs. were imported, of which 1,279,462 lbs. were reëxported, to Hamburgh, Cuba, &c. The use of it has gradually increased since the revolution, and the average consumption for each individual is now about 11 *oz.* av., per annum. At present the importations may be stated at about twelve millions of pounds annually, being an increase of nearly one half since the duties were taken off in 1833. In the season of 1833-34, no less than 18,688,533 lbs. were exported from China in American vessels, but it has not since again reached that amount.

The consumption of tea on the continent of Europe is principally confined to Holland and Russia. That in Holland amounts to about 2,800,000 lbs. a year; the duty on it various from 1½*d.* to 4½*d.* per lb. The tea consumed in Germany is entered at the port of Hamburgh, and amounts to from 1,800,000 lbs. to 2,000,000 lbs. annually. The use of it in France appears to be on the increase from the table just given, though the whole exportation from Canton in French ships is much more than the importation into France. Up to 1832, the consumption barely equalled 250,000 lbs.; but a notion that it was an antidote to cholera is said to have made it more fashionable. The comparative cheapness and great use of wine in France must ever present an obstacle to the consumption of the Chinese beverage. Russia, as we have already seen, is supplied through Kiakhta. Mr. Davis informs us that a letter written from Siberia in 1819 stated the quantity annually carried to Russia was about 66,000 chests, containing upwards of five millions of pounds. In 1830, the imports are said to have been 5,563,444 lbs.; in 1832, they were 6,461,064 lbs. The teas, which are mostly of the black sorts, are carried from Kiakhta, overland to Tomsk, and thence partly by land and partly by water, to Novogorod. A Danish ship now and then arrives at Whampoa; and Swedish and Prussian ships come at intervals, but what proportion of their export cargoes is tea we have not been able to ascertain.

Small quantities of tea are also carried to Kamtschatka, Sandwich Islands, Peru, Mazatlan in Mexico, Chili, Lisbon, and Trieste, but the mention of these places does but little more than impress upon us the universality of its consumption, and the untrammeled character of the commerce of the present age, for the use of it in all of them is extremely limited. The exportations from China to New South Wales,

to various ports in the Archipelago, and to India, is for the most part carried on in British vessels. The first mentioned trade employs five to seven vessels annually, and the consumption is increasing; which remark is also true when applied to India. The native trade in this article, between China and the islands of the Archipelago, is of a very ancient date, and a good share of it is at present in the hands of Chinese merchants from Fuhkeën. Their junks leave in the northwest monsoon, proceed to the Súlú Archipelago, to Lugonia, Borneo, Singapore, and the interjacent places, carrying not only tea but other commodities. We have no means of knowing their exportations, but conclude that in tea they are not as great as formerly, from the importations by Spanish, Dutch, and English vessels, to the respective colonies of those nations.

It thus appears, from the most authentic data that we have seen, that the annual amount of exports from China, in the article of tea alone, is between sixty and sixty-five millions of pounds. The price paid to the Chinese for it cannot be so nearly ascertained. In 1837, there were 56,751,133 *lbs.* exported in British and American vessels, at the cost of 19,928,052 dollars; in 1838, only 52,202,533 *lbs.* were exported by the same nations, at an invoice cost of 13,535,026 dollars. It might be added here, as a commercial antithesis, that the sale price of opium to the Chinese for 1837, was 13,554,030 dollars, and for 1838, it was 19,727,259 dollars.

Few articles ministering to the happiness of man have been more the object of taxation than tea. The Chinese government levies an export tax upon it of two and a half taels per pecul, which is doubled to five taels ($6.94) by several consoo and other charges. Under the E. I. Company's monopoly, when the system of making advances to the hong merchants was practiced, the export charges were six taels and seven mace, showing a reduction under the free trade. Besides the charges in Canton, we have already seen how it is obliged to pass through seven or eight excise-houses on the road hither, and those fees are all ultimately paid by the foreign purchaser. On the arrival of a cargo in England, it is again taxed 2*s.* 1*d.* per *lb.*, which, on the cheapest kinds, is often 100 per cent. upon prime cost. These heavy charges, combined with the other necessary ones of freight, commission, insurance, &c., make the price of tea to the consumer in England about 400 per cent. above the price in its native hills of Wooe. In the various ports on the continent of Europe, the duties are levied, generally *ad valorem:* but in the ports of the United States it is admitted free, on the reasonable ground that its introduction does not interfere with any domestic manufacture.

The great consumption of this leaf, and the steady demand for it, have suggested the attempts to cultivate it in other places in order to supersede the monopoly of the Chinese. Heretofore, these experiments have met with only partial success; but the plantations recently laid out under the protection of the Indian government in Upper Assám, where the shrub is indigenous, appear likely in time to produce so large a supply as seriously to affect the exportations from this port. Fifty-five tracts, of greater or less extent, have been discovered in Upper Assám by Mr. Bruce; and the cultivation of the tea, and curing of the leaf, can be extended as far as the demand requires. The first sale of Assám teas took place in London, April 2d, 1839, and excited a good deal of curiosity and competition among the brokers. There were three lots of souchong, and five lots of pekoe, all of which sold at high prices; and it was the opinion of good judges on that occasion, that the unskillfulness of the workmen had spoiled the quality of the tea, as it had a smoky and strong flavor. We may reasonably look for an improvement in this respect, inasmuch as there are Chinese workmen employed on the plantations there, who have been procured from Fuhkeën itself, who will soon rival their countrymen in the Bohea and Sunglo hills in workmanship, if they cannot excel them as cultivators.

The Dutch in Java have within the last few years made considerable efforts to supersede the necessity of resorting to China for their tea, and the exports already amount to two cargoes, which left Batavia for Holland in 1838. The government there called in the assistance of Chinese, settled upon the island, many of whom were from Fuhkeën; and the plantations bid fair, we believe, to answer the expectations of the projectors of the enterprise. Attempts have at one time and another been made in Penang, Martinique, St. Helena, and Rio Janeiro, to cultivate the tea plant; but the undertakings were successively abandoned, or suffered to fall into neglect. In Brazil, sanguine hopes were entertained of success, and heavy initiatory expenses incurred, but the whole has sunk into comparative neglect, leaving a few hot-house shrubs to tell the tale of their exile. These disappointments may all be ascribed to various opposing causes — as difference of climate and unfitness of soil, excess of heat and moisture, and above all ignorance of the manipulations in curing the leaf — combining to produce the result.

Both green and black tea are known as hot-house plants in England. Linnæus had the honor of introducing the first living plant into Europe, though not until he had experienced many disappoint-

ments. He finally advised captain Eckeburg to sow the fresh seeds in pots as soon as he left China; this plan succeeded, and the growing plants were safely brought to Upsal in 1763. They are cultivated in a loamy soil, or in loam and peat well drained, and do not need a fire heat. They are increased by layings, or cuttings of the young branches, when the seeds begin to ripen. The treatment, in almost all respects, resembles that of its congener, the Camellia: but the Thea is not so well naturalized as the former, nor its flower so great a favorite with florists. The green tea plant, being hardier than the other, is more frequently met with in hot-houses; and in England, it flourishes the whole year in the open air.

We were about adding a paragraph upon the medicinal and chemical qualities of tea, but for the recorded opinions of physicians upon its use, we refer our readers to their works. The Materia Medicale of Mérat and De Lens contains a synopsis of the medical properties of tea, and a chemical analysis of it, which probably combines nearly all that is known. A leaf, that is in general use as an every day beverage by more than four hundred millions of people, cannot possess any noxious properties in a very high degree; notwithstanding its occasional abuse may serve to show that it is capable of injuring those who take it to excess. Its widely extended diffusion in Asia, Europe, and America, is an argument in its favor that appeals to the common-sense of mankind; and he, who undertakes, as we have seen attempted, to prove by a few instances of injury resulting from its use, that taken in any degree it is deleterious, only runs the risk of bringing down his dogmas upon his own head. We were lately much amused with the endeavor made in a "Journal of Health and Longevity," to terrify tea-drinkers by quoting from Davis' Chinese, the account he gives of adulterating and manufacturing young-hyson in the pack-houses at Canton; which that author only gives as an instance of fraud, but which, as an isolated quotation, conveyed the impression that this is a common mode of curing tea in China.

Note. In preparing this article, free use has been made of all the authors within our reach, both native and foreign, but the principal object was to furnish our readers with information derived from the former; and the greater part has therefore been translated from the manuscript spoken of on page 137, for the use of which we are indebted to a friend. Nearly all the extracts from it are included in quotations, but we have selected whatever was to our purpose. The *Cha King* or 'Memoir on Tea,' is the most elaborate native work on this subject which we have yet seen, and has been referred to occasionally. It is in six octavo volumes, printed in a most beautiful type, and adorned with cuts of many of the utensils used in curing tea. The present edition, which is an enlargement of a smaller treatise published about A. D. 780, is the work of Luh Manting of Fuhchow in the

province of Fuhkeen, and issued from the press during the reign of Yungching. It probably tells us all that is known about the tea as a matter of history, but it is not a practical treatise. Mr. Davis' Chinese contains such notices of the tea as an article of commerce, as we should expect from his pen, and many of the facts on his pages have been transferred to our own. For details of the consumption of tea abroad, especially in England, Macculloch's Dictionary is the best authority, and we have not made many remarks on this point, as his work is so easily accessible. Mr. Royle, in the fourth part of the "Illustrations of the Botany of the Himalaya Mountains," has devoted several pages to the discussion of the identity of the plants which respectively afford the green and black tea, and to his work we refer those who are desirous of ascertaining all that is known upon this part of the subject. He inclines to the opinion that there are two distinct species, but we still think that both black and green tea can be, in fact they often are, manufactured from the same shrub.

ART. VI. *Lombock; disturbances on the island; self-immolation of the late queen; with notices of the government, people, &c.*

THE Singapore Free Press, for the 20th of June last, contains the following paragraph. "For about the last eighteen months, the island of Lombock has been torn by intestine commotion, and a prey to civil war; and its annals during that period have been characterized by an event of the most tragical description, of which we wish it was in our power to give more particular details. About the beginning of last year, the goostie or chief of Mataram headed a rebellion against the royal authority of Karang-Assam, at that time swayed by a female sovereign. The queen maintained and defended her rights with courage and resolution, protracting the war from month to month, until the successes of her rebellious vassal compelled her to solicit the assistance of the Javanese government. Before this could be given, she was reduced to the extremity of distress, and on the point of falling into the hands of the rebel force. Driven to desperation, and resolved to avoid the ignominy of being lorded over by a vassal, she called a council of all her kindred, male and female, and urged upon them the alternative of self-sacrifice, in preference to falling into the hands of their enemies. The proposition received the unanimous consent of all present, and shutting themselves up together in the palace, the whole, to the number of about fifty, took an early opportunity of destroying themselves in the presence of each other, by stabbing themselves or falling on their swords! The goostie of Mataram, whose rebellion led to this terrible act of self-immolation, did not survive to enjoy the fruits of his ill-omened success, having himself been killed in course of the war, and the rájá Moorah Mattie, the only relative of the late heroic queen who was left alive, succeed-

ed to the sovereignty of Lombock, a dignity which he was allowed to enjoy unmolested until, not many weeks ago, the present goostie of Maratam, following the example of his predecessor, threw off his allegiance, and succeeded in deposing his rightful liege-lord, who is still in arms, however, for the recovery of his lost power. These disturbances have in the meantime compromised property to a considerable amount belonging to an English mercantile house settled in Lombock, the present *de facto* ruler having thought fit to confiscate all the outstanding debts due to them, on the plea of their having given assistance to the former rulers of the country — a proceeding which the said rájá would be at no difficulty in finding a law for, being himself a debtor to the mercantile establishment in question. The local authorities have, we understand, been applied to for their assistance in recovering the property confiscated, and we hope they will address a firm remonstrance to this Polynesian Tharrawaddy on the subject. Even that not very scrupulous personage would scarcely think of confiscating property on the ground that its owners abetted pretensions of one sovereign, in a country where there had been three in the course of little more than a twelvemonth."

From a private manuscript journal we are allowed to make a few extracts, referring chiefly to the preceding topics.

"May 1st, 1839. We visited the rájá of Karang-Assam; we went on horseback, the want of bridges and proper roads precluding the use of carriages. A pleasant ride of seven miles, brought us to the mud walls of the palace, from the door of which came a motly crowd of natives, all said to be of royal blood. After waiting an hour or more, till he had finished his afternoon *siesta*, we were admitted, and conducted to an outer court, opposite his own. Three of our number were honored with chairs, by his side, and mats were spread on the floor for the rest of the party. He is twenty-two years of age, and appears dull and stupid. He has under his protection an uncle, who came from Balli to assist in the war, one year since, and while here lost his own kingdom, and is now a mere outcast. He has many smiths at work, all of which he superintends, with much interest. His rifles and locks are very superior; many were brought in for our inspection. We saw also a funeral pile, on which a widow had been burned a few days before with the body of her husband. An eye-witness of the scene says she gave the widow some intoxicating drug, which is here a general custom. She thinks widows are *never* burned of their own free-will. On our return, near the resident's gate, we saw two men lying dead, who in a dispute about their daily wages had stabbed each other.

"May 2d. A rumor from shore says that war is brewing At present the island seems to be governed by two chiefs; who, at a treaty of peace a year ago, left the division of land to the rájá of Balli. He gave the people of Karang-Assam two thirds, and one third to those of Mataram.

"May 3d. The troubles increase. —— went out with his party, he says to prevent bloodshed, and returned with the spoils of a few sacked villages. The island is enveloped in a cloud of smoke, rising from the burning villages. Some say, that the proper cause of the war is, that the old rájá of Balli has too much to say, and has too much influence with the young chief.

"May 4th. This morning, —— moved off again in martial order, with about two hundred men, all armed with krises, some also having spears, others muskets, cutlases, &c. No music. Their dress is a white turban, a red scarf about their shoulders, and a sarong about their loins. They do not fight in the middle of the day, for it is then "too hot." —— says he is under the orders of the rájá [of Mataram], and if he says, "sack this village or that," he has no alternative but to obey. The people of Mataram say, they only demand the old rájá of Balli, and that as soon as he is given up all will be quiet again.

"May 5th. War continues. The government seems to afford no security to foreigners, nor even to itself. To-day one is absolute in authority; to-morrow, if in existence, he is hunted and chased like a wild beast. It is scarcely a year since the late queen, who governed the islands supremely, lost her dominions, and rather than fall into the hands of her enemies, by request was dispatched by a slave, who then killed himself. Seventy of the royal family followed her example.

"May 6th. To-day the old rájá of Balli killed himself and several of his wives, and wounded his nephew, the chief of Karang-Assam. At night he was brought, with the light of many torches, amidst chanting and wailing, and cast into the sea, for to be burned on shore is considered a great reproach. Peace is again declared, and all seem to join in the jubilee.

"May 9th. It is reported that the chief of Mataram is to govern the island, assisted by the chief of Karang-Assam. The people are swearing allegiance; —— had to go up and make his salaam, and offer presents. "Chow chow" trade is now to be free.

"May 11th. Our merchants are doing nothing; though the people say *it is all free trade now*, yet matters are involved in obscurity, and correct accounts cannot be obtained.

"May 23d. Orders from rájá for Messrs. —— and —— to leave

the island before dark; and now they are permitted to trade free, if they will remain afloat. They are forbidden ever to set foot again on land. The natives know the island only by the name of *Sasak*; and as the now ruling powers are from Balli, many are refusing to swear allegiance to the rájá of Mataram. Another war, therefore, is anticipated."

ART. VII. *Great imperial commissionary's governor's of two Kwang province lieutenant-governor's of Canton earnest proclamation to foreigners again issued.*

FOR the managing opium on the last spring being stopped trade for present time till the opium surrendered to the government than ordered be opened the trade the same as before.

The American vessels are ready to continually enter into the port ten and more ships have been examined by the hupos officers are bringing no opium on board and the hong merchants and foreign merchants give bond for the same then captain Reinmond's ship loaded and filled with cargo sailed and returned to her country but English country ships get anchored in outside sea not get information coming into the port must being deceived by rumors of bad persons saying you are being ready selling opium now if you go into the port should be put you into the punishment therefore you are still retain and expect some other chance why you are never think celestial empire treat natives and foreigners all equal in the world if any to be found out bad merchant dealing with opium will be brought into punishment if honest merchant from whatsoever may come into the port should be allowed to trade the same as was and will not intend to say being do a kindness to one and to another never will treat you foreigners by two manners of ways therefore another proclamation.

Now you are whose persons had any opium on board the celestial empire law as strictly should be not allow such opium bring into the port if any honest merchant without any opium the great imperial commissionary the governor and lieutenant-governor must be to representate cherishing favor of emperor the great and valiantly protect you and to make no separate black and white put you into boat you must taking in good purpose get your formation enter to the port all the constitutions of examine and bond will be according American ships managed and not to be deceived by rumor when you did not intend come into the port and quickly sail back to your country and not allow to be continue these proclamation

Taoukwang, 19th year, —th month —th day.

Note. So far as we know, this is the first document which ever came from the Chinese in the English language. It is evidently the work of the commissioner's senior interpreter, who has for many years been in the employment of the government, at Peking. Its idioms are perfectly Chinese; and, like all the documents in their own language, it is without punctuation. If our readers should be able to understand what it means, they will here see the "great imperial commissionary's" compassion manifested, and his earnest desire shown that the English ships should enter the Bogue as usual, promising that he "will never treat you foreigners by two manners of ways." It is a document worthy of being put on record.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: visit of the commissioner to the foreign factories; homicide at Hongkong; encounters between foreign vessels and Chinese on the coast; Canton newspapers; foreigners in Macao; notices from the Dutch and British consulates.*

On the morning of the 7th instant, at 9 o'clock, his excellency, Lin, according to previous notice, appeared in front of the foreign factories, borne by six men; he was followed by all the high provincial officers, attended by crowds of those of lower rank, civil and military. He entered the hall of the British consulate, and found it desolate and empty; and after having inspected the alterations in front of the factories, returned by the way he came, through Old China street.

On the same day, at Hongkong, an affray occurred, in which a native, named *Lin Weihe*, lost his life. The particulars of this affair shall be given in our next.

There are rumors abroad of two encounters on the coast; one is said to have been between "a brig called the Ann," in which two foreigners and four or five Chinese lost their lives; the other was between a schooner and a small party of natives on shore; two or three of the schooner's people are said to have been taken. We fear these rumors are founded on facts, but it is not in our power to verify them.

In his paper of the 6th instant, the editor of the *Canton Press* remarks that, owing to the disturbances in Canton, it has been necessary to make arrangements for issuing it in Macao; and adds, "We are happy to say that our views have been met with the greatest liberality by the authorities of this city." The editor of the *Canton Register*, referring to the above, says, "for this liberality we offer our most grateful thanks."

The thanks of the whole foreign community, as well as of the conductors of the public presses in Canton, are justly due to the Portuguese government and inhabitants of Macao; who, throughout all the troubles with the Chinese, have rendered to foreigners every possible aid and facility for business, consistent with the laws of the settlement.

His Neth. maj. consul in China, M. J. Senn Van Basel has given notice, that consignees of Dutch vessels previous to applying for pilots to proceed to Whampoa, are requested to inform him of the same, and that they will be held responsible for the consequences which may arise from disobeying his notice.

The following notice to British subjects, signed by Edward Elmslie, sec. and treas. to the superintendents, is dated Macao, 29th July, 1839. "Notice is hereby given that the chief superintendent has moved her majesty's and British Indian governments to forbid the entrance of tea and other produce from this country, imported in British vessels entering the port of Canton, in violation of his lawful injunctions, to the serious injury of measures taken for the general security of this trade. And the chief superintendent has further to give notice that he has also moved her majesty's and the British Indian governments to forbid the entrance of cargoes from this country (till the port of Canton be declared safe for British trade under his hand and seal), except their manifests be duly signed in his presence. By order of the chief superintendent. &c., &c.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial intercourse in Eastern Asia; government of Valdes, de la Torre, Arrechederra, and Arizala.* *(Continued from page* 112.)

THE third century, of the annals we are tracing, opens with some account of peaceful advances made by the sultan of Súlú, which were met, on the Spanish side, by the mission of an envoy to that piratical capital. A restoration of captives, a system of licenses or safe-conducts for vessels, &c., were the fruits of this negotiation. While the colony gained something on this side, in the safety of its coasting trade, it sustained, the same year (1726), a severe blow in the loss of the San Christo de Burgos, one of its richest galleons. Two years after, the vacant archbishopric was refilled by the appointment of don C. B. G. de Castro. He touched at the Marianas, on his voyage to Manila, and there exerted himself for the conversion of the islanders. Among the children, brought to him at the font, was one — an infant — which could not be induced to return to the mother's breast, until she too had submitted to Christian baptism. A twelvemonth after, death removed him from the new scene of his labors. The treaty with Súlú did not long secure the colony from piratical depredations. Before Torre Campo's administration closed, it had become necessary to send a naval force to repress these incursions. The treasury being too low to afford this extraordinary outlay, he citizens were called on for a forced loan or 'benevolencia.' This is by no means the only instance the Philippine records supply, of a resort to involuntary contributions. In the case of this remote colony, as yet unable to support itself, and depending on the regular

receipt of the Mexican subsidy, the recourse was perhaps necessary The colonial authorities were further supported in these impolitic 'ways and means,' by the example, not of Asiatic states alone, but of European also; e. g. by that of Great Britain down to the time of Charles II.

The expedition thus fitted out, was so far successful, as to inflict a severe chastisement on the coasts it visited. Whether these blows fell upon the guilty or the innocent, does not appear, but we have our author's assurance that, 'se-mato infinita canalla.'

This was the last public act of Torre Campo. He was succeeded in August, 1729, after eight years' government, by don Fernando de Valdes y Tamon, the 22d captain-general, &c., of the colony. De Valdes was a military officer, and proceeded, as usual, to examine and expose the destitution of the troops, magazines, &c. To replenish these last, a vessel was dispatched to Batavia, to purchase arms, &c., but the Dutch authorities refused to grant the supply asked, although they had done so on a former occasion.

Again, in 1731, a hostile armament was sent to Súlú, notwithstanding Torre Campo's treaty. Its track, after reaching that group, was marked by the destruction of boats, the desolation of towns, &c. The next year, the expedition was repeated, and its ravages extended to Mindanao, Basilan, and other islands. It will be seen hereafter, that these retaliatory enterprises, while they wore the appearance of success, did nothing toward breaking the spirit or force of the islanders.

In June, 1733, a fire broke out at Cavité, which consumed a great part of the stores, &c., prepared for the galleon, about to sail for Acapulco. It was not necessary now, however, to lay 'benevolences' on the colonists to repair these losses. The fear of losing the annual shipment was enough, and they came forward with $30,000 as a contribution to the royal service. De Valdes accepted the offering, and memorialized the throne in behalf of the 'ever-loyal' citizens.

These years — 1730 to 1733 — again supply some references to attempts made to civilize and Christianize the natives of the Carolines. A party of these having again been thrown by shipwreck, on the coast of Luzon, they were reconveyed to their native group, by way of the Marianas. The energetic father who accompanied them home, remained with them, and for a time, obtained an unmolested residence, and baptized many. He seems not to have been well supported, however; and falling a victim at last to the fierceness of the people, his fate again deterred the colonists from prosecuting the intercourse.

We are now upon a period marked by a long commercial contest, growing out of the rival interests of the merchants of Spain and the Philippines. In order to understand and follow the quarrel, it is necessary to premise, that soon after a trade sprung up between the newly-founded city of Legaspi, and Acapulco, the Cadiz merchants saw or foresaw the effect of direct importations of Chinese and Indian goods on the markets of Mexico. The infant state of the new colony at first limited the traffic; but by 1604, the Spanish interest had procured a restriction by royal order, to an annual shipment of *one* cargo from Manila, costing not over $250,000, and the returns for which must not exceed $500,000. *Americans* were forbidden to have any interest in these cargoes. This close limitation was evaded by false valuations, but it continued in legal force, till 1702, when the amounts were raised to $300,000 and $600,000. Probably throughout this long period, the actual commerce was at least double the licensed amount, and yet this was a fatal check on the development of the resources of the Philippines. To carry on this unnatural system, it was necessary to provide galleons of great size, whose construction was scarcely ever equal to the legal service required, and still less to the double load of licit and illicit lading. Hence the history of the galleons is full of disasters, every one of which cost the annual commercial harvest of the colony. To navigate and guard vessels of such size and value, they were placed on the footing of ships of war, and commanded and manned accordingly. The cargo of each galleon was represented by 1000 tickets of three bales each, and these were allotted — one half to the members of the board of trade (colonists entitled to trade), and one half to the ecclesiastical chapter, the municipality, widows of officers, &c. The freight on these tickets was estimated at $200 each, equal to $200,000 per voyage. The cargo paid 30 per cent. duties.

This system had been maintained so long by a sort of royal compromise between the demands of Spanish merchants and manufacturers, and the desire to favor a remote and feeble colony. Meantime, England and Holland were yearly drawing larger and larger supplies of goods from India, China, &c., and pouring them, through illicit channels, into the markets of Spanish America. The Manila merchants felt the effects of this new competition in the reduced profits of the Acapulco 'fairs,' but they had no remedy. The merchants of the peninsula suffered still more, and ascribed the disastrous change to the excessive importations on the west coasts of Mexico. Their strongest argument was, that the looms of Spain were stopped, and their

workmen driven from employ, by the cheaper fabrics of India and China. These representations had their influence, so far as to procure a royal order to be transmitted to Mexico, that after six months, the galleons should be confined to spices, wax, porcelain, &c., and that the importation of silk and silken goods not Spanish, should be held contraband.

When this order reached the viceroy of New Spain, he applied to it, a rule of great authority in Spanish colonial affairs, as respects unwelcome commands, 'to obey, but not to fullfil.' He represented that Spanish colonisation in Eastern Asia, and with it, the extension of the faith there, could not but suffer severely by orders like these. In his own government too, he stated that the people were so far dependent on importations from Manila, that the arrival of one galleon was a greater event with them, than a whole fleet from Spain. When his statements, including a reference to the loss which the treasury would sustain, were laid before the 'council of the Indies,' the subject was reconsidered, and a sort of compromise struck, between the conflicting interests at work, abroad and at home. It was settled, that the trade from Manila to Acapulco should henceforth be carried on in two ships of 500 tons (instead of one of 800 or 1200), whose joint cargoes should not exceed $300,000, subject to $100,000 duties, and from which, silk piece-goods should be excluded, under forfeit of treble values. This decision showed the ascendency of the domestic interest, as well as the narrow commercial spirit of the time. The order, conveying it, was dated in 1720, but an influence was at work, which delayed its publication in Mexico till 1724. Scarcely two years elapsed, when the old system of one galleon was reverted to, and silks again permitted. Four or five years later, and the home interest was again active. The decay of domestic industry was brought forward anew, and the Manila merchants were again thrown into confusion by the intimation, received from the Mexican authorities in 1732, that the old restrictions were to be revived. The city took the alarm, and prepared, in bar of these harsh renewals, a long and able plea. This document was designed to prove, what was probably the fact, that the Spanish sales in Mexico were interfered with, not by the 500 cases of silks sent annually from Manila, but by the illicit importations made under other flags. Evidence was brought, that the heavy purchases of the English, Dutch, and others at Canton, were made with silver from the mints of Spanish America, and it was argued that, for these $3,000,000 or $4,000,000 of specie, their cargoes of silks were the return. The city further

proved the decay, that had fallen on its commerce during the former suspension, and pressed its suit, in the 'royal and pious ears' of his majesty, by its sufferings, its loyalty, its distance on the outposts of the colonial establishment, and its services in the Catholic cause.

While this appeal was made to the court of Madrid, the governor convoked the leading officers and citizens, to consult them on the reintroduction of the regulations then just received. Their decision was, that there was no absolute necessity to enforce provisions, so disastrous to the colony, until direct and explicit orders came. The governor yielded to these opinions, and suffered the shipments of silks, &c., to go on. This permission would not, however, have availed against a confiscation of the property in Mexico, had not the earnest appeal of the citizens of Manila, procured the concessions, embodied in the royal order of 1734. This rescript extended the annual privilege to $500,000, withdrew the prohibition against silks, and provided, that if the returns exceeded $1,000,000, that sum might be extracted in silver,* and the excess in fruits of New Spain These new advantages were further secured to the Philippine colonists, by the entire exclusion of strangers, Mexicans and others, from any share.

The same year, we find the colonists contributing $10,000 toward an expedition to Mindanao. This armament failing to repress the incursions of the Moors, de Valdes convoked his council, and proposed a plan for the defense of the islands, in which the natives should concur. Some years before, letters of marque had been offered to such of them as would fit out vessels to cruize against pirates, and now, it was proposed that the scattered inhabitants of the seaside should be collected into pueblos, and these fortified. It was argued, in favor of this plan, that the states of the petty piratical chiefs were so defended by impassable rivers, and marshes, and jungles, as to be beyond the Spanish power. It was impossible to prevent their prows from issuing by a thousand creeks, combining and committing depredations, so that the only expedients for safety were, to arm the vessels trading in those seas, and to maintain a military guard on shore.

These suggestions were in a great measure adopted, and circular orders dispatched to the alcaldes of the southern provinces, to aggregate the smaller hamlets to the larger pueblos, to construct fortifications, and to prepare a provincial fleet of 15 or 20 boats, to which

* The importation of silver into Manila from Spanish America, during 250 years of intercourse, 1571 to 1821, is computed by de Comyn at $400,000,000 A large share of this, perhaps a half, perhaps a fourth, passed over to China.

the central government would send a reinforcement of two ships per year. It appears, however, from the sequel that these orders were very partially executed, if indeed they were regarded at all.

The weakness of the colony at this time is farther illustrated, by the consequences which followed the condemnation of a Dutch vessel, seized by a Spanish galley, on the ground that it was furnishing aid to a hostile chief on Mindanao. The Batavian authorities took up the case, and sent a remonstrance to Manila with a demand for restitution in June, 1735, backed by three men-of-war. The former — the remonstrance — says our authority, very ingenuously, could have been very easily answered, but it was not so easy to deal with the three men-of-war! The governor referred the matter to his council, a minority of which was of opinion, that the vessel having been legally condemned, and an account rendered to his majesty, a restoration was impossible without reference to him. This opinion was overruled by the consideration, that the Dutch were peremptory, and it was impossible either to reason, or to trifle with three men-of-war! The governor was therefore authorized to restore the prize, and to fine the captors in the value of whatever articles might not be forthcoming of the property originally on board. This deficit being fixed at $6500, the poverty both of the captors and the treasury was shown, in the necessity to borrow the sum. De Valdes, on making the restitution, wrote to the Batavian authorities, that his compliance with their demand was the expression of an extreme desire on his own part and on that of his sovereign, to keep the peace.

We here reach the 11th volume of our authority, the opening chapters of which are filled with details of those persecutions, so fatal to Catholicism in China, which followed the death of Kanghe, and the accession of Yungching. These severities are connected by the historian with the 'luminous crosses,' and other sights that superstition then saw, and also with those terrible visitations by earthquake and inundation which afflicted the northern provinces of China at that time, and by which more than half a million of men are said to have been destroyed. We leave these digressions from the Philippine annals, and proceed to glean such facts concerning the progress of the colony, as our minute and excursive chronicler has seen fit to record.

The archiepiscopal chair had been some years unoccupied, when the arrival of the galleon of 1736, brought an incumbent, in the pere I. A. Rodriguez. He had received his translation from a Peruvian see, two years before, and now, on reaching his last place of earthly labor and honor, 'began his government like an angel.

Three years latter, De Valdes received a call to a high military command in America, and left the colonial authority, after ten years administration to don Gaspar de la Torre The new governor entered on his charge with a fair character, and we are pained to find among his early acts, a public prosecution, oppressive in itself, and fatal in its consequences to two of the highest officers of the colony. The fiscal, who was the object of this legal process, was a friend of the archbishop, and had been counseled by his venerable adviser to trust his cause and his person to the justice of the governor. When the prelate found that his counsel had contributed to throw his friend into a rigorous confinement, the symptoms of his previous disease became aggravated, and he died shortly after. The prosecution did not stay for one indirect victim. It went on, until the imprisoned fiscal died also. Long afterwards, when the sufferer was forever beyond the reach of human redress, his cause was taken up, and his sentence righted by the 'Council of the Indies.'

The death of the archbishop leaving the colony without a mitre, the bishop elect of Nueva Caceres, petitioned, on receiving his appointment in January, 1743, to be permitted to go over to Macao, in order to obtain consecration. The governor, in his reply, withholding the passport asked for on the ground that admiral Anson was at Macao, gives us the first intimation of a visit which was soon to rank among the great disasters of the colony.

It will be remembered that Anson had arrived at Macao in Nov. 1742, after a series of sufferings and losses, scarcely exceeded in the history of any other nautical expedition. Having extorted from the local officers, permission to refit his only remaining ship, he left Macao, April 19th, 1743, in pursuit of the Acapulco galleon. His reduced crew amounted to but 201 men and boys, among which were only 45 able seamen. Early in May, the Manila authorities received information of his movements, and hastened to fit out the Pilar, an old galleon then lying at Cavité, to escort the expected Cobadonga The delays which took place in dispatching this vessel, and the slowness of her movements after sailing, (June 3d,) gave Anson his long desired opportunity. Before the Pilar had cleared the straits of St. Bernardino, the Centurion had met and captured the rich, but unfortunate, Cobadonga. This galleon, mounting 42 guns, and carrying 550 men, had sailed from Acapulco, April 16th, and touching at Guam, in June, had there learned that Anson had been at Tinian with a sick and reduced crew, the previous September. With these advices, all apprehension was laid aside, the battery was neglected,

until, on the 20th June, the two ships met off the Straits of St. Bernardino. Retreat was impossible, and after an action of two hours, in which the Centurion lost 31 men and the galleon 141 (killed and wounded), Anson took possession of his prize, worth $1,500,000. To guard and navigate these two ships was a work of difficulty, yet in 22 days, they were safely carried into the Chinese waters. The sufferings of the captured crew, 492 in number, crowded together in the ship's holds, in the depth of a tropical summer, were extreme, so that, it is added, on being landed at Macao, they 'were all mere skeletons.' Most of them found their way back to Manila in December. The report of the capture had preceded them, gathering on its way the further statement that Anson had written home for a squadron, to join him in sacking Manila

The authorities resolved to dispatch a fleet of four ships without delay, to overtake Anson at Macao, and recover the lost treasure. The city contributed liberally to this expedition, but when it reached China in March, 1744, Anson who had sailed in December, was already far on his way to England. The first object of the enterprise lost, the Spanish commander determined to remain in order to make reprisals on British commerce. This design did not please the Chinese, who endeavored to save their waters from being made the theatre of what they deemed piracy, by refusing supplies, as they had done to Anson. In the end, however, they yielded, and the Philippine commodore, getting his provisions, but meeting no prizes, returned to Manila. His ill success laid him open to an inquiry, which however, terminated in his acquittal. A long inquest into the loss of the Cobadonga followed, but the court acquitted her commander also, and the council of the Indies some years after, also approved the verdict.

The loss of the Cobadonga fell heavily on the government, the private merchants, and the benevolent institutions or 'obras pias.' The dissatisfaction of the first expended itself in the expedition sent to catch Anson in China. The second party had still some spirit left, and a letter of marque was fitted out, to cruise against British commerce. One running fight with an English ship, in the Straits of Malacca, sent the cruiser back roughly handled to Manila. Some time after, a second letter of marque captured a small British brig on the Chinese coast, and the owner of her cargo, a Portuguese, sought in vain to recover his property in the courts of Manila, nor is it said that he succeeded any better, in his appeal to the council of the Indies.

The third party — the obras pias — endeavored to lighten their heavy share of the loss, by laying claim to certain goods of the galleon's outward cargo, which had been left unsold in Mexico. The colonial courts admitted their claim, but the defendants appealed to his majesty, and the final decision of the council of the Indies reversed the inferior decree, and confined the liability of the borrowers from the obras pias, to the goods actually on board the galleon.

The years 1743 and 1744 passed away, and the colonists were still unable to resume the trade with Acapulco. This long failure of arrivals alarmed the Mexican authorities, and early in 1745, they dispatched a small vessel to an outport of the colony. Before it arrived, in July, governor Torre was already ill with disease and melancholy. He had been called on to quell some local insurrections, and further suspicions, it is said, had been maliciously infused into his mind, of a projected rising of the Chinese population. Overborne by real and imaginary afflictions, he died in September, and the vacant state of the higher offices at the moment, threw the government into the hands of the bishop of Nueva Segovia, F. I. de Arrechedera. The prelate entered with zeal on his new duties, inspecting the city, repairing its defenses, and introducing some much-needed reforms into the municipal regulations.

It fell to his lot to execute a singular order which had come from Spain, viâ Mexico, accompanied with a remittance of $5398, to defray the costs; viz. for the transportation of the inhabitants of the Babuyanes islands to the opposite coast of Luzon. This order was probably a repetition of the policy which had so nearly completed the depopulation of the Mariana islands. The governor appropriated the sum as directed, but so strong and general was the preference of the natives for their seagirt homes, that only a few families could be induced to leave them.

At this time, Arrechedera was also called to do the honors of a welcome to a Danish ship from Tranquebar, bearing orders from his majesty for the admission of the vessels of that power, to the port of Manila. Full effect was given to the royal rescript, but before any valuable intercourse ensued, the courts of Madrid and Copenhagen had quarreled, about supplies furnished by the Danes to the king of Morocco, &c., and new orders came out, to exclude that flag from all the colonies.

A great deficiency still existing in the colonial armory, the governor remitted $39,000 to Batavia for the purchase of arms and ammunition. The colonial chest was too poor at the moment to afford

this sum, and it was accordingly borrowed, until the receipt of the next subsidy.

When the news of the loss of the Cobadonga reached Spain, his majesty felt it so deeply as to order that no galleon should be dispatched from Manila, while the war lasted. The distress of the citizens was only aggravated by this command. They had been gradually collecting goods for the Mexican markets, from time to time, as their means permitted, and a considerable portion of a cargo was ready, when the prohibition reached them. Arrechedera was happily a reasonable governor, and while he took the responsibility of allowing the shipment to proceed, he in fact doubled the license, by granting that the risk should be divided between two vessels. Information now reached Manila that a fleet of English and Dutch ships had just left Canton for the Mexican coast, but the delay caused by this account, was soon terminated by a further report that a tyfoon had dispersed the squadron. Still, great difficulty was found in equipping two large ships, with heavy armaments, and carrying 850 men. To accomplish this, it was necessary that the city should contribute $50,000, and the ecclesiastical and other bodies make liberal loans.

During the absence of these vessels, the colony remained under great depression, and even the appearance of a strange sail on any part of the coasts was sufficient to awaken the most excited apprehensions. A Dutch squadron especially, which had come up to Mindanao, on the invitation of some native ally, caused much alarm at Manila. The mitred governor exhausted his weak resources, in preparing for the common defense, but the Dutch retired on the death of their friend, and no harm befel the Philippines.

The cellars, as well as the treasuries of the colonists, were at this time quite empty, so that there was no wine for the celebration of the sacrament. To supply this pressing want, the clergy dispatched a small vessel to Macao, which, in due time, brought back 216 arrobas of wine, 'pure and genuine, as appeared from sundry accompanying certificates.'

The return of the two Acapulco ships the following year, brought great relief to the merchants and the government. Yet the colony was still distressed, there were six subsidies in arrear, and when the galleon of the next season put back into harbor, the government was again obliged to ask a loan for the public exigencies.

In August, 1747, Arrechedera was outranked by the arrival of a new archbishop, the Fr. P. M. de Arizala. This prelate, however, declined with much moderation, to assume the administration, until

reference had been made to court, and he was formally directed to preside over the colony, until the arrival of a civil governor. In one respect, Arizala followed in the steps of his clerical predecessor. He paid much attention to the military department, being present at the exercises of the soldiers, and rewarding their marksmanship, &c. Once, we are told, his spirits rose to an extraordinary height, on the occasion of the successful issue of an attempt to cast a number of heavy cannon. These, however, were not the archbishop's only weapons. When the sultan of Súlú, a fugitive from his own territories came to Manila in 1749, the prelate received him kindly, and set his heart upon his conversion. Especially, says our authority, 'in riding and conversing together, and still more at his excellency's dinner-parties,' was the faith of the Mohammedan vigorously assaulted. To these means of grace, were added, 'gifts of rich dresses, with ornamented muskets, pistols, &c.' When plied by the governor of the Philippines upon a poor exile, who had no other hope of recovering his dominions, how could these means be unsuccessful. In December of that year, Alimudin desired baptism. Much discussion followed among the clergy, as to his sincerity, but the archbishop was satisfied with his convert, the future instrument of the conversion of all Súlú, and he was baptized in April following. This spiritual conquest was celebrated, within the city, by entertainment and public congratulations. The suburbs expressed their joy in four days illuminations, three days masquerade, three bull-fights, and three comedies. The whole was closed with a grand mass and sermon Whether the conversion of Alimudin were real or not, his sufferings certainly were so. Not to break unnecessarily the detail of these, we close here the account of Arizala's administration, with his release from civil cares, in July, 1750, on the arrival of the marques de Ovando, one of the most unfortunate as well as most noble of Philippine governors. Our 'Historia' becomes from this time scarcely more than a long detail of Súlúan wars, to the close of which, we hasten, in our next sketch, to conduct the reader.

ART. II. *Affray at Hongkong; death of a Chinese, Lin Weihe; court of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction instituted; its proceedings; captain Elliot's address to the grand jury; his address to the prisoners, with sentence of the court passed on the same.*

SUNDAY, July 7th, 1839, a most serious affray occurred at Hongkong, near the anchorage in a village called *Tseënshatsuy*, where a large party of foreign seamen had collected together on shore. A Chinese, named Lin Weihe, expired the next day, Monday; a report of the case reach d Macao the same evening, the 8th; and captain Elliot proceeded to Hongkong early on Tuesday the succeeding morning. About the same time a report reached the Chinese authorities in Canton, from whom a deputation was sent to hold a court of inquest. The importance of this case — bringing up as it has that clause in the Chinese penal code which requires life for life — will be seen in the sequel. All the particulars that have come to our knowledge, well authenticated, shall be put on record; these, however, are few. Though at Hongkong when the affray occurred, and during the next day when the man expired, we could only ascertain these few facts — that a large party of sailors were on shore, drunken and riotous; that a serious row took place between them and the villagers; that several Chinese were beaten, and one of them so severely that he died of his wounds the following day, Monday, July 8th. These few transactions, however, seem to be the prelude of a new scene in the grand drama now being enacted, on these southern confines of the celestial empire. After two or three days, captain Elliot returned to Macao; and has, no doubt, transmitted to his government a full account of all he did, and of all he learned, touching the case in question. Very few of these particulars have been made public here. None of the testimony of the witnesses in court, nor even the names of the persons accused and condemned, have been published in the newspapers, which have given notices of the trial. The reason for this secrecy is well understood by those who are acquainted with Chinese policy. That we may not be misunderstood, we here remark, explicitly, that we have no reason to doubt that the chief superintendent has taken every means in his power to secure the execution of strict and impartial justice throughout the whole of these proceedings If we have rightly understood him, he has plain and unequi-

vocal instructions from his sovereign not to surrender or submit any subject of her crown to the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts of law. These instructions are founded, no doubt, on the notorious fact that no foreign authorities or witnesses are recognized in these courts, which still maintain that spirit of exclusiveness, now abandoned even by the Sublime Porte and the Barbary States. This spirit, probably, is now about to have its last struggle here.

We have seen a partial and garbled report made by the deputation sent from the provincial city to Hongkong. The chief particulars detailed therein, have reference to the wounds found on the body of Lin Weihe, and to the money paid and to be paid to the family of the deceased. Whatever was paid, or was to be paid, we have been assured was offered solely in consideration of the needy and afflicted state of the deceased's family, and not with the intention of 'hushing the matter,' or of staying the course of justice. Notwithstanding the assurances given that the parties engaged in the affray should be tried and dealt with according to English law, the Chinese authorities have peremptorily demanded, and continue so to demand, the surrender to them of the murderers. In the meantime captain Elliot has pursued an independent course, the successive steps of which form the following part of this article. On account of the novelty of the case, and the bearings which it may have in future, we introduce here, from the Register and the Press, all the documents that have appeared in those papers, on this melancholy subject.

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE TO BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Macao, July 26th, 1839.

In obedience to an order of his late most excellent majesty in council, dated on the ninth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, made in pursuance of the provisions of an act of parliament of the 3d and 4th year of his late majesty's reign, entituled, 'an act to regulate the trade of China and India:'

The following rules of practice and proceeding are hereby promulgated, to be observed in the courts of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, created in the aforesaid order in council, for the trial of offenses committed by her majesty's subjects within the dominions of the emperor of China and the ports and havens thereof, and in the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China.

Section I. Concerning Arrest.

Rule 1. No subject of her majesty to be arrested for trial under this jurisdiction, unless charged upon oath of one or more credible persons before the

chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, with such an offense as will justify holding him to bail when taken.

Rule 2. Arrest may be made in three ways. First, by warrant under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, or in his absence by the deputy superintendent. (See Appendix, No. 1.) Second, by word of the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent (or at the stations of the British shipping), by any magistrate or quarter-master of the police, in the emergency only of any subject of her majesty committing a sudden and dangerous breach of the peace, or felony in their respective presence. Third, in the absence of other competent authority, by any subjects of her majesty, who shall by such means be able to prevent the commission of a felonious offense by any other subject of her majesty.

Rule 3. Officers or others charged with the execution of warrants of arrest to exercise the like authority, to be entitled to the like immunities, and to be liable to the like penalties for unlawful proceedings, as officers or others executing the warrants of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

SECTION II. OF COMMITMENT.

Rule 1. When a person charged with a crime be arrested, he is to be brought before the persons named in the warrant for examination.

Rule 2. Persons conducting examinations not to take any subsequent part in any capacity, in the trial of the prisoner, examined before them.

Rule 3. Examination of prisoner, and the information of person brought with him, or having any knowledge of the alleged crime, to be taken in writing. Witness only to be sworn.

Rule 4. If it shall plainly appear that no such crime has been committed by the prisoner, he is to be discharged; otherwise to be detained for safe custody (see Appendix No. 2), till the examination can be submitted to the chief superintendent, or in his absence, the deputy superintendent, for further disposal.

Rule 5. Persons authorized to examine, to be sworn, and to have the like powers with respect to summoning of witnesses (being subjects of her majesty), as are hereinafter vested in the court, and British subjects refusing to attend the summons of examiners to be liable to the penalties hereinafter provided for failure of attendance. (See Appendix No. 3, for form of subpœna.)

SECTION III. OF BAIL.

Rule 1. The chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to have the like power in respect to bail as belong of law and usage to the court of Queen's Bench in England; and to be liable for refusal or delay in the case of bailable offenses to the like penalties as magistrates in England.

Rule 2. If the prisoner be not bailed, to be committed by warrant under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to take his trial for the offense charged against him.

Rule 3. The principles and practice of the law of England to obtain

with respect to time in which a prisoner should be placed on his trial, or within which prosecution for past offenses, committed in his jurisdiction, should be instituted.

SECTION IV. OF THE MANNER OF PROSECUTION.

Rule 1. In all cases falling under the jurisdiction of this court to be by way, only, of indictment preferred to, and presented on oath by, a grand jury.

Rule 2. Recording officer of the court to return every session, 24 good and lawful subjects of her majesty, habitually resident in China, to inquire, present, do, and execute all those things which on the part of our lady the queen shall then and there be commanded them.

Rule 3. Grand jury to be sworn to the amount of twelve at the least, and not more than 23, so that twelve may be a majority.

Rule 4. In the finding of the indictment, twelve of the jury at least must concur, and the grand inquetes to be conducted generally, according to the principles and practice of the English law.

Rule 5. Persons above 70 years of age, or persons laboring under sickness, surgeons, officers of the queen in actual public employment, may be exempted from serving on grand or petit juries, on claiming privilege.

SECTION V. OF PROCESS.

Rule 1. Sessions to be declared from time to time by public notice under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, and all persons her majesty's subjects upon any account concerned therein to be attending at the time and place so fixed by public notice.

Rule 2. Court to have the like power, and pursue the like course, as the courts of oyer and terminer (as far as the diffierence of circumstances will permit), for compelling defendants to appear not in actual custody upon certificate of indictment found.

Rule 3. Arraignment to be in the manner, and subject to the rules, of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 4. If the prisoner "stands mute," or "confesses the fact," court to proceed agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

SECTION VI. OF THE PLEAS AND GENERAL ISSUE.

Rule 1. Pleas to be allowed to prisoner according to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 2. Herein the prisoner shall be entitled to request any person being a subject of her majesty (and having due sanction of the court), to support on his behalf, any point of law which may arise proper to be debated.

Rule 3. Court to proceed herein agreeably to the principles of the courts of oyer and terminer in England, but with special regard to the general scope and intention of the particular laws under which, and the objects for which, this court is created.

SECTION VII. OF TRIAL.

Rule 1. Recording officer of the court to return at every sessions a pan-

nel of 24 good and lawful subjects of her majesty, either habitually or occasionally resident in this jurisdiction, to the end that twelve thereof may try and make deliverance between our sovereign lady the queen, and any prisoner placed at the bar of the court for offenses committed within this jurisdiction, according to the principles and practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 2. Regard being had to local circumstances, the prisoner shall have no privilege of peremptory challenge, but only for cause, to be determined according to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 3. Trial to be had, and evidence to be taken, both in the prosecution and defense in the manner and subject, as far as circumstances may permit, to the principles and practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 4. If it should be impossible for the trial to conclude in one day, the court (regard being had to local circumstances) shall have the power to adjourn from day to day without confinement of jury, swearing them "neither to speak themselves to any other person than one of their own number, nor to suffer any other person to speak to them touching any matter relative to this trial."

Rule 5. In respect of illness or death of jurors, court to proceed agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 6. Verdict to be found agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England, i. e. by unanimous decision of jury, and upon both the law and the fact.

Rule 7. Court to have the power of sending the jury to reconsider their verdict.

Rule 8. When the prisoner is convicted, sentence is to be pronounced by the chief superintendent in the manner declared in the order in council, and when the prisoner is acquitted upon the merits, he is for ever free and discharged upon that accusation.

Rule 9. When the acquittal arises from a defect in the proceedings and cannot be pleaded, the prisoner may be detained in safe custody by warrant of the court, to be indicted in such a manner as may fullfil the ends of justice.

SECTION VIII. OF THE MODE OF COMPELLING JURORS GRAND AND PETIT TO PERFORM THEIR DUTIES, AND WITNESSES TO ATTEND

Rule 1. A person being a subject, of her majesty (not herein before excused), who shall fail to perform his duties as a grand or petit juror, being duly summoned by the recording officer of the court, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding $20 for the first offense, or $50 for the second, (at the discretion of the court,) to be for the use of her majesty.

Rule 2. Any subject of her majesty, whose evidence may be necessary to prove or disprove any indictment, may be bound over under sufficient surety by the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to appear and give evidence at the trial of the prisoner: and the chief superin-

tendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, shall determine the amount of reasonable penalty according to the circumstances of the case.

Rule 3. In the case of witnesses about to leave the country upon urgent business, they may be examined by the consent of the prisoner, as well as the chief superintendent, upon interrogatories before the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

Rule 4. Citizens or subjects of foreign states, whose evidence may be desirable to prove or disprove an indictment, shall be invited for the satisfaction of the ends of justice to appear before the court; but failing attendance, the jury to deliver their verdict upon the best evidence before them.

SECTION IX. REPRIEVE AND JUDGMENT.

Rule 1. In these respects, the court to be guided by the principles and practice of the law of England, and to have the like powers, which belong of right to the judges in the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

CONCLUSION.

And notice is hereby further given, that these rules of practice and proceeding shall take effect from the date hereof, and are binding till the same be disallowed by command of her majesty.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

FORM OF WARRANT.

These are in her majesty's name to require you (*name of officer*), to take into your custody, and bring before (*names of examiners*), A. B. charged with (*brief description of offense, time and place, when and where committed*), and for so doing, this shall be your lawful warrant.

L S. (Signed)

Chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

No. 2.

These are in her majesty's name to require you (*name of person to whose custody committed*) to detain in safe custody, C. D., herewith sent to you by me, charged upon oath with (*brief statement of offense and particulars thereof*), and for the said safe custody, till he be delivered in due course of law, this shall be your lawful warrant.

L. S. (Signed)

Chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

No. 3.

Indictments will be prepared by recording officer, but the following form is inserted: ex. gr.

CHINA ADMIRALTY AND CRIMINAL JURISDICTION, to wit;

The jurors for our lady the queen upon their oath present, that (*A. B. particular designation*), not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, on the day of in the year of our Lord, did at in and upon E. F., feloniously, willfully, and of malice aforethought, make an assault upon, and (*here state*

the means and manner of killing, and the consequent death according to the facts). And so the said jurors, upon their oath aforesaid do say, that he the said A. B., him the said E. F., in the manner and by the means aforesaid, feloniously, willfully, and of his malice aforethought, did kill and murder, against the peace of our lady the queen, her crown and dignity.

Indorsement.

If found. "A true bill."

If otherwise. "Not found."

No. 4.

Oath to foreman of grand jury. Mr. G. H., you as foreman of the grand inquest for this jurisdiction, shall diligently inquire and true presentment make of all such matters and things as shall be given you in charge: the queen's counsel, your fellows', and your own, you shall keep secret: You shall present no one from envy, hatred, or malice; neither shall you leave any one unpresented for fear, favor, or affection, gain, reward, or hope thereof; But you shall present all things truly as they come to your knowledge according to the best of your understanding. So help you God.

Oath to the rest of the grand jury. The same oath your foreman has taken on his part, you and every of you shall truly observe and keep on your part. So help you God.

Oath to witnesses before the grand inquest. The evidence you shall give to the grand inquest upon this bill of indictment shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing bnt the truth. So help you God.

No. 5.

Record to be kept by the recording officer in the usual form.

No. 6.

Oath to petit juror (on the challenge of him) before asking questions. You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be asked you by the court. So help you God.

To triers of challenged jurymen. You shall well and truly try whether I. J. (*the juryman challenged*) stand indifferent between the parties to this issue. So help you God.

Oath to petit jurors upon trial. You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between our sovereign lady the queen, and the prisoner at the bar, whom you shall have in charge and true verdict give according to your evidence. So help you God.

Oath to interpreters. You shall true interpretation make of the evidence, between the court, the jury, and the prisoner at the bar, according to the best of your skill and understanding. So help you God.

No. 7.

In the queen's name take notice, that you are hereby summoned to serve (*as grand juror or petit juror as the case may be*), at the sessions of the court of criminal and admiralty, jurisdiction to be held at on the day of

To I. K., L. M., &c., &c.

(Signed) Recording officer.

To be left at dwelling-house, or usual place of business, by sworn officers of the court, *(and time of leaving to be endorsed on the back of the summons)*, at least three days before sessions.

Subpœna to witnesses. In the queen's name take notice, that you are hereby required to lay aside all pretenses and excuses whatever, and to appear before the criminal and admiralty jurisdiction in your proper person, at the sessions to be held at on the day of in the year to testify the truth and give evidence upon the trial of for and this you are not to omit under the penalty of *(not exceeding* $400 *at the discretion of the court.)*

(Signed)

Recording officer.

N. B. Same remark as above, concerning the services of summons to grand and petit jury.

L. S. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief Superintendent, &c.

COURT OF CRIMINAL AND ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION.

The first sessions of this court were held at Hongkong on the 12th of August. The following gentlemen were returned as grand jurors.

John Harvey Astell, esq. *Chairman*	
William Bell, esq.	George T. Braine, esq
David L. Burn, esq.	Wilkinson Dent, esq.
Thomas Fox, esq.	Thomas Gemmell, esq.
Crawford Kerr, esq.	William P. Livingstone, esq.
James Matheson, esq.	Peter Scott, esq.
John Rickett esq.	Dadabhoy Rustomjee, esq.
Dinshaw Furdoonjee, esq.	Framjee Jamsetjee, esq.
Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee, esq.	Bomanjee Maneckjee, esq.

The petit jury consisted of the following persons.

John Hudson, esq. *Foreman*	William Clark, esq.
William Symes, esq.	John Burns, esq.
George Dicey, esq	David Gardyne, esq.
Oliver Cunningham, esq.	William Mallory, esq.
John Hawkins, esq.	Thomas Stewart, esq.
William Jellard, esq.	Charles Liebschwager, esq.

J. B. Compton, esq. Recording officer.

Captain Elliot, on opening the court made the following address to the grand jury.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury—Situated as we are, you will believe that I have diligently applied myself to the best sources of refer-

ence within my reach for such directions as may serve to guide you in the important task you are here to perfrom. Let me crave your attention, then, to a few general remarks upon the nature of your duties, upon the manner of conducting the inquest, and lastly, to some observations bearing upon the principal case to be laid before you. The authorities I have consulted shall be noticed for your satisfaction as I proceed. It is a principle of the law of England, that no man can be convicted at the suit of the crown of any capital offense, unless by the unanimous voice of at least 24 of his neighbors and equals; i. e. by 12 at least of the grand jury assenting to the accusation, and afterwards by the whole petit jury finding him guilty on his trial. But if 12 of the grand jury assent, it is a good presentment, though some of the rest disagree. According to the common law of England too, it is absolutely necessary that all the grand inquest should be inhabitants of the country for which they are sworn to inquire: and I may take this occasion to explain the reasons which led me to confine the performance of grand jury functions in this jurisdiction, to persons habitually resident in China. In our position, it appeared to me to be a very suitable adaptation of this principle to devolve these duties upon persons usually resident: because they would bring to the task a more familiar knowledge of the customs of the country, and of the particular pressure of circumstances, than it could be reasonable to expect in casual visitors, and would therefore be better able to judge of what should be sent to trial, for the ends of justice and of peace. Indeed it must be obvious to every reflecting person who hears me, that the heavy responsibility of acting upon the jurisdiction order in council, (till the whole machinery has been set in action by the queen's government, and a more proper person were here to fill this seat, than myself,) has been forced upon me.

With our intercourse interrupted, I may certainly say, chiefly, if not entirely, because it is impossible to consent to the pretensions of the Chinese government to judge her majesty's subjects by their forms of judicature, for offenses declared to be capital, how could we disregard an unprovoked outrage upon the peaceful inhabitants of this empire, attended with loss of life, charged by the Chinese officers upon British subjects.

"From the oldest times," says the profound and eloquent lord Stowell, speaking of the intercourse between the men of the western parts of the world and the nations of the east, "an immiscible character has been kept up; foreigners are not admitted into the general body and mass of the society of the nation. They continue strangers

and sojourners in the land, as all their fathers were. *Foris mare suam non intermiscuit undam.*" But these extreme differences of custom and law could never be suffered to cover impunity for crime; and hence the separate jurisdiction for foreigners, which it has been necessary to establish in all the nations of the east, with which they maintain any general intercourse. Here, indeed, this necessity has never been conceded by treaty, or special arrangement; but here more particularly, than in any part of the world, it is admitted in principle, and constantly adverted to in practice. The theory is, that whenever a foreigner charged with an offense be delivered up to the Chinese government, he has been tried by his own officers and people and found guilty; a feature specially noticed by sir George Staunton, and which at once explains the eagerness of the Chinese officers to gain possession of the foreigner with the consent of his own countrymen.

In no instance that I am aware of, except one, has the government of this country ever resorted to force for the apprehension of a foreigner charged with offenses against the laws of the empire, and in that case it is material to remark the individual was not executed; on another occasion, indeed, they deported an individual by forcible means from Canton, and from the empire, but so far as British subjects be concerned, at all events, there has been no instance of apprehension and execution, without reference to British authority. Perhaps it may not be misplaced to remark here, that the anxiety of this government to obtain our own written consent to be tried by their forms of judicature, (which constitutes the main difficulty of our present situation,) is explicable only upon a mixed principle of justice and policy: upon the one hand, that it is reasonable to have our own consent to trial by laws so contrary in spirit and form to our own; upon the other, that our governments would find it impossible to interfere, if such laws were executed after the procurement of our own written consent.

On the whole, I have thought that it became me in this serious conjuncture, both upon general and special grounds, to provide as far as lay in my power, for the satisfaction of the ends of justice and of the reasonable demands of this government. I can deliver no man into their hands, which they have required me to do; but I have invited their officers to be present at as impartial a trial (according to our own forms of law), for the grave offenses charged against British subjects, as if those offenses had been committed upon our own countrymen, upon our own shores.

Requesting your excuse for this disgression, I resume the subject in hand. The particular mission of the grand jury is to hear evidence in support of an indictment, and in support only, for the grand inquest is strictly in the nature of an inquiry or accusation, afterwards to be determined. Whilst, however, they are only to inquire whether there be sufficient cause to call upon the party to answer it, they should also be persuaded of the truth of an indictment, so far as the evidence goes; and not be satisfied with remote probability, a doctrine that might be applied to very oppressive purposes.

I will now submit a few plain rules, concerning the kind of evidence which a grand jury may receive or should reject. 1. They are bound to take the best legal proof of which the case admit. 2. The testimony must be parole, except in the cases provided for in the rules and regulations of practice and proceeding. 3. They should find no indictment upon the testimony of incompetent witnesses, as of persons convicted of a conspiracy, or any infamous crime: and if a bill be presented with no more credible witnesses endorsed upon it, the court upon application, will direct the grand jury to reject it. 4. One credible witness to one overt act will suffice. 5. The grand jury cannot find one part of one charge to be true, and another part false, but they must either maintain or reject the whole.

It may now be desirable to say a few words upon what I believe is the current doctrine of all the best authorities concerning the finding of bills in cases of homicide, *where there is doubt as to the degree.* In all such circumstances, it is advised to find for the higher offense, because that course is to the ease and advantage of the prisoner in the important respect, that it will bar subsequent prosecution for manslaughter. For had it appeared in evidence upon a trial for murder, that the offense was only of manslaughter, the petit jury might have found him guilty in that degree. The finding for manslaughter, on the contrary, exposes the prisoner to be harassed with a fresh accusation. For if the grand jury throw out the bill upon the capital charge, he may be again indicted, which it is material to remark, can never take place after an open acquittal. In some authorities, it is laid down as a rule, for the above reasons, that wherever the fact of homicide is clear, the grand jury should find the bill for the murder. And if upon the trial of an indictment for murder, the prisoner appears to the jury to be guilty of manslaughter, they may find him guilty of the latter offense.

If, however, the grand jury should determine upon finding at once for manslaughter, I should observe, that it is considered the safer

course to prefer a fresh indictment for that offense, than to make any erasure on the original bill. The difference consists only in the omission of the words 'of malice aforethought,' 'maliciously,' and the conclusion charging 'murder.' In all other respects, the matter may stand, and it is to be observed particularly, that the words 'feloniously,' and 'felony,' are essential, because the crime of manslaughter amounts to felony, but within the benefit of clergy.

It remains to touch upon the distinction between murder and manslaughter, and I may begin by laying down what I believe are the accepted and best legal definitions of either offense. It is murder according to lord Coke, 'When a man of sound memory, and of the age of discretion, killeth any reasonable creature in rerum natura and under the king's peace, by malice prepense or aforethought, either expressed by the party, or *implied by law*.' Manslaughter, according to Blackstone, Hale, and many other very learned authorities, is the unlawful killing of another, without malice either expressed or implied, which may be either voluntary upon a sudden heat, or involuntary, but in the commission of some unlawful act: and Blackstone has a rule, perhaps as easy of practical application as the real difficulty of seizing the distinction in particular cases will ever admit. 'In general,' says he, 'when an involuntary killing happens in consequence of an unlawful act, it will be murder or manslaughter according to the nature of the act which occasioned it: if it be in prosecution of a felonious intent, or if its consequences naturally tended to bloodshed, it will be murder; but if no more was intended than a mere civil trespass, it will only amount to manslaughter.'

Concerning the first condition of lord Coke's definition of murder, 'that the agent should be of sound memory and discretion,' it may be necessary to remind you of another principle of the law laid down by the same authority, 'that a drunkard, who is *voluntarius dæmon* hath no privilege thereof, but what hurt or ill soever he doeth, his drunkenness doth aggravate it; *nam omne crimen ebrietas et incendit et detegit*.' By the words, 'under the king's peace,' all persons except an alien enemy in the actual heat of war are taken to be included — and indeed to kill an alien enemy except in battle is murder. We now come to the circumstance in English law which chiefly distinguishes murder from every other description of homicide, namely, that there must be malice aforethought, either expressed by the party, or implied by the law. The legal sense of this language, however, does not confine it to a particular animosity to the deceased. It extends to an evil design in general, a wicked and unlawful motive, an

intention to do evil, the event of which is fatal. In a variety of cases the law implies malice; as for example, when an officer of justice is killed in the discharge of his duty, or a private person legally interfering to prevent crimes, or when death happens in the prosecution of some unlawful design, and when in heat of blood, such violence is used as the circumstances will not soften into simple felonious homicide.

The principal niceties in the distinction between murder and manslaughter will arise in cases of sudden quarrel. Every homicide it should be remembered, according to the principles of English law is *prima facie* murder, and shall be so considered till justified or excused; therefore, when the fact of killing be once established, it remains for the prisoner to make out that he is justified or excused, or that the fault is reduced to manslaughter by some adequate provocation: and killing is taken to be felonious and malicious till the contrary is shown in evidence. But I must again carefully remind you, that when the death ensues evidently from sudden heat of blood, or some grievous provocation, the offense is reduced by the tenderness of the law to manslaughter. For the easier apprehension of this distinction, it is material to inquire whether the force or weapon used by the prisoner was likely to produce death; because there can be no doubt that the use of firearms, swords, pikes, or other weapons of deadly strife, will carry worse construction that that of sticks, or less dangerous instruments casually snatched. Upon the whole, we may conclude in the language of an excellent practical treatise on the criminal law (Chitty's), that if the provocation be light, if the resentment be inadequate to its cause, if dangerous instruments be used under pretense of correction, where correction is lawful, or be the provocation what it might, if time for reflection intervened; if previous malice can be shown, if there be traces of deadly animosity from whatever cause, the offense of homicide is murder. But if the cause be but sudden passion, overstepping its bounds; correction well intended though too severe, a sudden fury though blind, the law reduces the crime to manslaughter.

The cases of riot and assault to be submitted to you present no difficulty. They are no more than offenses against the peace, accompanied, however, I am ashamed to admit by credible averment, by unprovoked and unmanly outrage.

Two indictments were presented to the grand jury. One against a seaman, for willful murder of a Chinese named Lin Weihe, on the

7th July in or near a village on the eastern shore of the anchorage of Hongkong.

The first indictment for willful murder was ignored by the grand jury.

The other against five seamen, for riotously, unlawfully, and injuriously entering certain dwelling-houses in a village on the eastern shore of the anchorage of Hongkong, in search of spirits, and for then and there riotously assaulting the inhabitants, men and women, cutting, beating, and otherwise dangerously ill using them. Also for having, on the 7th July last past, riotously damaged and injured a certain josshouse in the neighborhood of the above said village. A true bill was found against these five seamen, and after the evidence had been fully gone into, the jury returned a verdict of guilty.

On the day following, captain Elliot passed sentence on the prisoners, and addressed them in the following words:

"You have been found guilty after a very patient trial of riotous conduct committed on shore in the immediate neighborhood of this anchorage on the 7th July last, neither do I find any evidence to disturb the painful fact laid in the indictment, that this riot was occasioned by the determination to procure spirits. And in the train of this indulgence of a brutal vice, what follows? Shameful riot attended with unmanly outrage upon men, women, and children: the loss of innocent life, and increased jeopardy to vast public and private interests, to an extent which no human wit can foresee.

"The jury, however, making a distinction upon the evidence, in the soundness of which I perfectly concur, find that you ————, and you ————, and you ————, are guilty, not merely of the riotous conduct which led to all these disastrous consequences, but that you participated in the actual violence or assault laid in the indictment.

Seeking anxiously on your behalf for some circumstances which might extenuate these serious offenses, I must reluctantly confess that so far as you are all concerned, both as Englishmen and Christian men, I can find none. You have done those things which you ought not to have done, under the incitement of a vicious motive.

"But looking to my own duties here I feel myself compelled in a spirit of strict justice, and not at all of leniency for the offenses you have committed, to pronounce a mitigated sentence upon you mainly, because of the inexcusable negligence of permitting so many persons of your station to go on shore, particularly at such a moment as the present, without regard to your personal steadiness, and with no

officer to control you, in spite of the dictates of common prudence, and contrary to my own recent injunctions. Be assured also that the evidence of general good character you have produced has had its full weight with me.

"Thus impressed then, the sentence of the court is that you ——, and you ————, be imprisoned in any of her majesty's jails, or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, which her majesty may be pleased to command, there to remain and be kept to hard labor for the space of three months. And further that you each pass a fine to our sovereign lady the queen, of £15 lawful money of England, and that you be kept in safe custody until you shall have paid the said fine.

"And the sentence of the court is that you ————, you ————, and you ————, be imprisoned in any of her majesty's jails or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, which her majesty may be pleased to command, there to remain, and be kept to hard labor for the space of six calendar months. And further that you each pay a fine to our sovereign lady the queen, of £20 lawful money of England. And that you be kept in safe custody until you shall have paid the said fine.

"And you ————, ————, ————, ————, and you ——, will severally understand that the period of your respective imprisonments now adjudged, will take place from the date of your respective committal within such of her majesty's jails or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, as her majesty may be pleased to command, and that till a suitable opportunity presents itself to send you to England, that you will be detained in safe custody according to the customs and usages of the sea-service (and agreeably to the manner of your behavior), on board such ships as the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China may think fit to appoint from time to time."

ART. III. *Chun yuen tsae cha sze. Sanshĕih show. A ballad on picking tea in the gardens in springtime. In thirty stanzas.*

IT was our intention to have inserted the following ballad as part of the article in our last number on the tea plant, but the limits of the number forbade. The original was obtained from one of the traders from the green tea country, and is very prettily printed on a square piece of paper, with a flowered red border. We have introduced the original Chinese on the top of the page, for the gratification of those of our readers who can relish its beauties; for we think they will agree with us in judging of its merits. Each stanza in the original a single column, is composed of four lines; the first, second, and fourth of which rhyme with each other; and each line contains seven words. For example, the first stanza;

Nung keä, keä choo, wan shan chung;
Tsun nan, tsun pĭh, tsun ming tsung;
Shay how, yu tseën, mang puh leaou;
Chaou chaou, tsaou he, ko cha kung.

"In a verse of seven words," says Davis in his Dissertation on the Poetry of the Chinese, "the cæsural pause being after the fourth, the first section of the line generally consists of two compound terms of two characters each. The fourth and fifth characters can never be coupled in this manner, because the pause cannot take place in the middle of a compound term; but it must be the first and second, the third and fourth, which are thus related. This being the case with regard to the first section of the verse, the last, which contains three characters is commonly a compound term, with the addition of a single word, which may either precede or come after it." The cæsural pause is very distinctly marked in this composition, falling between the fourth and fifth words; and there is in most of the lines, a comma, or a pause much less than the cæsura between the second and third characters. These parts of the line are, however, in this instance, only seldom made up of compound terms. Many examples of parallelism betweem succeeding lines — a very prominent feature of Chinese poetry, and one which Davis illustrates by many quotations — will be observed, but we can only refer our readers to that author's Dissertation for a full account of the characteristics of the poetry of this people. In this translation, no attempt has been made to reduce it to the rules of English poetry, but simply to give the meaning of the original.

	1				2				3			
春	儂	村	社	朝	曉	提	小	問	空	霧	不	教
園	家	北	後	朝	起	籃	姑	上	濛	葉	識	儂
采	家	村	雨	早	臨	出	大	松	曉	雲	爲	辛
茶	住	南	前	起	粧	戶	婦	蘿	色	芽	誰	苦
詞	萬	盡	忙	課	畧	霧	同	第	罩	未	來	日
三	山	茗	不	茶	整	方	携	幾	山	易	解	雙
十	中	叢	了	工	容	濃	手	峰	紅	降	渴	雙
首												

A Ballad

On Picking Tea in the Gardens in springtime.

In Thirty Stanzas.

1.

Our household dwells amidst ten thousand hills,
Where the tea, north and south of the village, abundantly grows;
From *chinshay* to *kuhyu*, unceasingly hurried,
Every morning I must early rise to do my task of tea.

2.

By earliest dawn, I, at my toilet, only half-dress my hair,
And, seizing my basket, pass the door, while yet the mist is thick:
The little maids and graver dames hand in hand winding along,
Ask me, "which steep of Sunglo do you climb to-day?"

3

The sky is thick, and the dusky twilight hides the hill-tops;
The dewy leaves and cloudy buds cannot yet be easily plucked.
We know not for whom, their thirst to quench,
We're caused to toil and labor, and daily two by two to go.

4				5				6				7	
雙	細	既	更	采	提	同	驚	一	葉	行	試	兩	誰
雙	語	恐	防	罷	籃	人	起	池	小	向	看	鬢	家
相	叮	梢	來	枝	貯	笑	雙	碧	如	磯	儂	鬌	有
伴	嚀	頭	日	頭	滿	向	鳧	水	錢	頭	貌	鬆	婦
采	莫	芽	雨	葉	始	池	兩	浸	半	清	近	貌	醜
茶	要	欲	絲	自	言	前	處	芙	未	淺	何	帶	如
枝	遲	老	綠	稀	歸	過	飛	葉	舒	處	如	枯	奴

4.

In social couples, each to aid her fellow, we seize the tea twigs,
And in low words urge one another, "Do n't delay,
Lest on the topmost bough, the bud has even now grown old,
And lest with the morrow, come the drizzling, silky rain."

5.

We've picked enough; the topmost twigs are sparse of leaves;
We lift our baskets filled brimful, and talk of going home;
Laughing, we pass along; when just against the pool,
A pair of scared mallards rise and fly diverse away.

6.

This pool has limpid water, and there deep the lotus grows,
Its little leaves are round as coins, and only half-expanded:
Going to the jutting verge, over a clear and shallow spot,
I try my present looks, mark how of late my face appears.

7.

My curls and hair are all awry, my face is quite begrim'd;
In whose house lives the girl so ugly as your slave?

		8				9				10		
只	雨	朝	小	采	相	今	忙	匆	忘	園	濕	遙	把
緣	灑	來	笠	得	看	日	梳	匆	却	中	透	囑	儂
日	風	風	長	旗	却	窓	鴉	便	泥	纔	弓	鄰	青
日	吹	雨	籃	鎗	是	前	髻	向	濘	到	鞋	姑	笠
將	失	又	手	歸	半	天	緊	園	未	又	未	傳	寄
茶	故	凄	自	去	身	色	横	中	換	聞	肯	信	將
采	吾	凄	提	後	泥	佳	釵	去	鞋	雷	回	去	來

"Tis only because that every day the tea I'm forced to pick;
The soaking rains and driving winds have spoiled my former charms

8.

With the morning comes the wind and rain, together fierce and high,
But the little hat and basket tall, still must I take along;
The tender leaflets being fully picked, we now to our homes return,
When each sees her fellow's dress, half-bedaubed with mire.

9.

This morn, without the door, behold a pleasant sky,
Quickly I comb'd my girlish tufts, and firmly set my pin;
With rapid steps away I speed in the path toward the garden,
And forgetful of the muddy way, omit to change my shoes

10.

But just within the garden bounds, I hear the thunder roll;
My bow-shaped shoes are soak'd quite through, but I'm not ready to return,
I call my distant comrade, to send my message home,
And have my green umbrella-hat sent hither to me soon.

11				12				13				14	
小	衣	手	只	雨	攀	高	染	芬	品	采	今	番	鴉
笠	衫	中	少	過	來	低	得	芳	色	罷	朝	番	鬢
蒙	半	提	長	枝	香	摘	衣	香	休	新	已	辛	斜
頭	濕	着	竿	頭	氣	盡	襟	氣	寧	芽	是	苦	拖
不	像	青	與	汎	便	黃	處	似	勝	旋	第	不	玉
庇	漁	絲	細	碧	氤	金	處	蘭	婺	又	三	辭	指
身	人	籠	綸	紋	氳	縷	芬	蓀	源	發	番	難	寒

11.

The little hat, when on my head does not protect my limbs,
My dress and gown are wet half-through, like some poor fisherman's;
My green and fine meshed basket, I carry closely in my hand;
And I only lack his long rod, and his thin slender line.

12.

The rain is pass'd, and the outmost leaflets show their greenish veins;
Pull down a branch, and the fragrant scent 's diffused around.
Both high and low, the yellow golden threads are now quite culled,
And my clothes and frock are dyed with odors all around.

13.

The sweet and fragrant perfume 's like that from the Aglaia;
In goodness and appearance, my tea 'll be the best in Wooyuen,
When all are picked, the new buds, by the next term, will again burst forth,
And this morning, the last third gathering is quite done.

14.

Each picking is with toilsome labor, but yet I shun it not,
My maiden curls are all askew, my pearly fingers all benumbed,

		15			16			17			
惟	賽	一	早	更	怎	容	焙	知	閒	活	那	無	遍
願	他	月	時	深	不	顏	出	是	教	火	知	端	體
儂	雀	何	出	尙	教	雖	金	何	纖	煎	摘	一	淋
家	舌	曾	采	在	人	瘦	芽	入	手	來	取	陣	淋
茶	與	一	暮	爐	損	志	分	調	侍	破	苦	狂	似
色	龍	日	方	前	玉	常	外	玉	兒	寂	多	風	水
好	團	閒	還	焙	顏	堅	妍	碗	煎	寥	嬌	雨	澆

But I only wish our tea to be of a superfine kind,
To have it equal his 'sparrow's tongue,' and their 'dragon's pellet.'

15.

For a whole month, where can I catch a single leisure day?
For at earliest dawn I go to pick, and not till dusk return;
Till the deep midnight, I'm still before the firing pan;
Will not labor like this, my pearly complexion deface?

16.

But if my face is lank, my mind is firmly fixed,
So to fire my golden buds that they shall excel all beside.
But how know I who 'll put them in the gemmy cup?
Who at leisure, will with her tapir fingers give them to the maid to draw?

17.

At a bright fire she makes the tea, and her sorrows all flee;
Where shall she learn our toil, who so tender picked it all?
How that without a sign, the fierce winds and rain did rise,
Drenching and soaking our persons, as if plunged into a bath

18				19				20				21	
雨	雙	緣	愁	縱	且	只	縷	工	尙	焙	今	手	松
橫	雙	何	上	使	安	圖	縷	夫	覺	出	朝	挽	蘿
風	猶	夫	心	愁	貧	焙	旗	那	儂	乾	還	筠	山
狂	自	壻	來	腸	苦	得	鎗	敢	家	茶	要	籃	下
鳥	戀	輕	手	似	莫	新	起	自	事	忙	上	聾	采
離	花	言	忘	桔	辭	茶	白	蹉	務	去	松	戴	山
巢	梢	別	梢	槔	勞	好	毫	跎	多	采	蘿	花	茶

18.

In driving rains and howling winds, the birds forsake their nests;
Yet many a couple seem to linger upon the flowery boughs.
Why did my loving lord with lightsome words drive me away?
As my grief swells in my heart, my hands forget to pick.

19

But though my heaving bosom, like a well-sweep rise and fall,
Still patient in my poverty and care, I'll never shun my usual toil;
My only thought shall be to have our new tea well fired,
That the flag and awl* be well rolled, and show their whiten'd down.

20.

But my own toil and weary steps, how shall I dare to mention them?
Still I see that in our house is many a sort of work:
As soon as the tea is fired and dried, I must quickly go and pick:
This morning, even, must I reascend the steep Sunglo.

21.

My splint-basket slung on my arm, and my hair plaited with flowers;
I go to the side of the Sunglo hills, and pick the mountain tea

* The *ka* or 'flag' is the term by which the leaflets are called when they just begin to unroll; the *tseang* or awl' designates those leaves which are still wrapped up and somewhat sharp.

		22				23				24			
途	笑	妾	一	明	到	午	焙	西	道	今	携	小	睡
中	指	家	帶	日	門	暖	茶	山	是	日	籃	姑	倚
姊	前	樓	青	若	先	還	天	日	多	西	候	更	欄
妹	村	屋	陰	蒙	覺	寒	色	落	晴	山	伴	覺	杆
勞	是	傍	護	來	焙	屢	最	東	却	山	坐	嬌	喚
相	妾	垂	草	約	茶	變	難	山	少	色	村	癡	不
問	家	楊	堂	伴	香	更	平	雨	晴	青	亭	慣	醒

Amid the pathway going, we sisters one another rally,
And laughing, I point to yonder village—"there's our house!"

22.

Your handmaid's house and home is at the weeping willow's side,
In a place where the green shade, the grassy dwelling hides;
To-morrow, if you're content, I beg you'll come and be my boon companions,
Coming to the door, you ll know it by the fragrance of the firing tea.

23

Awhile 'tis warm, and then tis cold, the weather's ever changing;
The sky is never so unsettled as when one wants to fire tea,
For as the sun goes down the western hills, o'er the eastern hills there's rain,
Promising much fair weather, yet in truth but little comes.

24.

But to-day, the tint of the western hills betokens fair;
Taking my basket, I wait for my fellow at the village stile.*
There the little lass is seen, the simple girl most tenderly brought up;
She 's fast asleep, leaning on the rail; I call but none awakes.

* The *ting* is not exactly a stile, being a kind of shed, or four posts supporting a roof, which is often erected by the villagers for the convenience of wayfarers,

25				26				27			
直	半	匆	提	同	樓	欲	樹	黃	可	攀	說
待	開	匆	着	行	畔	待	高	鳥	人	枝	到
高	媚	便	籃	迤	花	折	攀	枝	天	各	傷
呼	眼	向	兒	邐	開	來	不	頭	氣	把	心
始	若	前	忘	過	海	分	到	美	半	衷	淚
應	難	頭	着	南	石	插	梢	好	晴	情	不
承	勝	走	登	樓	榴	戴	頭	音	陰	訴	禁

25.

When at length, to my loudest call, she begins to answer,
She half opes her pretty eyes, she's like one staggering;*
Quick she starts, and in the op'ning path before her, goes;
Takes up her basket, and quite forgets to put its cover on.

26.

Together we trudge the sideway path, and pass the southern lodge,
By its side, the sea pomegranate displays its yellow flowers;
We'd like to stop and pluck them, for each to adorn her hair,
But the tree is high, and the outer boughs quite beyond our reach.

27.

The yellow birds, perched on the boughs, warble their sweetest songs;
The weather most grateful to man is when the sky 's half cloud half clear,
While pulling down the twigs, each vents her troubled thoughts,
We talk till our hearts are wounded, and tears are not restrained.

who can stop there and rest. It sometimes contains a bench or seat, and is usually over or near a spring of water.

* *Jeo nan shing* alludes to a person who has attempted to carry a load too heavy for him, and staggers along under it; it here refers to the actions of the girl suddenly awoke, who staggers a moment, and then recovers her recollection.

28				29				30				
破	北	無	纖	茶	箇	不	掐	任	去	却	從	海陽亦馨主人李亦青
却	枝	端	手	品	中	知	破	他	采	把	教	
工	尋	折	擎	由	滋	却	儂	飛	斬	袖	露	
夫	罷	得	來	來	味	爲	家	燕	茶	兒	出	
未	又	同	鬢	苦	兩	誰	玉	自	換	高	手	
滿	圖	心	上	勝	般	甜	指	呢	舊	捲	纖	
鑑	南	葉	簪	甜	兼	苦	尖	南	衫	起	纖	

28.

Our task is done, but our baskets are not half filled;
On the north the twigs are searched, we think we'll see the south;
Just then I snapp'd a twig, whose leaves were all in pairs,
With my tapir fingers, I fastened it upon my curls

29

Among the kinds of teas, the bitter heretofore exceeds the sweet,
But among them all, both these tastes can alike be found;
We know not indeed for whom they may be sweet or bitter;
We've picked till the ends of our pearly fingers are quite marred.

30.

You, twittering swallows, may fly just as your wills incline.
Going to pluck new tea, I'll change to my old gown;
I'll grasp the cuff, and rolling it high up,
Will thus display my fine and slender arm.

Written by Le Yihtsing, (also called Yihhing) a native of Haeyang.

W

ART. IV. *Chronology of the kings of Tongking. Translated from the Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes, vol. 6th.**

TONGKING has always been a dependency of the emperors of China, sometimes as a tributary kingdom, and at other times as a province of the empire, under a governor or viceroy chosen by the emperor. The annals of Tongking, from which the chronology of its kings is derived, contain abundance of fables, even in the more recent periods. Still, so far as regards the succession of dynasties and kings, and the different revolutions which the kingdom has experienced, we have no reason to call in question the authenticity of these annals; especially since the tenth century of our era, from which epoch, Tongking, which, from being a mere province of China governed by viceroys, began to have its own sovereigns, whose succession has suffered only a few interruptions of short duration.

We shall divide the chronology of the Tongkingese kings into five principal epochs. The first extends from the origin of the monarchy to the year 110 or 112 of the Christian era. The early periods of this epoch are a tissue of fables, and the sequel presents nothing bearing the stamp of certainty. During the second epoch, from A. D. 110 or 112 to A. D. 968, Tongking was most of the time subject to China. The third epoch, from A. D. 968 to A. D. 1428, comprises four dynasties, the last of which ceased to reign in 1414, and the country fell once more under the immediate domination of China. The fourth epoch embraces the second Ly dynasty, which ascended the throne in 1428, was overturned in 1528 by the Mac family, again established in 1533, by the head of the Nguyen family, and entirely subverted in 1788. The fifth and last epoch begins with the year 1788, since which time the kingdom has been subject to the Cochinchinese. It was first invaded by the rebels of Cochinchina, called Tay-son; and since 1802, it has been subject to the legitimate sovereign of Cochinchina of the Nguyen family, and the two countries have formed one kingdom.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF TONGKING.

FIRST EPOCH.

Hongmang dynasty.

* While some parts of the original are considerably abridged, everything essential to a connected and clear view of the subject is retained. For the value and correctness of this account of the chronology of the kings of Tongking we have the authority of Remusat. Tr.

From B. C. 2874 to B. C. 252.

King-duong vuong.
Lac-long-quan (son of the preceding).
Hung vuong (descendant of the preceding).
Hau vuong.

The history of this dynasty is fabulous. It continued 2622 years.

Thuc dynasty.

From B. C. 252 to B. C. 202.

252. An-duong vuong, reigned 50 years.

Trieu dynasty.

202. Vu-de, appointed king of Namviet by the first emperor of the Han dynasty. He reigned 71 years.

131.	Van vuong.	reigned	12	years.
119.	Minh vuong.	"	12	"
107.	Ai vuong.	"	1	"
106.	Thuat-duong.	"	1	"

SECOND EPOCH.

From B. C. 110 to A. D. 968.*

During most of this epoch, Tongking was subject to China, and governed by viceroys. In the former part of the epoch, a few years before the birth of Christ, a woman named Trung or Trung nu-vuong, placed herself at the head of an army, and delivered her country from the Chinese yoke. Her reign lasted but three years. She was defeated, and put to death by a Chinese general, Ma-vien by name, who brought Tongking again under the power of China. In the year 542 of our era, a Chinese general, whose name was Tien-ly-nam-de, less faithful than Ma-vien, took advantage of the declining state of the empire at that time to declare himself king of Tongking, having first killed the viceroy, and put to flight such of the troops as were opposed to his usurpation. After a reign of seven years, he was supplanted by Trieu-viet vuong, who reigned twenty-seven years, and was in his turn dethroned by Hau-ly-nam-de. This third king held the throne thirty-two years. After him the nation was again subjected to the Chinese emperors.

At the commencement of the tenth century, the Chinese empire was torn by intestine wars. It was divided into several kingdoms, the sovereigns of which contended with each other for the title of

* We have here a discrepancy in our authority. On a preceding page, the year 110 or 112 of the Christian era is twice mentioned instead of 110 *before* Christ as here stated. The earlier date, viz. 110 B. C. seems to have been the one intended by our author. Tr.

emperor, so that in the space of fifty-four years, five imperial dynasties succeeded each other, the heads of which claimed descent from some of the ancient dynasties. Tongking participated in the troubles of the empire. In 932, Duong-chinh-cong, a general, drove away the viceroy who then governed, and took possession of the government, which he continued to administer in the name of the emperor of China. At the end of seven years he was put to death by another general, Cong-tien, who enjoyed less than a year the fruits of his victory. The death of Duong-chinh-cong was avenged by his son-in-law, who declared himself independent, and was the founder and head of the Ngo dynasty, which we place in the second epoch, the one in which Tongking was most of the time a dependency of China, because the race of Ngo was a Chinese family.

Ngo dynasty.

A. D.		
940.	Tien-ngo vuong. - - -	reigned 6 years.
946.	Duong-tam-kha, (tutor of the son of Tien-ngo, whose right he usurped). - - -	reigned 6 years.
952.	Hau-ngo vuong, (son of Tienngo). -	" 15 "

967. Ngo-su-quan. This was the name given to twelve prefects or governors, who after the death of Hau-ngo divided between them the government of Tongking. Bo-linh, who from a shepherd had become a general of the army, expelled these twelve prefects and seized upon the throne in the ninth year of the reign of Hau-tong-thai-to, first emperor of the nineteenth dynasty of the emperors of China. This emperor recognized Bo-linh, and appointed him king of Giaochi. Bo-linh took the name of Tien-hoang. He is the head of the dynasty Dinh, which is reckoned the first Tongkingese dynasty. His reign opens the third epoch, during which Tongking was governed by its own kings, with the exception of the last four years.

THIRD EPOCH.

Dinh dynasty.

A. D.		
968.	Tien hoang. - - -	reigned 12 years.
880.	Phe-de. - - - -	" 1 "

Ly dynasty.

981.	Dai-hanh. - - -	reigned 24 years.

1006. An interregnum of a year, during which the son of Dai-hanh contended for the throne.

1006. Trung-tong, (son of Dai-hanh who reigned but three days, and was put to death by his brother).

1006. Ngoa-trieu (a name which signifies dynasty dethroned)

Ly dynasty.

Before giving a catalogue of the kings of this dynasty, and of the succeeding dynasties, it is necessary to observe that the kings of Tongking, in imitation of the emperors of China, adopt, when they ascend the throne, a name which is used in counting the years of their reign. Independently of these titles assumed by the emperor at the beginning of a reign, it has been the custom, since the year 36 before the Christian era, to give particular names to the years of their reign, borrowed from some remarkable event, or adopted from mere fancy. These names, which the emperor may change at pleasure, serve for dates in letters, in books of accounts, in almanacs, and in conversation, and are recorded with accuracy in history. The Japanese, who are imitators of the Chinese, introduced the practice into their empire, A. D. 650. It appears to have been at the commencement of the eleventh century, that it was introduced into Tongking by the first king of the Ly dynasty. This prince did not change the name during the whole of his reign of eighteen years. His successor who was upon the throne twenty-seven years, changed the name of the years of his reign five times; since which time most of the kings of Tongking have changed the name more or less frequently. The notion which leads them to make these changes of the name of the year is often prompted by superstition, as they regard such a change as a means of averting public calamities, and of securing a more tranquil and happy reign.

It is also the custom in Tongking, as it is in China, to decree to their sovereigns, after their death, an honorary name expressive of some virtue, or some brilliant quality, or some eminent prerogative. It is this name which is commonly used in history. Sovereigns who have been dethroned by a usurper, do not ordinarily receive an honorary name, unless some prince of the same family regains the throne. On the contrary, a name is given them, which refers to their misfortunes, or the titles of the years of their reign, are still employed.

In continuing the catalogue of the kings of Tongking, we shall designate them by the names given to them after death, without mentioning the titles of the years. Still there are some whom we cannot designate otherwise than by the titles of the years, because they received after death no honorary names. To distinguish such instances we shall place before their name an asterisk (*).

A. D.		Length of reign.
1010.	Thai-to. - - - - -	18 years.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1028.	Thai-tong. - - - -	27 years.
1055.	Thanh-tong. - - - -	17 "
1072.	Nhan-tong. - - - -	56 "
1128.	Than-tong (grandson of Thanh-tong). -	11 "
1139.	Anh-tong (appointed king of Annam).	
1176.	Cao-tong. - - - -	35 "
1211.	Hue-tong. - - - - -	14 "
1225.	Chieu-hoang (daughter of Hue-tong). By marriage she brought the crown into the family of Tran.	

Tran Dynasty.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1226.	Thai-tong. - - - -	32 years.
1258.	Thanh-tong. - - - -	21 "
1279.	Nhan-tong. - - - -	14 "
1293.	Anh-tong. - - - -	21 "
1314.	Minh-tong. - - - -	15 "
1329.	Hien-tong. - - - -	12 "
1341.	Du-tong (brother of Hien-tong). - -	29 "
1370.	Nghe-tong (brother of the two preceding). After a reign of three years, he abdicated the throne in favor of one of his brothers.	
1373.	Due-tong. - - - -	4 "
1377.	Phe-de (the son of Due-tong). He was strangled by his uncle Nghe-tong. - - - -	12 "
1389.	Thuan-tong (son of Nghe-tong). He was forced to surrender the crown to his son, and was afterwards put to death.	
1398.	Thieu-de. - - - -	2 "
1400.	Ho-qui-ly (a usurper). - - -	1 "
1401.	Han-xuong (son of Ho-qui-ly). - -	6 "
1407.	Gian-dinh-de (son of Nghe-tong). - -	2 "
1409.	Trung-quang-de (grandson of Nghe-tong). This last king of the Tran family was taken prisoner by the troops of the emperor of China. While they were carrying him off, he threw himself into a river. The kindom of Tongking was now for fourteen years subject to China. Loi, a descendant of the kings of the Ly family, collected an army in 1418, and attacked the Chinese. After a war of ten years he expelled them, and reëstablished the dynasty of Ly.	

FOURTH EPOCH.

Ly dynasty restored.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1428.	Thai-to. - - - - -	7 years.
1435.	Thai-tong (son of Thai-to). - -	8 "
1443.	Nhan-tong (son of Thaitong). - -	17 "
1460.	Thanh-tong (son of Thai-tong). This king rendered himself very distinguished. He promulgated a code of laws and divided the country into thirteen provinces. The southern ones, called Thuanhoa and Quangnam, were formerly a considerable portion of the kingdom of Chiem-thanh or Tsiampa, which he had conquered. - - -	38 "
1498.	Hien-tong (son of the preceding). -	6 "
1504.	Tuc-tong (son of the preceding) - -	1 "
1505.	Uy-muc-de (brother of Tue-tong). -	4 "
1509.	Tuong-duc (grandson of Thanh-tong). This king was put to death. - - - - -	7 "
1516.	Chieu-tong (great-grandson of Thanh-tong). He was dethroned. - - - -	7 "
1523.	Cung-hoang (brother of Chieu-tong). -	5 "

This is the period of a revolution in Tongking. Mac-dang-daong, who had left the station of a fisherman for the military profession, attained the dignity of general and defeated a rebel named Le-du. As a reward for these services, the king Chieu-tong, in the fifth year of his reign, conferred upon him the title of generalissimo of all the forces of the kingdom, naval as well as military. Two years after, Mac-dang-daong obliged Chieu-tong to abdicate the throne and proclaimed Cung-hoang, his younger brother, king in his place. Cung-hoang again, at the end of five years, was forced to yield the sceptre to Mac-dang-daong. This usurper after a reign of two years, resigned the crown to his son Mac-dang-duanh, and lived twelve years afterwards. Mac-dang-duanh reigned three years, when Nguyen-do, a general of the army, born in the province of Thanh-hoa, placed upon the throne a prince of the Ly dynasty, son of Chieu-tong, but without entirely expelling the Mac family, who still remained masters of a considerable part of the country till near the close of the sixteenth century. The two families waged war during the whole of this time. At length the Mac family yielded, and retired into the mountains of the northern part of Tongking, called Cao-bang, the sovereignty of which was granted to them by the emperor of China. They were dispossessed of it about 1680, and restored two years after

by order of the emperor Kanghe: but soon after this family retired into China, abandoning entirely the country of Cao-bang, which has ever since remained subject to the king of Tongking.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1533.	Trang-tong (son of Chieu-tong).	16 years.
1549.	Trung-tong (son of the preceding).	8 "
1557.	Anh-tong (descended from Thai-to in the fifth generation).	
1573.	The-tong (son of the preceding).	27 "
1600.	Kinh-tong (son of The-tong).	19 "
1619.	Than-tong (son of Kinh-tong). After having reigned 24 years, he resigned the throne to his son.	
1643.	Chan-tong (son of Than-tong).	6 "
1649.	Than-tong, resumed the sceptre after the death of his son.	
1663.	Huyen-tong (son of Than-tong).	9 "
1672.	Gia-tong (brother of the preceding).	3 "
1675.	Hi-tong (posthumous son of Than-tong).	30 "
1705.	Du-tong (son of the preceding).	24 "
1729	* Vinh-khanh (the adopted son of Du-tong. He was put to death by the *chua*, or perpetual regent of the kingdom, on account of his debaucheries, and received no honorary name after his death).	
1732.	Thuan-tong (son of Du-tong).	3 "
1735.	* Vinh-huu (brother of Thuan-tong). After a reign of five years, he resigned the crown in favor of a nephew still a minor, hoping that a change of king would cause a change in the times, and put an end to the calamities which afflicted the kingdom. He died the twentieth year of his successor	
1740.	* Canh-hung (son of Thuan-tong).	46 "
1786.	* Chieu-thong (son of the preceding. He reigned not quite two years. Dethroned by the rebels of Cochinchina called Tay-son, he retired to Peking in 1788, and there ended his days).	

FIFTH EPOCH.

Reign of the usurpers called Tay-son.

A. D.		
1788.	* Quang-trung.	reigned 5 years.
1793.	* Canh-thinh (son of Quang-trung. In 1801, he changed the name of the years of his reign, calling them Bao-hung).	

Nguyen Dynasty.

1802. * Gia-long. (Nguyen-do, the general who opposed the Mac family and restored the Ly dynasty, died thirteen years after,

leaving sons who were too young to succeed to his station of generalissimo. His son-in-law Trinh was therefore his successor, and Trinh transmitted his authority to his posterity. The son of Nguyen-do became the governor of Cochinchina, subject to the kings of Tongking, whose power was little more than nominal, the Trinh family administering the government of Tongking, and the Nguyen family that of Cochinchina. These rival houses were often at war with each other for several generations, until Nguyen-anh, who had reigned twenty-two years over the southern part of Cochinchina, and one year over the whole of Cochinchina, subdued Tongking in 1802, took the name *hoang-de*, king and emperor, and gave to his reign the name of Gia-long. The two countries have since formed but one kingdom.)

1820. * Minh-minh (son of the preceding), and the present king.

ART. V. *Proclamation from the high imperial commissioner, concerning the murder of Lin Weihe.*

[This translation, with the notes, on pages 213 and 214, we copy from the Canton Press. No edict, on this subject, of a prior date, has been made public, so far as we have been informed.]

Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, fooyuen of Kwangtung, conjointly issue this proclamation, to the end that unauthorised communication between natives and foreigners be interdicted.

Whereas, it appears that the natives of the central land and the outside foreigners are not permitted of themselves mutually to give and receive—this being a circumstance which the established laws of the land most strictly prohibit;—therefore it is that in all matters relating to business, or to correspondence (between natives and foreigners), the high officers have appointed hong merchants for such purposes; and in so far as the supplying (of foreigners) with their daily meat and drink is concerned, the said high officers have furnished them with compradors, that there may be no occasion for fighting or quarreling, and that fraud and deceit may be duly prevented.

Now during the 5th moon of the present year, we find that the tungche, keunmin foo of Macao, with a certain weiyuen petitioned us, saying, that the English superintendent Elliot had sent them a note which contained

these and other words: "At Tseenshatsuy, on the ocean's surface (i. e. Hongkong), while your ships of war lie anchored there, it is very difficult for the foreign shipping to obtain the necessary supplies," &c., &c., &c. We, the imperial commissioner and viceroy found, that these war ships were there only on the preventive service, and not for the purpose of cutting off provisions from the foreign shipping; nevertheless, as the benevolence of the celestial dynasty cherishes men from afar, in order to subdue their hearts by goodness, and as our compassion extends even to their most minute concerns, so, finding that from our ships of war surrounding them, the hearts of the said foreigners were filled with fear and dread, out of our indulgence we permitted the cruizers to shift their moorings for the time being to Shakeo, thus setting the minds of the foreigners at rest: and further, at the time we sent the war ships to Shakeo, we gave orders to the weiyuen and others in their turn, to command Elliot to take the empty opium store-ships, and fixing a limited term, order them to get under weigh; and in respect to the merchant-vessels which had arrived or were going away, to let these set sail and those enter Whampoa: all of which is on record. But up till now, — a month and more — the opium store-ships did not get under weigh, and the merchantmen still kept looking about them until, as time rolled on, the number of ships daily increased; which in fine led to a number of the English sailors going ashore and getting drunk, when they forced their way into the village of Tseenshatsuy, and taking a man called Lin Weihe, who was passing by at the time, wounded him so severely, that he died! This is indeed going to the extreme of disobedience to the laws! In course, the cheheen magistrate of Singan district made a clear inspection of (*anglice*, held a coroner's inquest upon) the corpse of Lin Weihe. The different wounds he had received from a club or clubs, were all distinctly stated in his report to us — and at the same time he, in communication with the military officer of the district, apprehended Lo San, who had arranged the paying of the money as a bribe * to hush up matters: and on the very day that the disturbance was raised, how many sailors there were ashore — what ships they belonged to — how they possessed themselves of the club or staves with which they struck and wounded Lin Weihe, till he dropped down — what time it was that a certain ship's captain brought a foreign surgeon to wait upon and relieve the wounded man — what time they conveyed him to the sandy beach — what time he breathed his last — what man it was that gave orders about hushing up the matter with a bribe — how much money was paid down on the spot — who it was that seduced the relations of the deceased to grant a certain document by way of proof (that he had lost his life by accident) — in reference to the balance of the money not yet yaid, who it was that wrote out the promissory note for it — within how many days the said balance was to be paid in full: — these particulars, every one of them, came out in Lo San's evidence, as clearly and distinctly, one by one, as if they had been delineated upon a

* Captain Elliot denies that he paid the money as a bribe, he gave it as compensation to the widow and the orphans for the irreparable loss they had sustained

map! And at the same time, the relations of the deceased having handed up the promissory note, and the same having been translated into Chinese, the name of the ship's captain specified therein — the name of the ship — the amount of the note — the date when due, and the person who guarantied payment of the same:— every item corresponded most perfectly with the evidence given by Lo San! In one word, then, the murder is now fixed and settled (or traced home); what use to go groping about, and inquiring any further?

The English nation, having an officer intrusted with the management and control of the public affairs of that country, who went himself to the village of Tseenshatsuy to examine into and arrange this matter, ought immediately to produce the foreign murderer, that, according to the established law and custom, he may forfeit his life for the life he has taken: this would show due respect and submission, and be acting in conformity with the great principles of justice! But on the one hand, you will not deliver up the the murderer; and further, you would not consent to receive our edicts — you only wished most unreasonably to throw the blame of the murder on the Americans.* Immediately after this, however, the American consul Snow sent up a petition stating vehemently in reply; that the charge was false. Again, with your excuses and explanations about "killing with malice prepense," and "killing by mistake," and "supporting widows and orphans," and such phrases, all these are so many evasions to screen and varnish over the real facts of the case! Thus to wish that the foreign murderer may escape capital punishment, and that (the ghost of) the dead man may still be longing for revenge in the regions below, and his vengeance be unappeased: — to hold the employment of a nation's officer, and unjustly oppress the manes of a murdered man (by depriving him of his expiatory victim), is this reasonable or not?

Had it been a Chinese who had struck and killed a foreigner, the officers of the celestial dynasty would immediately have given orders for the murderer, and executed him in open day. Take for example what occurred in the fourth moon of the present year: — there were some native soldiers who landed on the Praya Grande at Macao, and who struck at and wounded a foreigner. Now although the said foreigner recovered, yet we, the high commissioner and viceroy, commanded the offender to be seized and punished severely, according to the statute. On going back, we find that in the 19th year of Keenlung, there was a French foreigner called She-luy-she (?) who wounded with a musket a foreigner of the said country (England), called Chache Polang (George Brown?) so that he died. The viceroy and fooyuen of that time took the said Frenchman, and condemned him to be strangled, after having kept him some time in the prison of the district magistrate. There are records to this effect which may at any time be referred to. Besides this, there have been successively records kept

* The mandarins very falsely accuse captain Elliot of having imputed the murder to the Americans. All he said was, that, on the day of fatal affray, Americans and other foreigners were ashore as well as Englishmen.

of the other cases where foreigners have killed foreigners; how can the said country but be aware of the fact! He who kills a man must pay the penalty of life; whether he be a native or a foreigner, the statute is in this respect quite the same. Moreover, to give money as a bribe to hush up the matter, is a flagrant breach of the laws; the punishment is more or less grave in proportion to the amount of the bribe, and he who gives and he who receives it, are punished alike. And yet ye know not to deliver up the murderer and beg for mercy! On the other hand, you varnish over the truth with false pretexts, and give way to the most outrageous obstinacy! Why did you alone not reflect on the circumstance, that, as a foreigner has deprived a Chinese of his life, and as you are still obstinate in refusing to deliver up the murderer for condign punishment — how can we permit the Chinese to furnish foreigners with the necessaries of life, and not prohibit them from privately selling these to you?

Now it appears that the weiyuen and others have reported to us, that at Tseenshatsuy (or Hongkong), there are daily upwards of 100 comprador's boats, and several shops for the sale of rice, wine, and miscellaneous articles, opened near the seashore, for supplying the foreign shipping with provisions: it is in accordance with the regulations, that all such be now rigidly prohibited; and forasmuch as we now send our cruizers, that they take up different stations at Tseenshatsuy, and stop and seize all the comprador's boats that come from every creek and inlet to sell provisions to the ships:— and hereby rigidly forbid the people of the shops and stores near the sea to hold any clandestine dealings with foreigners. Besides all this, it is proper to unite these circumstances, and embody them in a clear and distinct edict, and forasmuch as we now issue this proclamation that the people belonging to every foreign ship may thoroughly know and understand: do ye then immediately in conformity with the contents of this proclamation, take the real murderer and deliver him up to us forthwith, that he be tried and executed! In sending cruizers to stop and seize the comprador's boats, and prohibiting the shops and stores near the seaside supplying you with any necessaries, as we are doing at present, this is in perfect conformity with the established law and custom of the celestial dynasty; but if the said foreigners have occasion to purchase the daily necessaries of life, we can only permit these in accordance with the law to apply to a linguist, who will petition the officers for liberty to supply a comprador; you cannot be allowed to carry on clandestine dealings with the Chinese, which will involve you in heavy penalties. Only wait till after the foreign murderer be delivered up, when we will then consult about and arrange this matter of supplying the compradors. It is proper that all tremble and obey! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 6th month, 23d day. August 2d, 1839.

To be pasted up on the Praya Grande, Macao, on a spot secure from wind and rain.

ART. VI. *Two edicts from the keunmin foo of Macao, depriving the English of food, and ordering the servants to leave their employ.*

TSEANG, keunmin foo of Macao, San, cheheën of Heängshan district, and Pang, tsotang of Macao, hereby conjointly issue this proclamation, that all may know and understand.

We have just received a dispatch from their excellencies, the high commissioner Lin, the viceroy Tăng, and the fooyuen E, which contains the following, viz.

"The English merchant-ships which arrived here during this present year, having gone in a company to anchor at Tseënshatsuy (or Hongkong) on the high seas, a number of sailors and others in consequence of this went ashore, got drunk, and raised a disturbance, which led to one of our people being deprived of his life. Immediately afterwards, a certain weiyuen commanded Elliot to produce the murderer for trial and execution. Who would have supposed it? Elliot in opposition refused to receive our edicts, and obstinately declined to deliver up the murderer! Previously to this, the said keunmin foo had commanded the wei-le-to (or procurador) to petition the governor of Macao, to give Elliot orders that he should forthwith bind the murderer, and deliver him up to expiate his crime; but we have no document from the keunmin foo stating that he has complied with our demands. Anterior to this, we, the high commissioner, &c., had given orders in reference to the empty store-ships which had discharged their opium, that they should forthwith get under weigh and return to their country, but they have already delayed upwards of two months, and scarcely eleven of their number have yet been reported to us as having passed the Ladrone islands; the rest of them still keep loitering and looking about them! And further, in respect to Dent and others, whom we had received a positive imperial edict to expel and drive back to their countries, hardly six individuals of them are yet reported to us as having set sail, the rest are either staying at Macao, or living on board the foreign ships, neither one nor the other has any intention to fix a date for returning home; they delay and put off in a manner which amounts to positive opposition to the laws of the land! Now we find that among crimes, none is greater than the crime of murder, and among the affairs of this world, none are of so much importance as those where human life is concerned. What reason is there why

we should permit you to screen a murderer, and decline acting in a case of this kind? Respectfully searching the records, we find that during the reign of the emperor Keäking, because that the outside foreigners showed a great deal of pride and perverseness, and conducted themselves most unsubmissively, therefore an imperial edict was with deep respect received, commanding, that "on the receipt of this imperial order, prohibit all entrance to Macao by water, and cut off all supplies of food, &c. Respect this!" And at this present moment, as the circumstances of the case are somewhat similar, so ought we to set to work in a somewhat similar manner. But then this present affair has reference to the English foreigners *alone*, and as they persist in offering opposition to the laws, we cannot but show them the stern majesty of the celestial empire. As for the Portuguese dwelling at Macao, and the foreigners of every other country whatever, they are not one hair's breadth concerned in the matter. As respects the Portuguese dwelling at Macao, let them make out a clear and distinct list of the rice, flour, vegetables, fowls, ducks, and other eatables that they require for their daily consumption, and the cooked victuals for the black slaves; which done, let them petition the said keunmin foo and tsotang, who will examine the list and settle the quantity, and give a chop along with it to show the shopkeepers and others, that they may sell this amount to them the same as ever, to manifest our sympathy and compassion. As regards the English foreigners, however, who dwell at Macao, the half of them are captains and mates of ships, who, when they come to Macao to live, by forming connections with the Portuguese, and having constant intercourse with them, come to be as intimate as brothers. These said Englishmen who live at Macao, pay very handsome sums for the houses they rent, to serve as bait to their hook. The Portuguese covet the rents thus to be obtained, and utterly forget the preventions they ought to take against these robbers—birds who wish to possess themselves of their nest! It is indeed hard to secure that these Portuguese will not supply (the English) with provisions, thus getting most egregiously duped and befooled by them, and it is also not certain that they may not feel pleasure in giving them this assistance! We, the high commissioner, viceroy, and fooyuen, wish to subdue the hearts of these southern barbarians according to the principles of reason, and forasmuch as looking up and embodying the goodness of the great emperor, fearing lest their hearts be at the extremity of fright and agitation, and feeling anxious about their simplicity and stupidity in allowing them-

selves to be duped, cannot but completely explain all these particulars, and issue this edict, that you (the inferior mandarins) may immediately in your turn communicate the same (to the Portuguese,) &c., &c., &c.

Now we the said keunmin foo, tsotang, &c., having received this edict, find that some English sailors having got drunk, deprived one of our people of his life, and yet set themselves against the delivering up of the murderer; that the merchant-vessels which had arrived, would neither enter the port to Whampoa, nor spread their sails and go back; that the empty opium ships which had delivered their opium, as well as those vagabond foreigners who had been expelled by a positive imperial edict to that effect, had not entirely returned to their country. In every instance have these English shown the utmost contempt and recklessness, which is equivalent to the putting of themselves by their own act out of the pale of the laws! Now we the said keunmin foo, &c., have received a communication from his excellency the imperial commissioner, and the officers of the provincial government, commanding that a display be made of the stern majesty of the celestial empire in cutting off the provisions; but this view or intention is meant to apply to the English foreigners only; the Portuguese who dwell at Macao, as well as the foreigners of all other countries, being in nowise concerned in this matter, ought as formerly to remain quiet in the full enjoyment of their wonted *otium cum dignitate*. But as the English foreigners who are now residing at Macao, have firm friendship and constant intercourse with the Portuguese, it is hard to secure that these last may not clandestinely buy provisions for the English, and it is equally difficult to secure that our own shopkeepers and common people, may not clandestinely supply them with the same.

Besides then, in accordance with the edict from the high officers, issuing our commands to the Portuguese wei-le-to (or procurador), that he communicate the same to the governor of Macao, that he in his turn command all the foreigners dwelling at Macao, that with one accord they permit not the English people to be supplied with the necessaries of life:— as relates to the provisions required for the daily sustenance of the Portuguese, and all other foreigners dwelling in Macao, whether it be rice, flour, vegetables, fowls, ducks, fish, flesh, or other eatables, as also the food prepared and bought for the black slaves, let lists of the men, women, children, servants, &c., be made out, and these lists passed to the procurador, who will sum them up, and acquaint us the keunmin foo, &c, with their total amount, who

having examined the same and settled the quantity, will conformably give orders to the said shopkeepers and others that they duly supply the same:— besides all this, really fearing lest many of our native people and shopkeepers now dwelling in Macao, may not fully know our manner of acting, we hereby unite the circumstances, and issue this clear and perspicuous edict, and by these presents command that all the natives dwelling at Macao, shopkeepers, &c., &c., make themselves thoroughly acquainted therewith. Do ye supply the Portuguese, and all other foreigners (excepting the English) residing at Macao, with the provisions and necessaries as specified in the duly examined and certified accounts; beyond this, sell not one hair's breadth more! which will lead to the English receiving sustenance by stealth and other evils of like nature! In reference to the compradors, servants, and others in the employment of Englishmen, we have already issued a proclamation that they be immediately driven forth. As for you shopkeepers, who have long been resident at Macao pursuing your business, you surely will carry out these views with all sincerity; but if you dare clandestinely to sell provisions (to the English), so soon as discovered, your persons will be seized and most rigorously punished, and your shops will be closed and sealed up!. Most assuredly not the slightest indulgence will be shown you. Regarding the said English foreigners, if they can repent of their crime and awake to a sense of their error, and immediately deliver up the murderer, then we, the said keunmin foo, &c., &c., will petition the high officers of government, that as an act of extraordinary goodness they extend mercy towards them, and removing these restrictions, permit them to transact business as before. As for you, the said shopkeepers and native inhabitants of Macao, ye have all properties and lives! Let each and every tremble and obey! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th moon, 7th day. August 15th, 1839.

Tseang, keunmin foo of Macao, San, the cheheën of Heangshan district, and Pang, tsotang of Macao, conjointly issue this clear and perspicuous edict, to the end that all men may know and understand, viz.

Whereas it appears that during the present year, the merchant-ships of the English nation which had arrived here, went in a company, and anchored at Tseenshatsuy on the ocean's surface (or the high seas), and that they would not on arrival enter the port of Whampoa, which led to a number of their sailors and others going ashore and getting drunk, when they raised a disturbance, which ended in depriving one of our people of his life!

Now the high officers of government have already communicated their orders through a weiyuen to Elliot, commanding him forthwith to deliver up

the murderer for trial and punishment. But who would have supposed it! Elliot has now for a long time refused to deliver up the murderer, and in reference to the empty opium store-ships which were ordered to get under weigh and return home, it appears that hardly a dozen of them have yet been reported as having passed the Ladrones! and in so far as regards Dent and the other foreigners whom we had received a special imperial edict to expel and send back to their countries, those who have been only reported to us as having gone home scarce amount to six individuals! the remainder of the opium store-ships, and the foreign vagabonds, still keep loitering here and looking about them the same as ever! In every instance have delay and procrastination been persisted in, which amounts in fact to a determined opposition to the laws! and therefore it is, that the high officers indignant thereat, have resolved to show them the majestic severity of the celestial empire, and forasmuch as without discriminating between those who remain on shipboard, or those who dwell at Macao, we shall treat them in the same way, by utterly cutting off their provisions, and in other respects treating them with increased rigor. Besides the Portuguese, and all other foreigners of different countries now dwelling at Macao, whom this affair does not at all concern, and whom we permit to be supplied with their necessaries as heretofore, in order to make a distinction, and for this end now issue another special proclamation; besides these, we find that the English foreigners depend entirely upon compradors, servants, Chinese traitors and others of that ilk, for the supply of their food, who buy the same from native shops and stores, and give it to the said Englishmen.

Having now received the commands of the high officers of the provincial government to cut off the supply of provisions to the English, and to execute the same more rigorously, we ought on the instant to have seized these said compradors servants (or "sha wan"), and Chinese traitors, and calling out their names one by one, consign them to examination and sever punishment! out of pure indulgence, however, we first issue this clear and intelligible proclamation beforehand, that the compradors, servants, Chinese traitors and others in the service of the English foreigners whether on shipboard or ashore, may all know hereby, that we have limited the term of THREE days, within the which they must return to their homes, and follow after some other occupation. If they dare to delay or still render services (to the said English), most certainly they will be apprehended and punished with the utmost rigor of law! Assuredly we shall show no indulgence! Tremble and beware! Do not oppose! A special edict!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th moon. 7th day. Macao, August 15th, 1839.

ART. VII *Journal of Occurrences: British chamber of commerce; notice for a criminal court; departure of U. S. ships Columbia and John Adams; interdiction of provisions; meeting of*

British subjects; servants leave; notice of leaving Macao. the British commission goes to Hongkong; attack on the Black Joke; English leave Macao; edict from the commissioner; arrival of the ship-of-war Volage.

LONG will the occurrences of this month be remembered. In such times, it is particularly difficult to keep a full and faithful record of public events Many rumors and reports, bearing for a while the stamp of authenticity, prove untrue; and many things, which actually occur, are either purposely concealed from the public, or by mistake are misrepresented, or by design are falsified

A meeting of the British merchants residing in Macao was held, on the 3d instant, at the house of the chief superintendent, for the purpose of organizing a British Chamber of Commerce. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the case, merely a provisional chamber was organized; James Matheson, esq., was chosen provisional chairman, and Mr. Scott, (the secretary of the old chamber) appointed provisional secretary.

August 5th. Captain Elliot issued the following public notice to British subjects, announcing the session of the first court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction held in China. For the particulars of that court, the reader is referred to the second article of this number.

Public Notice to British subjects.

Notice is hereby given that a session of the court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction for the trial of offenses committed by her majesty's subjects within the dominions of the emperor of China, and the ports and havens thereof, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China, will be holden at Hongkong on board a British ship on Monday, being the twelfth day of this instant, August, by nine o'clock in the forenoon of the same day; and all manner of persons, being her majesty's subjects, that have anything to do before the said court, are required to be there and then attending. God save the queen. CHARLES ELLIOT, &c.

Aug. 6th. The U. S. frigate *Columbia*, commodore Read, and the U. S sloop-of-war *John Adams*, captain Wyman, left the Chinese waters for the Sandwich Islands. These ships have suffered much from sickness during their stay here. No doubt it would be for the honor and for the interest of the United States, if their government would keep a small squadron constantly in these seas.

Aug. 15th. All supplies of provisions, for British subjects in Macao, and on board ship, were interdicted by the Chinese government. See page 219.

Aug. 16th. Captain Elliot called a meeting of British subjects for the purpose of concerting measures for their personal safety; he informed them that it was impossible for him to surrender any subject of her majesty to the Chinese authorities.

Aug. 17th. All the Chinese servants and compradors in the English families left their employers; and the orders, interdicting food, were reiterated, and in a remarkable manner: several placards, containing the substance of the interdict, written in large characters were pasted on boards, which were carried by policemen through all the principal streets and markets of the town.

Aug. 21st. The following public notice to British subjects was issued; and preparations were made by many families for early embarkation. Most of the houses, however, were supplied with provisions by Portuguese servants, who obtained them without much difficulty. The prices of provisions at this time were unusually high in consequence of the country people being forbidden to bring any into town, and the poorer classes of Chinese suffered much in consequence

Public Notice to British subjects.

Having ascertained that the Portuguese inhabitants of Macao are called upon by the commissioner to withdraw their servants from her majesty's subjects, and to refuse them supplies, or any manner of assistance, the chief superintendent is unwilling to compromise them further in the present difficulties with the Chinese, and has therefore to give notice that he will embark this evening, with the officers of her majesty's establishment.

Her majesty's subjects who think fit to accompany him to Hongkong, will have the goodness to understand, that the chief superintendent does not propose to leave the neighborhood of this anchorage till the morning of the 23d instant. By order of the chief superintendent, &c., &c., &c.

L. S. (Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE, Secretary and treasurer.

Aug. 23d. According to the previous notice, captain Elliot proceeded to Hongkong with his family. Many of the families were in readiness to follow.

The American consul Mr. Snow, who has resided in Macao since the 25th of May last, embarked in a chop boat on the 22d instant for Canton, where the merchants of his country continue their residence and commerce, without any molestation, beyond what is occasioned by the state of public affairs.

Aug. 24th. A small schooner, proceeding from Macao to Hongkong, was boarded by Chinese; the most melancholy consequences followed, as will be seen by the depositions, given by the survivors of the crew. It is exceedingly important that the authors of this attack should be ascertained; that satisfactory explanations be given, and reparation made, so far as reparation is possible. To us it seems most probable that the act was committed by pirates, though some suppose it was done by governmental cruizers. The truth of the matter should be sought out and made known.

Deposition of the Tindal.

Haesan, the tindal, being examined before the committee of management, deposes as follows:

Left Macao on the morning of the 24th at 6 A. M., there being on board seven Lascars, himself, and Mr. Moss, passenger. The boat belongs to Mr. Just: owing to contrary tide, anchored at 6 P. M. under the south end of Lantao island. Two men were on the lookout, who at about 10 o'clock gave the alarm of boats approaching, when 5 or 6 pulling boats filled with men immediately ranged alongside, and began to massacre the crew. Deponent jumped overboard, and holding by the rudder, remained about half an hour in the water. The boat had personal baggage and stores on board, which the night before were taken from Mr. Just's house to the *Black Joke*. The Chinese took away several boxes, but not all. The boats remained alongside about half an hour, and then deponent got on board, and found Mr. Moss, who told him that the crew were murdered. Attempts had been made to fire the vessel, by means of tarred rope, gunpowder, and clothes; he extinguished the fire by throwing on water. Soon after the Harriet hove in sight, took them in tow, and brought them to the Typa this morning. A mandarin knife and cap were found on board the Black Joke.

Deposition of Mr. Moss.

Mr. Mark Moss, a British subject, born in London, deposeth as follows, before Mr. Van Basel, Dutch consul, Mr. Paiva, late procurador of Macao, and Messrs. Kerr and Leslie, British merchants, in Macao on the 25th day of August, 1839:

"I left Macao on board the Black Joke, containing personal and household property, on Friday night last, the 23d instant, to proceed to Hongkong; having got as far as the point of Lantao, anchored there yesterday evening at about 5 o'clock; supped, and went to lie down. At about nine o'clock, I heard the crew consisting of Lascars cry out, "Wy-lo! Wy-lo!" ran to the skylight, and saw three guns fired at us loaded with charcoal; when I reached the deck, I saw three lascars cut down, and received myself a cut on the left side of the face, on which I went below, when I heard the Chinese crying out, "ta, ta!" and on putting my head out of the companion, got a most severe wound on the top of my head from a pike. The Chinese then laid hold of me, stripped me of my clothes, and

cut my arm in three places as I put it up to save my head. They then proceeded to plunder and break up the boat, and coming down with lights into the cabin, one of them, seeing I had a ring on my finger, attempted to cut the finger off, but I took off the ring, and gave it him; another, seeing my watch, took it out of my pocket, and, laying hold of my ear, called to a man who came with a sharp instrument, cut it off with a large portion of the scalp on the left side of my head, as you now see, and put it in my mouth, attempting to push it down my throat. I was then knocked about on all sides by the Chinamen, and saw them bring a barrel of gunpowder, with which they attemped to blow up the boat but did not succeed. I was rendered insensible from the smoke caused by the explosion, and was nearly suffocated, when making a last effort, I reached the deck but found no one there. I called out the names of some of the Lascars, and seeing a rope moving astern, found that the tindal alone of the whole native crew had saved himself by hanging on to the rudder under water. He came up and gave me some water, of which I drunk five basons full, and felt refreshed, A short time after this, the Harriet, capt. Hall, came up, and I suppose, from the Chinese leaving so suddenly, that they had seen the vessel. From capt. Hall, I met with the tenderest treatment; he took me on board, dressed my wounds, and taking charge of my boat, brought me to Macao this morning at about 5 o'clock."

Deposition of the physicians.

This is to certify that we have carefully examined Mr. Mark Moss, who reports that he was attacked last night by some persons who boarded his boat, and inflicted several severe wounds on his person We saw him this morning at eight o'clock, and found that he had received the following injuries.

On the head. A deep wound over the left eyebrow, and extending across the arch of the nose, the bones of which have been completely divided. An oblique wound on the forehead about two inches long. The left ear, with a portion of the scalp, has been cut away, leaving a large open wound. There are also two smaller wounds on the head.

On the left arm, forearm, and hand. At the lower part of the arm, there is a deep wound extending across the limb and dividing the external condyle of the hudmeries. In the middle of the forearm, an extensive deep wound,—the fascia has been torn and the muscles much lacerated; at the lower part of the forearm near the wrist, another deep wound down to the ulna, which bone has been divided; on the hand a deep wound at the back of the thumb, almost separating this member from the hand. Besides the above, there are also several wounds on the body and limbs which are of little consequence. From the severe injuries now described we consider the man to be in a dangerous condition.

Macao, Aug. 25th, 1839. (Signed) R. H. Cox. W. Lockhart

Aug. 25th. A committee of British subjects, appointed on a previous day, were repeatedly in session. It was unanimously agreed, as we understand, that they should all leave Macao next day; it was also said that his excellency the Portuguese governor would be present at their embarkation, and afford every possible assistance and protection. During the evening, a rumor was abroad that Chinese soldiers were in town, in disguise, and that an attack on the English houses, during the night, was meditated. What gave rise to this rumor, and whether there was any truth in it or not, we have been unable to learn. Considerable excitement was created, but the night passed away without any disturbances.

In the afternoon of Monday, August 26th, the embarkation took place; men, women, and children, all alike were hurried from their residences, to seek a secure retreat on board their ships. This was their only peaceful course. Most of them proceeded direct to Hongkong; the others repaired to the anchorage in the Typa. The little fleet, consisting of small boats, schooners, and lorchas, crowded with passengers, presented an affecting spectacle as it moved slowly away from the harbor. But we forbear to speculate on what will be the consequences of this memorable event. Would that timely and friendly interposition of western governments had prevented such an issue.

During these proceedings in Macao, the imperial commissioner and the governor of Canton remained at Heangshan, about midway between the provincial city and Macao. A small detachment of troops, however, were quartered at Tseenshan, just beyond the Barrier, within sight of Macao In the expectation of collision, probably more than one half of the Chinese inhabitants of Macao, left their homes, seeking safety in neighboring villages. They are now, at the end of the month, beginning to return; provisions are being supplied plentifully; and it is rumored that the commissioner and governor will in a few days pay the Portuguese of the settlement a friendly visit. While at Heangshan they issued a proclamation, which is here introduced, as it sums up the chief points of difficulty between the two parties, and announces the imperial law and punishment upon those who introduce opium. Whatever speculations may be made upon the use of this drug as a pleasurable, and (if not in excess) harmless luxury, it is evident that the Chinese government considers it only as a grievous burden, and is determined to remove it at any risk.

Lin high imperial commissioner, &c., &c. and Tang, governor of the Leang Kwang, again publish a clear proclamation. In the sixth month of this year, we received the imperial commands to promulgate the new laws, concerning those foreign ships which bring opium. If they endeavor secretly to sell it, it is ordered that the principals shall be immediately decapitated, and the accessories strangled, and the property entirely confiscated to government. During six months of this year, we have been permitted to remit the punishment of death for the offenses of those who voluntarily surrender their opium. This new law of the heavenly dynasty, all foreigners who come to Canton to trade must obey implicitly; now we, the commissioner and governor, do fully explain the particulars in the clearest manner, that all you foreigners may know them.

1st. All ships which bring no opium, shall clearly announce their wish to enter the port, when, waiting until they have been examined, they can unload their cargoes. They are not allowed to loiter.

2d. All ships bringing opium clandestinely, shall immediately make a surrender of it according to the orders, and their offenses shall be remitted; after a complete surrendry, they are permitted to enter the port, open their holds, and trade.

3d. If any ships presume not to enter the port, then let them instantly return to their own country, when they will not be pursued.

4th. Let the murderer who took the life of Lin Weihe be instantly given up, and not implicate all the foreigners in the same crime by their covert concealment of him.

By these heads, do we the commissioner and governor show our compassion for you foreigners, clearly explaining them that we may lead you in this new path. But if you are obstinate, will not hear and obey them, but follow your own inclinations, or think of going into bye places here and there secretly to dispose of your cargo, then it will be evident that at heart you are obstinate; and whenever you are taken, then you will be sentenced according to the new law. If you still presume upon your numbers and oppose, it will be impossible to discriminate between the gems and the pebbles [the good and bad], but all must be punished; and this punishment cannot be impeded by a subsequent repentance. Let each one tremblingly obey. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th month, 16th day. (August 25th, 1839)

Her Brittanic majesty's ship of war, Volage, H. Smith, esq., captain, anchored in Macao Roads on the 30th; but soon after sailed for Hongkong At Canton, everything remains quiet; preparations are making for the triennial examinations, now near at hand. At Hongkong, provisions are procurable, but in limited quantities, and at high prices.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—SEPTEMBER, 1839.—No. 5.

ART. I. *Course of tyfoons in the Chinese and Japanese seas, with a chart by Mr. Redfield; statistics and philosophy of storms; Atlantic hurricanes; and observations at the Madras Observatory.*

IMMENSE destruction of life and property has been caused by those awful storms, which, during the autumnal months of almost every year, traverse the Chinese sea and coast. In his account of the East Indies, captain Alexander Hamilton gives the following brief notice of one which he experienced off Macao, in August, 1703. "We had visible signs of an approaching storm before it came, the air was in great agitation by much lightning continually flashing, but no thunder nor rain. We prepared for its coming from noon to sunset, making everything in the ship fast, our yards lowered as low as conveniently they could be, and our sails made fast with coils of small ropes, besides their usual furling lines. At nine in the night it laid our ship's gunwales under water, and I wished our main-mast had been away, which about ten was effected, and it carried our mizzen-mast along with it. On its going overboard, our ship came to rights a little, and her lee gunwales were clear of the water, but much water getting down at the hatches, we had five feet water in the ship, and no possibility of getting it out by pumping, for our main-mast, breaking in the partners of the upper deck, disabled both our pumps. About midnight, we had cleared the ship of the main and mizzen-masts, by cutting the rigging that kept them fast to the ship. By this time, the wind had shifted from northeast to southeast, and had rather increased than assuaged, and those two

winds had put the sea into violent motions; however, we got our ship before the wind, but broaching too brought her head almost to the sea, which met her so violently, that it broke quite over the ship, carrying away our fore-mast and bowsprit, two anchors from the lee bow, three great guns of twenty-two hundred each, with our pinnace and yawl. We soon cleared ourselves of the anchors by cutting the cables, and before day, we were quit of our fore-mast and bowsprit. About eight in the morning, the storm abated, and at ten I called over the muster-roll, and found none wanting, but between seventy and eighty bruised and wounded, who were carefully dressed by our surgeons, and all recovered. The sea continued turbulent, but we having two spare top-masts, rigged them up, and having saved our mizzen-yard and ensign-staff, fitted them for yards, to which we bent sails, and stood towards the land, and before it was dark, anchored near some islands called Les Ilhos de Viados by the Portuguese."

Krusenstern, in 1804, encountered one of these storms off the southern coast of Japan. On the 24th of September the weather was remarkably fine. On the 28th, "the wind, that had hitherto been very moderate, became about 4 P. M. rather fresher." "This day," says he, "our latitude at noon, observed very carefully by several sextants, was 32° 05′ 34″ N., the longitude (by Arnold's chronometer, No. 128) was 226° 22′ 15″ W." He thus describes the storm.

"The next morning at daybreak, we perceived the land bearing N. 10° W., but had scarcely bent my course thither when the sky became overcast; and we not only lost sight of the coast, but our horizon did not extend, at the farthest, above an English mile. The wind blew fresh from the N. E., with constant rain; and I considered it as not only useless but dangerous to approach the land now, as we could not in the least depend upon our charts, even though of the best. I steered, therefore, under easy sail W. and W. S. W. Towards evening, the wind increased with a constant heavy rain; the sky wore a most threatening aspect, and I determined to lie to till the next morning; and the wind increasing about midnight to a perfect storm, we laid the ship to the eastward. This bad weather continued throughout the next day, and we therefore steered to the eastward under reefed courses. In the night the wind abated, veering to the southeast; and at daybreak, the weather appearing clearer and the sun showing himself, I again began to approach the land; but the heavy swell from the southeast, and

the constant depression of the barometer, seemed, notwithstanding the sun at noon was sufficiently clear for us to take a tolerable observation in 31° 7′ N. and 227° 40′ W., the certain forerunners of a storm from the southeast, which, as we were on an unknown coast, was not to be despised. We held our course, however, to the west until 11 o'clock, when I altered it to the south, and set as much sail as the ship could cary. About noon the weather assumed an appearance that left us no doubt of what would soon follow. The waves ran mountain high from the southeast; the sun was of a dead pale color, and was soon concealed behind the clouds which flew with rapidity from the same quarter; and the wind, which increased gradually, rose by one o'clock to such a height as to prevent our taking in the topsails and courses without the greatest difficulty and danger, the tackle, though almost all new, mostly giving way; but our men were animated by an undaunted courage and a noble contempt of danger, and would not yied, so that not a single seam in any one sail was split. About three o'clook in the afternoon, the storm had increased to such a degree as to rend all our storm-sails, the only ones we had set. Nothing could equal the violence of the gale. Much as I had heard of the tyfoons on the Chinese and Japanese coasts, this exceeded all my expectations. It would fall within the province of the poet to describe it properly, and I shall content myself with relating its effect upon our ship. It was absolutely impossible to set even a double reefed mizzen storm-stay sail, and she was left quite to the mercy of the waves, which ran extremely high. I expected every moment to see the masts go by the board; the state of the atmosphere was particularly evinced by the extraordinary depression of the barometer the quicksilver falling so suddenly that about five o'clock it had not only quite disappeared from the tube, but the great motion of the barometer, for which we had before calculated at least four, and even sometimes five, lines, not even bringing it in sight. As our barometer was divided into twenty-seven inches, six lines, if we deducted from this four lines, the height of the quicksilver could only be twenty-seven inches, two lines; and it might be said without extravagance, that it was only twenty-seven inches, and indeed even less, as it was upwards of three hours before it again made its appearance. There may undoubtedly be more violent storms than this, and the dreaful hurricanes which rage in the Antilles every year, are most probably worse; but I never recollected the barometrical state of the atmosphere to have been noticed during one of

these tremendous revolutions of nature. The Abbé Rochon mentions a hurricane in the Isle of France in 1771, when the barometer fell to twenty-five inches French, which was therefore three and a half lines lower than with us, if it be admitted that ours had fallen to twenty-seven inches.

"I was not afraid of the ship so long as the masts would stand; but we were placed in another great danger, known indeed only to myself and to one or two persons on board; the wind that blew from E. S. E. drove us directly towards the land, from which we could not then be at any great distance. I fancied, indeed, we might still have room to drive until twelve o'clock, but if we had once touched the ground the ship must have gone to pieces, and, in so violent a storm, it would have been impossible to have saved the people. Nothing but a change of wind could remove our danger, and fortunately this took place, and it veered from E. S. E. to W. S. W. On the sudden shift of wind, a sea struck the ship's stern, carried away the larboard quarter-gallery, and flooded the cabin three feet deep with water, which occasioned me the loss of almost all my charts and books. This critical moment preceded a perfect calm, which fortunately lasted only a few minutes; we however, availed ourselves of it to set a reefed mizzen-stay sail, that we might be able to lay the ship in some degree to the wind. It was scarcely hauled home when the storm began to rage with the same fury as before from its new quarter. About ten o'clock it at length appeared to abate a little, and we again, to our great joy, saw the quicksilver in the barometer. We considered this as a certain proof that the storm would not resume its fury; and about midnight it was observed to abate considerably, although still blowing very hard. This indeed was very fortunate; for if the gale from the W. S. W. had not been altogether as violent as that from E. S. E., the first waves would not so soon have subsided, and our masts have been in greater danger than before. The leak in the ship gave us less trouble during the tempest than I expected; for as the ordinary increase of water was before from seven to twelve inches an hour, we were not a little pleased to find that during the gale it was not, at the utmost, more than fifteen inches; but the very heavy roll of the ship rendered it difficult to work the pumps.

"This tempestuous weather was followed by an extremely beautiful day, which was very welcome to us, and enabled us to get the ship again in order. She had not indeed suffered much in her hull, but the rigging required considerable repairs. The wind fell gradually,

and now came from the west; and as soon as the sails could be set, which was not until noon, I steered to the northward. About six o'clock, we saw land bearing W. N. W., distant nearly forty-five miles. It was calm throughout the night, but the swell had not quite subsided, and drove us rather to the eastward. About nine the next morning, we perceived the land bearing due west; and as we only neared it very slowly, it was still distant at noon about thirty-six miles, stretching from N. 30° W., to N. 84° W Our latitude was at this time by observation 31° 42′, and the longitude 227° 43′ 30″. At half past two, we were nealy twenty miles from the land, but it now fell almost calm and continued so until ten o'clock at night, and we moved but very slowly forwards until rather a heavy squall brought us within a few miles of the land The variation of the compass was found to be here 3° 1′ W."

Dr. Morrison, in his notices concerning China and the port of Canton, gives the following memoranda of the notions of the Chinese respecting these phenomena.

"In Keungchow (Hainan), and the opposite peninsula called 雷州 Luychow, or 'the region of thunder,' they have temples dedicated to the tyfoon, the god of which they call 颶母 keu woo, 'the tyfoon mother,' in allusion to this wind producing a gale from every point of the compass; and, this mother-gale, with her numerous offspring, or a union of gales from the four quarters of heaven, makes conjointly a 大風 taefung (or tyfoon). At the place above referred to, the local magistrate offers sacrifices, and performs other solemn rites annually, on the fifth day of the fifth month. For it is added, 誠畏之 *ching wei che*, 'there is a sincere awe or dread of it,' viz. the tyfoon. They say it commonly rises in the N. E., and ends in blowing from the south. One that happened at Macao, on October the 9th, 1819, was thought by the Chinese unusually severe. A work called Kwangtung Sin Yu (vol. 1, page 14,) calls a tyfoon, either 颶風 kow fung or reversed, fung kow. When the gale begins in the N.E., it is expected to go north about to the west; when it begins in the N.W., it goes north about to the east; draws to the south, and ends in the west, where it began; and this is expressed by 落西 lŏ se, 'falling in the west.' It always ceases within two days and nights. If it does not go this regular course, it may be expected to blow again on the same day of the ensuing moon, and next day cease: or if it begin in the night, it will cease the next night. When the tyfoon is moderate, it blows longer — perhaps two or three

nights; and it will occur two or three times in the same year; and contrariwise, it happens that it does not blow for three or four years. It happens they say at the spring equinox, or the summer solstice;—and we know it happens also at the autumnal equinox. Whenever it blows from the north in the sixth moon, it is sure to be a tyfoon, and a severe one that blows with the greatest violence from the south, which they call 鐵颶 teĕ hwuy, or 'an iron whirlwind.' They say, that if it thunders the gale breaks up. Tyfoons are most severe at Hainan; next at Canton, and a little farther to the north their force is much abated. They say, that at Hainan, a few days before a tyfoon comes on a slight noise is heard at intervals; whirling round and then stopping; sometimes impetuous and sometimes slow: this they call 練風 leën fung, 'a tyfoon brewing.' Then fiery clouds collect in thick masses; the thunder sounds deep and heavy; rainbows appear; now forming an unbroken curve and again separating, and the ends of the bow dip into the sea: the sea sends back a bellowing sound; the sea boils with angry surges; the loose rocks dash against each other; there is a thick muddy atmosphere; the detached sea-weeds cover the surface of the sea and float to the north; the water-fowl fly about affrighted; the trees and leaves bend to the south—and the tyfoon is now commenced. When to it is superadded a violent rain and an affrighted tide, the force of the tempest is let loose, and away fly the houses up to the hills, and the ships and boats are removed to the dry land; horses and cattle are turned head over heels; trees are torn up by the roots; the sea boils up twenty or thirty feet high; the fields are inundated with salt water, and all vegetation is destroyed:*—this is what is called 鐵颶 teĕ keu, or 'an iron whirlwind.'"

To the kindness of Mr. Redfield, and his friends in China, we are indebted for two of his very interesting papers—one on the "Atlantic Hurricanes;" the other on the "Courses of hurricanes and tyfoons of the Chinese sea." This latter paper is dated New York, October 20, 1838, and has come to us accompanied by a plate, which enables us to give Mr. Redfield's chart, illustrative of the tyfoon of 1835. Several pages of his second paper are occupied with references to his first, to sources of error, and to Mr. Espy's theory of storms; he then proceeds to some general remarks on the "tyfoons of the China sea," and a particular account of the "Raleigh's tyfoon of 1835," all of which are hereto subjoined.

* The tyfoon of 1819, had a peculiar blasting effect on all vegetation in Macao: perhaps it was from the saline particles carried from the sea

"It can hardly be doubted that the general course which is pursued by hurricanes, is the same as that of the general mass of atmosphere or winds by which they are surrounded, and of which they form an integral portion. It becomes, therefore, a point of some importance in meteorology, to ascertain the true course of the hurricanes or tyfoons of the Asiatic seas. Should this course prove to be in conformity with the existing monsoons, this would be in accordance, it is believed, with the analogies in the tropical latitudes of the Atlantic; at least, if we have regard to the entire stratum of winds which lies below the common height of the clouds. But if the general course pursued by these storms, be the very same with those of the corresponding latitudes of the Atlantic, in which there are no monsoons, it may serve to show that the westerly monsoons, which are opposed to the course of the regular trade winds, consist only of a misplaced or minor stratum or current, which forms a thin layer of surface wind, less general than that of the regular trades, and which is therefore inefficient in opposing the progress of a great hurricane;—the latter being impelled by the stronger and more general current of the regular trade wind; which is supposed to overlie, at all times, the stratum of misplaced current which forms the westerly monsoon.

"These remarks will apply equally to the monsoons of both north and south latitude. Colonel Reid has been fortunate in obtaining full evidence of the opposite recurvation of a hurricane in south latitude, in open sea, and during the prevalence of the northwest monsoon; a result which can hardly be too highly valued. This storm, however, (Culloden's hurricane, of March, 1809,) was encountered to the southward of the limits of the northwest monsoon in the Indian ocean; but the hurricane of the Albion, noticed by col. Reid, was exposed to the full influence of this monsoon. It becomes important, therefore, to ascertain its path, in order that the influence of the monsoon upon its course may be duly appreciated; and we hope that its path may yet be ascertained.

"In regard to the northern hemisphere, colonel Reid has given us notices of several hurricanes or tyfoons in the Asiatic seas, with no indications of a course different from those in the North Atlantic. The following generalization, grounded on independent evidence, was published by the writer in 1833.* 'The tyfoons and storms of the China sea and eastern coast of Asia, appear to be similar in character to the hurricanes of the West Indies, and the storms of this coast [United States], when prevailing in the same latitudes.' This

* American Coast Pilot. 12th edition. p. 629.

remark was made with special reference to both the rotative and progressive directions of these storms. One of the tyfoons noticed by col. Reid, that of the Raleigh, which visited Canton, on the 5th and 6th of August, 1835, has been adduced, however, by the correspondent of the Nautical Magazine, as holding its course towards the southwest.* As this tyfoon had previously attracted my attention, it will now be made the subject of our examination.

"The facts which have been chiefly relied on for establishing a southwestern course for this gale, are contained in the report of H. M. S. Raleigh, which was overset and disabled in this gale, in the Chinese sea, when under bare poles: which report I have as follows.

"'H. M. ship Raleigh. Aug. 1st, 1835. Working out of Macao Roads.—At noon, east end of Grand Ladrone, E. ½ S. Aug. 2d, at noon, S.E. end of Formosa, N. 85 E., 340 miles: fine weather all day. Aug. 3d, at noon, S. end of Formosa N. 82½ E., 252 miles.—Fine weather all day. Aug. 4th, 10h. 20m. a. m., close reefed topsails and courses:—12h. 30m. p. m.—barometer fell from noon $\frac{15}{100}$: took in mainsail and foresail;—at 1h. 30m. got all snug; vessel going through the water between 3 and 4 knots; barometer 29.40, falling;—at 7h. 30m., wind veered to N. N. E. and tyfoon commenced:—at 8 p. m. barometer 29.36, falling;—8h. 30m. tyfoon increasing;—10 p. m. close reefed fore-trysail and set it; tyfoon veering to E. N. E. with a heavy sea;—at midnight tyfoon increasing; barom. 29.04, falling.

'Aug. 5th.—3 a. m. tyfoon veering round to E. S. E., still increasing in violence;—6h. 30m. barometer 28.25;—8 a. m. tyfoon increasing;—9h. 30m. a. m., if possible blowing heavier, *ship went over.*—In this awful situation ship lay for about 20 minutes; 9h. 50m. lower masts went by the board and ship righted with seven feet water in her hold; barometer did not fall lower;—at noon tyfoon moderated a little;—at 6 p. m. tyfoon more moderate, with a heavy sea;—midnight, strong gusts of wind with heavy sea from south.'—*Abridged from Canton Register of March* 14th, 1837.

"See also the log of the Raleigh, as it appears in col. Reid's work, which contains a sketch, showing the position of the Raleigh, as given in the log, and illustrating the direction of the wind. Col. Reid has also given the position of a schooner, which encountered the tyfoon in lat. 18° 2′ N., long. 115° 50′ E., of which I had previously received no account. I will now submit such evidence as I possess, in addition on the account furnished by the Raleigh; adding, also, a sketch and figure illustrating the course and progress of the tyfoon; and which was prepared and stereotyped some months since, in reference to furnishing an account of this hurricane.

"At Macao, where the tyfoon was experienced on the 5th and 6th,

* See Nautical Magazine for May, 1837, pp. 303–306.

many houses were greatly damaged; also, many lives were lost in the Inner Harbor, and some vessels driven on shore. The direction and changes of the wind at Macao are not stated; but we are favored with the following valuable table of the state of the barometer during the period of the storm.

"'*August 5th.*		h. m.		Barom.	h. m.		Barom.
h. m.	Barom.	0 45	a. m.	28 30	6 45	a. m.	29.12
1 00 a. m.	29.47	1 20	"(*lowest*)	28.05	7 45	"	29.20
2 30 p. m.	29 28	1 25	"	28.08	8 15	"	29.21
5 00 "	29.20	1 45	"	28.20	8 45	"	29.23
7 20 "	29.12	1 55	"	28.30	9 30	"	29.27
9 00 "	29.08	2 00	"	28.37	10 25	"	29.30
10 20 "	28.95	2 25	"	28.56	11 00	"	29.34
10 45 "	28.90	2 45	"	28.68	2 00	p. m.	29.42
11 05 "	28.85	3 10	"	28.75	and continued rising		
11 30 "	28.75	3 40	"	28.83	to 29.65, at which point		
11 53 "	28.65	4 10	"	28.90	it usually stands during fine weather.'*—		
August 6th.		4 45	"	28.97	*Canton Register, Aug. 15th.*		
0 15 a. m.	28.50	5 15	"	29.02			
0 30 "	28.40	6 00	"	29.08			

This table affords in itself good evidence of the passage of the centre of the vortex near to Macao.

"At Canton, (60 miles north of Macao,) the tyfoon began on the evening of the 5th, after three or four days of very hot weather, with northerly winds, and continued throughout the night and the next day. Its violence was greatest about two o'clock on the morning of the sixth. The following is an account of the state of the barometer and winds at Canton:

"*August 4th.*

9 a. m. barom. 29.79 wind N. W. Fine weather.
4 p. m. " 29.70 " N. by W. Moderate breeze.

August 5th.

9 a. m. " 29.62 wind N. and N.W. Fair weather.
4 p. m. " 29.54 " unsettled—rain and fresh breeze.
12 p. m. " 29.37 " N. blowing hard and in heavy gusts.

August 6th.

5 a. m. " 29.34 wind N. E., blowing hard with heavy rain.
9 a. m. " 29.51 " " " " "
11 a. m. " 29.58 " S.E. blowing hard,—moderating.

* This relates to "fine weather" of the S. W. monsoon; the mean of the barometer for July and August being, at Canton, 0.40 in. *lower* than for December and January, in the N. E. monsoon. This barometer at Macao appears to stand about 0.15 or 0.20 inch lower in its adjustment than that used at Canton for the reports in the Canton Register, the mean of which for five years is 30.027. Many, if not most of the common ship barometers, stand too low in their adjustment.

5 p. m. barom. 29.70 wind S. E. moderating.
11 p. m. " 29.85 " S. E. "

August 7th.

8 a. m. " 29.94 wind S. E. Cloudy.— *Compiled from the Canton Register.*

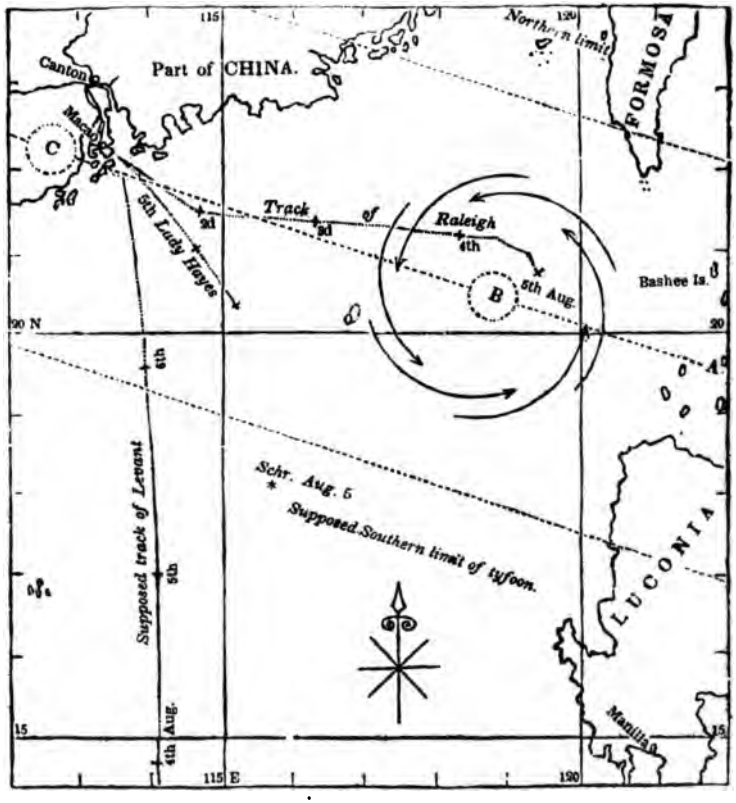
"'On Wednesday the 5th inst., a tyfoon swept over the city of Canton. It began in the evening and continued throughout the night and the next day, blowing its best about 2 o'clock in the morning. The damage done by the tyfoon at Canton is small, but not so at Kumsing Moon, Macao, and elsewhere on the coast.' *Canton paper.*

"The American ship Levant, captain Dumaresq, which arrived on the 7th of August, the day after the gale, came in with royals set, from Gaspar island, in fourteen days, having had light winds all the way up the China sea, and *did not feel the tyfoon.* This important fact is stated in the Canton Register of August 11th.

"'Extract from a private letter from on board the ship Lady Hayes, which left Macao Roads a day or two before the storm, and returned to Kumsing Moon, after the gale.

"'Early on the morning of the 5th, we observed indications of bad weather. At 10 a. m., the wind freshened a little from the same quarter it had been for the last twenty-four hours, viz. *north;* so we thought it best to turn her head back again to look for shelter, fancying ourselves to be about thirty-five miles off the land. We carried a press of sail until noon, when we found we had too great a distance to run before we could get into shelter, and expecting it would get so thick that we could not see our way, we turned her head to sea, and clapped on as much sail as she could stagger under, *steering S. E. by E.* The wind being then at north, we were desirous of getting as far off the land as possible, expecting the wind round to the eastward, there being a most *tremendous swell* from that quarter. *At 4 p. m.*, it was blowing in severe gusts, and we shipping a good deal of water, and the ship becoming unmanageable. About 8h. 30m. *the wind began to veer to the west,* but continued to blow as hard as ever, till midnight, when it *drew round to south,* and moderated a little. It continued to blow hard from that quarter until noon of the 6th, when it moderated fast, and we began bending other sails in room of those that were split. When the gale commenced, which we consider it did *at 1 p. m. on the 5th,* we were about twenty miles east of the Lema; where we were when it ended, it is hard to say, as we saw nothing till the morning of the 7th, at which time we made Mondego island. We hardly think we could have had the gale so heavy as those inside; and what is most extraordinary, the wind with them *veered to the eastward round to south;* but with us it veered to the *westward* round to the south. It was fortunate for us that it veered to the westward; for had it veered to eastward, we should most likely have been driven on shore among the islands as we could not have been more than fifty miles off the land [?] at 8 p. m., on the 6th.' *Abridged from the Canton Register of August 18th.*

"On the reduced chart which is given herewith, the tracks of the Lady Hayes and the Levant are laid down by estimate, from the printed accounts. The small dotted circle B, surrounded by the storm arrows, is supposed to indicate the position of the centre of the storm at the time the Raleigh was overset; and the position of the latter should be marked somewhat nearer this circle, according to the lat. and long. of the Raleigh on the 5th, which col. Reid has given in her log. The course of the storm appears to have been N. 72° W., and its centre is supposed to have been opposite the Raleigh about 8*h*. 20*m*. A. M. on the 5th; but this cannot be ascertained with precision, as the indications of the barometer do not appear to have been closely watched and recorded during this terrific period of the storm.



"Having shown the rotatory character of these tempests, I consider

the depression of the barometer which attends them, as being due to the rotative action; and the point of greatest depression, as indicating the true centre or axis of the storm.

"From the evidence now before us, we arrive at the following facts:

"1. That the Raleigh met a gale which set in with the wind *at N., veering round by the E. to S.E. and south.*

"2. That at the harbors and roads 'inside' (Macao, Kumsing Moon, &c.), as well as at Canton, the gale occurred *at a later period;* and the wind also *set in at north, and veered to E. and S. E.*, in a manner similar to that reported by the Raleigh.

"3. That with the ship Lady Hayes, off the islands near Macao, the wind also set in at north; but the ship steering S. E. by E. under a press of sail, (and doubtless falling off with the heavy sea from eastward,) the wind, towards the middle of the gale, began *to veer towards the west;* whence *it drew round to south*, towards the close of the gale.

"4. That the violence of the wind was apparently *greater* with the Raleigh, than the Lady Hayes.

"5. That the gale was experienced by an English schooner, Aug. 5th, in lat. 18° 2′ N., lon. 115° 50′ E.; but the Levant, arriving on the 7th, in her course through the China sea, *did not encounter the gale.*

"6. That the fall and rise of the barometer at Macao, and with the Raleigh, and the strength and changes of wind with the latter, were such as are often exhibited near the centre of a hurricane; and that the minimum depression of the barometer occurred about *seventeen hours later at Macao*, than with the *Raleigh.*

"These facts seem to establish the following conclusions: 1. That the tyfoon advanced *in a westerly direction.* 2. Negatively;— that it did *not* pass through the China sea, from N. E. to S. W., nor on the opposite of this course. 3. That it was *a progressive whirlwind storm; turning to the left*, around its axis of rotation. 4. That its centre of rotation passed to the *northward* of the Lady Hayes; and to the *southward* of the *Raleigh* and of *Canton*, and the anchorages near Macao; and nearly on the line A, B, C, as marked on our chart. 5. That the rate of its progress was about *seventeen nautical miles per hour.* 6. That the extent or diameter of the violent part of the gale, as deduced from its duration and rate of progress, was about four hundred nautical miles, or equal to six or seven degrees of latitude. 7. That the latter induction agrees with the geographical evidence which has been obtained of the visitation of the storm.

"The progress of the tyfoon being taken at 17 miles per hour, it follows that the excess of velocity of the wind at E. with the Raleigh, over that of the wind at W. with the Lady Hayes, supposing the rotation to have been in a circle, would be more than thirty miles an hour; allowing nothing, however, for difference of retardation of the surface wind, and not taking into the account the additional retardation which the west wind of the Lady Hayes must have been subject to, in its recurving course over the land. If a circle be drawn on the chart around each of the points B and C, with a radius equal to 3 or 3½ degrees of latitude, these circles will comprise, somewhat nearly, the field of action of the storm, at the two periods of 9 A. M. of the 5th, and 2 A. M. on the 6th of August.

"The progressive velocity and course of this tyfoon is nearly the same as that of the Trinidad hurricane of June, 1831; and the rate of progression also corresponds nearly to that of the Antigua hurricane of August 12th, 1835. See tracks Nos. I. and V., on my chart of the courses of hurricanes, in the April No. of the Nautical Magazine, 1836.*

"This examination of the case before us appears to show that the direction of rotation, and the course of progression of this tyfoon, while crossing the China sea, agree with those of the hurricanes of the West Indies; and that *its course was not controled, or materially influenced, by the existing southwest monsoon.*

"The professional readers of the Nautical Magazine will naturally inquire for the best method by which the Raleigh might have avoided the heart of the tyfoon, had its true character, and probable course, been known. To this I answer, that the Raleigh being bound to the Bashee islands, and having searoom, and the gale having set in from N. or N. N. E., which showed that the ship was then not far from the centre of its path, its greatest severity could have been avoided by either of the following methods:

"*First*, by tacking to the N. W., upon the wind, and, as the latter veered eastward, hauling up for Formosa and the Bashee islands, so far and as fast as the veering of the gale in this direction might allow.

"*Second*, by standing away to W. S. W., with a view of saving time as well as distance in the escape, and keeping on more to the southward, as the wind should veer to the westward; and when the barometer began to rise, by bearing away, under the heel of the storm, for her point of destination.

* For this chart, see also Silliman's Journal, vol. XXXI, or Reid on the Law of Storms, chart III.

"The advantage of the first method would consist in having to run a shorter distance off her course, in order to avoid the centre of the gale. Its disadvantages consist in being too much headed off at the outset, and perhaps, in getting too far northward to make the best of the S. W. monsoon, after the gale should have terminated. The advantages of the second method would consist, in running off more rapidly, with a fair wind and sea; in getting under the southern semi-circuit of the gale, where, owing to the course of the wind being counter to the progress of the storm, it becomes less violent; in having almost throughout, a fair, instead of a head, wind; and finally, in being left by the storm to the windward of the point of destination, as regards the existing monsoon. The disadvantage, if any, of this method would consist in the greater extent of the rout; but as this would be accomplished under far more favorable circumstances, and probably in much less time than the northern, it can hardly be counted as an objection. It would, however, have been necessary to avoid the *Pratas*, in shaping the southern course. The second method for avoiding the heart of this storm, therefore, would appear to have been preferable. But had the ship fallen under the more northern portion of the gale, toward the dotted line which crosses Formosa, thus taking the wind first at N. E., or E. N. E., she should have kept to the wind, with her head to the northward. But if her position had been nearer the dotted line, which crosses Luconia, taking the wind first at N. W., she should first have brought the wind on her starboard quarter, and subsequently have bore away, as the wind veered by the west.

"Some further notices of tyfoons may now be added, to show that the results just noticed, are not peculiar to this storm alone, and that other tyfoons of the China sea pursue a similar course, and exhibit the same rotative action."

Mr. R. next brings under review the tyfoons which occured here in 1831 and 1832, with brief notices of four successive storms in 1797, and then remarks;

"These and other facts had been the basis of my inductions, in relation to the tyfoons of China and the storms of the North Pacific; and the voyages of Cook and others upon the coasts of Japan and China, and the journals of whale ships in the Northern Pacific, had afforded good evidence that the same system of storms prevailed in the North Pacific as in the North Atlantic. From a comparison of the foregoing accounts, it appears that those ships suffered most severely, which fell under the *northern* semicircle of the storm. This

result, probably, would not follow in the higher latitudes, where the storm has recurved to the northward, and commenced its easterly course."

Some further notices of storms, in the Chinese sea, may be found in our former volumes: see vol. I, p. 356; vol. II, p. 238; vol. IV, p. 197: and vol. V, pp. 192, and 238. With these references, after making one more short extract from Mr. Redfield's paper, concerning vernal and autumnal changes, we dismiss this part of our subject for the present. On these changes, Mr. Redfield says:

"It is generally believed that the hurricanes of the Indian seas occur only or chiefly at the change of the monsoons; but this opinion appears to be of doubtful accuracy. From the valuable meteorological journal which appears monthly in the Canton Register, I have compiled the following statement of the periods of change in the northeast and southwest monsoons at that place.

	Vernal change from N. E. to S. W.	Autumnal change, from S. W. to N. E.
1830.	From 20th to 28th of April	From 5th to 12th of October.
1831.	" 7th to 17th "	" 1st to 14th "
1832.	" 4th to 7th "	on 25th September.
1833.	" 9th to 14th "	" 9th to 30th "
1834.	" 3d of April to 8th of May	" 19th to 30th "
1835.	" 8th to 21st of April.	" 10th to 24th September."

Our chief object, in now noticing this subject, is to call public attention to the importance of collecting accurate and minute statistics respecting these storms, and to request, from masters of ships and all others who may be willing to communicate, such statistics for publication in the Repository. As exhibiting the importance of this subject, we cannot forbear to quote the introduction of a very excellent article, on the "statistics and philosophy of storms," published in the Edinburgh Review, No. 138, for January, 1839. The writer this proceeds:

"It is mortifying to the pride of science, and a reproach to every civilized government, that we know so little of meteorology — of the laws and perturbations of that aerial fluid which exists within and around us—which constitutes the pabulum of life; and in which we should instantly perish, were it either polluted or scantily supplied. Considering the earth's atmosphere merely in its chemical and statical relations, our knowledge of its properties is at once extensive and profound. We have decomposed the gaseous mass into its elements, and ascertained their separate agencies in sustaining and destroying life. Its weight, its variable density, its altitude, its action upon light, its electrical and magnetical phenomena, its varying temperature, whether we ascend from the earth, or move to different points on its surface,

have all been investigated with an accuracy of result honorable to the industry and and genius of philosophers. But, however great be the knowledge which we have acquired of our aerial domains, when in a state of serenity and peace, we must confess our utter ignorance of them in a state of tumult and excitement. When the paroxysms of heat and cold smite the organizations of animal and vegetable life—when the swollen cloud pours down its liquid charge, and menaces us with a second deluge—when the raging tempest sweeps over the earth with desolating fury, driving beneath the surge, or whirling into the air, the floating or the fixed dwellings of man—when the electric fires, liberated from their gaseous prison, shiver the fabrics of human power, and rend even the solid pavement of the globe—when the powers of the air are thus marshaled against him, man trembles upon his own hearth, the slave of terrors which he cannot foresee, the sport of elements which he cannot restrain, and the victim of desolations from which he knows not how to escape.

"But though the profoundest wisdom has been hitherto of no avail in emergencies like these, it would be at variance with the whole history of scientific research to suppose that effectual means may never be obtained for protecting life and property when thus endangered, or at least for diminishing the hazards to which they are exposed. The philosopher in his closet has already done something to protect as well as to forewarn. The electric conductor, when skillfully applied, has performed some function of mercy in guarding our houses and our ships; and the indications of the barometer and sympiesometer, have doubtless warned the mariner to reef his topsails, and prepare for the struggle of the elements. But, paltry as these auxiliaries are, they are almost the only ones which unaided science can supply. It belonged to the governments of Europe and America, and preëminently to ours, whose royal and commercial marine almost covers the ocean, to encourage, by suitable appointments and high rewards, every inquiry that could throw light upon the origin and nature of those dire catastrophes by which, in one day, hundreds of vessels have been wrecked, thousands of lives sacrificed, and millions of property consigned to the deep. But, alas! they have done nothing. Ours, at least, has no national institution to which they could intrust such an inquiry; and the cause of universal humanity, involving the interest of every existing people, and of every future generation, is left, as all such causes are, to the feeble and isolated exertions of individual zeal.

"It is fortunate, however, for our species, that the high interests of humanity and knowledge are not confided to the cares of ephemeral legislation. He who rides on the whirlwind has provided for the alleviation of the physical as well as the moral evils which are the instruments of his government; and in the last few years, two or three individuals have devoted themselves to the study of the gales and hurricanes that desolate the tropical seas, with a zeal and success which the most sanguine could never have anticipated. They have not, indeed, yet succeeded in discovering the origin of these scourges of the ocean; but they have determined their general nature and

character; and have thus been able to deduce infallible rules, if not to disarm their fury, at least to withdraw us from their power: And if so much has been done by the successive labors of two living individuals in the brief period of only *six* years, what may we not expect to achieve when meteorological inquiries shall be set on foot at suitable stations, and the science of Europe brought to bear on the observations which may be registered?

"Before the attention of philosophers was directed to the investigation of individual tempests and hurricanes, it was generally believed that a gale differed from a breeze only in the velocity of the air which was put in motion; and a hurricane was supposed to be well explained, when it was described as a wind moving in a rectilineal direction at the rate of 100 or 120 miles an hour. The first person who seems to have opposed himself to this vulgar error was the late colonel Capper of the East India Company's service, who published, in 1801, a work *On the winds and monsoons*. After studying all the circumstances of the hurricanes which occurred at Pondicherry and Madras in 1760 and 1773, this intelligent writer remarks, that these circumstances, when properly considered, positively prove that the hurricanes were whirlwinds, whose diameter could not be more than 120 miles. Colonel Capper was also aware of the remarkable fact, that these whirlwinds, had sometimes a progressive motion; and he not only states that ships might escape beyond their influence by taking advantage of the wind which blows from the land; but he refers to the practicability of ascertaining the situation of a ship in a whirlwind, from the strength and changes of the wind, with the view, no doubt, of enabling the vessel to resist its fury, and escape from its vortex.

"These observations, valuable though they be, seem to have excited no interest, either in this or in other countries; and the next philosopher who directed his attention to the subject, was led to it by independent observations, and in the course of more extensive meteorological inquiries. Mr. W. C. Redfield of New York, whose position on the Atlantic coast gave him the finest opportunities not only of observing the phenomena, but of collecting the details of individual storms, was led to the same conclusion as colonel Capper that the hurricanes of the West Indies, like those of the East, were great whirlwinds. He found also, what had been merely hinted at by colonel Capper, that the whole of the revolving mass of atmosphere advanced with a progressive motion from S. W. to N. E; and hence he draws the conclusion, *that the direction of the wind at a particular place forms no part of the essential character of the storm, and is in all cases compounded of both the rotative and progressive velocities of the storm in the mean ratio of these velocities.* Mr. Redfield was conducted to these generalizations by the study of the hurricane of September, 1821; but in order to corroborate his views, he has taken the more recent hurricane of the 17th August, 1830, and by the aid of a chart, he has exhibited its character, and traced its path along the Atlantic coast, as deduced from a diligent collation of accounts from more than *seventy* different localities." *pp.* 406, 409.

Without attempting to follow either Mr. Redfield or his reviewer, we will limit ourselves to a simple statement of the principal results. In his third Memoir, Mr Redfield directs our attention to the different points which he considers as established in reference to the principal movements of the atmosphere which constitute a hurricane. The following is a condensed summary of his observations, in the words of the reviewer.

"1. The severest hurricanes originate in tropical latitudes to the north or east of the West India islands. 2. They cover simultaneously an extent of surface from 100 to 500 miles in diameter, acting with diminished violence towards the exterior, and increased energy towards the interior, of that space. 3. South of the parallel of 30°, these storms pursue towards the west, a track inclined gradually to the north till it aproaches 30°, where their course changes abruptly to the north and eastward, the track continuing to incline gradually to the east, towards which point they advance with an accelerated velocity. 4. The duration of a storm depends on its extent and velocity, and storms of smaller extent even with greater rapidity than larger ones. 5. The direction and strength of the wind in a hurricane are found *not to be in the direction of its progress.* 6. In their *westward* course, the direction of the wind at the commencement is from a *northern* quarter, and during the latter part of the gale, from a *southern* quarter of the horizon. 7. In their *northward* and *eastward* course, the hurricane begins with the wind from an *eastern* or *southern* quarter, and terminates with the wind from a *western* quarter. 8. North of 30°, and on the portion of the track furthest from the American coast, the hurricane begins with a *southerly* wind, which, as the storm comes over, *veers gradually* to the westward, where it terminates. 6. Along *the central portion* of the track in the same latitude, the wind commences from a point near to *southeast*, but after a certain period *changes suddenly* to a point almost directly opposite to that from which it had been blowing; from which opposite quarter it blows with equal violence till the storm has passed. Under this central portion, the greatest fall of the barometer takes place, the mercury rising a short time previous to the change of wind. 10. On the portion of the track nearest the American coast, or furthest inland, if the storm reaches the land, the wind begins from a *more eastern* or *northeastern* point, and afterwards veers more or less gradually by *north* to a *northwestern* or *westerly* quarter, where it terminates. 11. From these facts, it follows that the great body of the storm whirls in a horizontal circuit round a vertical or somewhat inclined axis of rotation, which is carried onward with the storm, and that the direction of this rotation is from *right* to *left*. 12. The barometer in all latitudes sinks under the first half of the storm in every part of its track, except, perhaps, its extreme northern margin, and *thus affords the earliest* and nearest indication of the approaching tempest. The barometer again rises during the passage of the last portion of the gale." *pp.* 411, 412.

Some practical rules, by which the mariner may extricate himself, with the least hazard, from the destructive fury of the warring elements, have been deduced by Mr. Redfield. No doubt they are susceptible of improvement and extension; still even now they are worthy of careful attention.

"1. A vessel bound to the eastward, between the latitudes of 32° and 45°, in the western part of the Atlantic, on being overtaken by a gale which commences blowing from any point to the eastward of S. E. or E. S. E., may avoid some portion of its violence, by putting her head to the northward, and when the gale has veered sufficiently in the same direction, may safely resume her course. But by standing to the southward, under like circumstances, she will probably fall into the heart of the storm.

"2. In the same region, vessels, on taking a gale from S. E., or points near thereto, will probably soon find themselves in the heart of the storm, and after its first fury is spent, may expect its recurrence from the opposite quarter. The most promising mode of mitigating its violence, and at the same time shortening its duration, is to stand to the southward upon the wind, as long as may be necessary or possible; and if the movement succeeds, the wind will gradually head you off in the same direction. If it becomes necessary to heave to, put your head to the southward, and if the wind does not veer, be prepared for a blast from the northwest.

"3. In the same latitudes, a vessel scudding in a gale with the wind at east or northeast, shortens its duration. On the contrary, a vessel scudding before a southwesterly, or westerly gale, will thereby increase its duration.

"4. A vessel, which is pursuing her course to the westward or southwestward, in this part of the Atlantic, meets the storms in their course, and thereby shortens the periods of their occurrences; and will encounter more gales in an equal number of days than if stationary, or sailing in a different direction.

"5. On the other hand, vessels while sailing to the eastward, or northeastward, or in the course of the storms, will lengthen the periods between their occurrence, and consequently experience them less frequently than vessels sailing on a different course. The difference of exposure which results from these opposite courses, on the American coast, may in most cases be estimated as nearly two to one.

"6. The hazard from casualties, and of consequence the value of insurance, is enhanced or diminished by the direction of the passage, as shown under the last two heads.

"7. As the ordinary routine of the winds and weather in these latitudes often corresponds to the phases which are exhibited by the storms as before described, a correct opinion, founded upon this resemblance, can often be formed of the approaching changes of wind and weather, which may be highly useful to the observing navigator.

"8. A due consideration of the facts which have been stated will inspire

additional confidence in the indications of the *barometer*, and these ought not to be neglected, even should the fall of the mercury be unattended by any appearances of violence in the weather, as the other side of the gale will be pretty sure to take effect, and often in a manner so sudden and violent as to more than compensate for its previous forbearance. Not the least reliance, however, should be placed upon the prognostics which are usually attached to the scale of the barometer, such as *set-fair, fair, change, rain, &c.*, as in this region, at least, they serve no other purpose than to bring this valuable instrument into discredit. It is the mere rising and falling of the mercury which chiefly deserves attention, and not its conformity to a particular point in the scale of elevation.

"9. These practical inferences, apply in terms chiefly to storms which have passed to the northward of the 30th degree of latitude on the American coast, but with the necessary modification as to the point of the compass, which results from the westerly course pursued by the storm while in the lower latitudes, are for the most part equally applicable to the storms and hurricanes which occur in the West Indies, and south of the parallel of 30°. As the marked occurrence of tempestuous weather is here less frequent, it may be sufficient to notice that the point of direction in cases which are otherwise analogous, is, in the West Indian seas, about ten or twelve points of the compass *more to the left* than on the coast of the United States in the latitudes of New York." *pp.* 414, 416.

We have only space for a few more isolated particulars. Mr. Redfield thinks, that the great circuits of wind, of which the trade winds form an integral part, are nearly uniform in all the great oceanic basins, and that the course of these circuits, and of their stormy gyrations, is, in the *southern* hemisphere, in a *counter direction* to those in the *northern* one, producing a corresponding difference in the general phases of storms and winds in the two hemispheres: thus in the northern latitudes the storms revolve, in their rotative progress, from *right* to *left;* on the contrary, in the southern hemisphere they move from *left* to *right*. The track of many of these storms appears to form part of an elliptical or parabolic circuit, with the vertex of the curve near the 30th degree of latitude, which marks the external limits of the trade winds on both sides of the equator; "and perhaps it may not prove irrelevant to notice even further, that, by the parallel of 30°, the surface area, as well as the atmosphere, of each hemisphere, is equally divided,—the area between this latitude and the equator being about equal to that of the entire surface between the same latitude and pole." Mr. R. thinks the *gyral axis* of these storms is probably inclined in the direction of their progress. He ascribes the fall of the mercury in the barometer, at places to which the storms are approaching, or are more

immediately under their influence, to the *centrifugal tendency* of the immense revolving mass of atmosphere which constitutes a storm by this tendency a stratum of atmosphere is expanded, and consequently flattened and depressed, so that the weight of the superincumbent column which presses on the mercury (in the barometer situated near the centre of rotation) is diminished. After a careful review of the facts adduced by colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield, the writer in the Edinburgh says, "the region of the Mauritius may be regarded as the focus of the hurricanes of the southern hemisphere, in the same manner as the West Indies and the Atlantic coast of North America is the *focus* of the northern storms." *See p.* 427. And may not the gulf of Tongking, and the Chinese and Japanese seas form another "focus," nearly opposite to that in the western hemisphere?

G. T. Taylor esquire, astronomer to the honorable East India Company, has published, in the 23d number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, some remarks upon colonel Reid's book, dated Madras Observatory, 1st June, 1839. After giving what 'contains the spirit of pretty nearly all the subjects adverted to' in the work, he mentions one objection — 'which, although not disproving the theory, that storms arise from rotatory and progressive whirlwinds, still renders necessary some explanation beyond that of rotation and progression.' While in England, for several years, he had invariably noticed — "*that the rate at which the barometer rose after gales had reached their climax, was always much more rapid than that it had observed in falling previous thereto.*" And, on consulting the observations made at Madras, and other places, he found the same circumstances *always* occurred. In illustration of the objection, he gives the particulars of time and motion of the mercury during five hurricanes; and then remarks, 'we should naturally expect, from a whirlwind, that its sectional outline would be circular, and that the time occupied between the commencement and middle, would correspond with that observed between the middle and termination, whereas we have just found them to stand in the proportion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1

ART. II. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; government of marques de Ovando, and Arandia; precis of the history from* 1759 *to the present time. Continued from page* 179

THE new governor, don Francisco de Ovando, a field-marshal in the Spanish armies, was on service in New Spain, when he received his appointment over the Philippine colony. Like all his military predecessors, he began his course with inquiries into the state of the united service. The low rates of pay were all along the true cause of the evils attempted to be reformed, but it was found easier to introduce new systems, regulations, &c., than to meet increased drafts on the colonial treasury.*

The marques turned from the army to the navy, and found scarcely a single vessel fit for service; indeed only one was found worth repair, and it was resolved to build a ship of sixty guns immediately. The merchants came next in turn, and pressed for the early dispatch of an Acapulco ship, as the only possible alleviation of their miserable poverty. There was a new galleon then building at an outport, but rather than wait for it to be finished, it was decided in an evil hour to repair the old *Pilar*, the worn-out ship that had come too late to the relief of the Cobadonga. This worthless vessel was dispatched accordingly, and already leaking badly, cleared the last outport of the straits of St. Bernardino. Even then, her commander was entreated to put back, but his only answer was—to purgatory or Acapulco. Not long after, a heavy gale was felt in that quarter, and a quantity of bales, boxes, &c., drifting upon the coasts of Samar and Luzon, told the only tale ever heard of the fate of the Pilar galleon 'This disaster was another blow upon the 'obras pias,' while it nearly completed the ruin of the mercantile classes.

The colonial commerce being in this lamentable state, Ovando imitated his predecessor, in allowing some fresh orders from court, for the expulsion of the Chinese residents, to lie unexecuted. 'Their number had already been limited to 6000 (unconverted Chinese), and they had been placed in a residence under the guns of the city. Ovando left them there, for he had already more interests to guard than his force or his ability could secure, and the rising of the Chinese under new oppressions, might at this critical period have decid-

* A company of foot cost $219 per month. Pay of a captain $16 Cornet $4. Sergeant $3. privates $2 with a ration of rice &c

ed the fate of the colony. Some portion of his time was also wasted on disputes of etiquette, between himself, and the archbishop, and the audiencia.

The remainder of his short and unfortunate government was almost wholly occupied with Súlúan wars, and the detail of these again recalls us to the story of the fugitive Alimudin. This prince was the son and successor of Malauna, an able man, and for a Súlúan, a scholar too, whose death has been ascribed to his indignation at the seizure and execution of some friends, he had sent as envoys to the governor of Zamboangan. Alimudin seems not to have espoused his father's cause, and yet this can hardly be attributed to fear of the Spanish power, for it is said, he held on upon a Catholic father, who fell into his hands, at this time, as a slave, until his Order paid a liberal ransom. In June, 1744, a new cedula reached Manila, in which his majesty was pleased to approve the peace ratified with Súlú seven years before, and to offer an alliance offensive and defensive to the sultan. These papers reached Manila in 1746, and when duly forwarded to Súlú, Alimudin, in reply, conceded the requests of his majesty, and assigned a residence to the Catholic priests, who were permitted to preach the faith in his dominions. Two missionaries were accordingly sent, with the further title of envoys. They were especially instructed to teach the Spanish language to the sultan's sons, to ransom captives, &c. A little experience, however, convinced these fathers that Alimudin's heart was still Mohammedan, and his friendly concessions a *ruse* of policy. In fact, the sultan's brother Bantilan, was at the head of a strong party, and these concessions to Spanish interest, were so represented by him to his countrymen, as to revive their jealous attachment to islamism, and finally to drive the missionaries and their protector from the islands. The retirement of the fathers, and the flight of Alimudin in 1748, were followed by renewed hostilities between Súlú and Zamboangan. The fact no doubt was, that every Súlúan, Tiron, Bugís, &c., deemed it his natural right to play the pirate, whether his sultan pleased or not; and that the Spanish governors of Zamboangan found their account in prolonging and perpetuating hostilities. War gave them ships at the public expense, to use for commercial purposes, and a reason was seldom wanted for treating any native vessels, carrying valuable lading, as enemies.

When Alimudin reached Manila, and begged assistance to regain his dominions, the archbishop saw the opportunity it offered to make the Súlúan group a Spanish and Catholic colony. He induced the

hard-pressed fugitive to exchange his name for the baptismal appellation of Fernando, and was only waiting for the next subsidy, to enable him to prepare a sufficient force in order to restore the prince to his paternal authority. But when the remittances came after six years suspension, a new governor came also. The archbishop was set aside, and the care of the southern provinces devolved on Ovando.

At this time letters came to the governor from Bantilan, detailing the outrages perpetrated by the governor of Zamboangan, and declaring that it was impossible to restrain the Súlúans from ravaging, in revenge, the whole coasts of the Spanish colony. 'Although'—he added in a warning tone—'it be true, that we resemble the dog, and the Spaniards the elephant, yet, may be, the dog may one day mount upon the back of the elephant.' He concluded his spirited remonstrance, by stating that he had sent letters with his compliments to the Spanish monarch, viâ Jacatra and Constantinople, for he was persuaded the Philippine authorities had violated the wishes and commands of their sovereign. The governor of Zamboangan met these accusations, by detailing the piracies of the Súlúans, and by describing Bantilan as a usurper. Ovando decided to espouse the cause of the fugitive Fernando, but he had neither arms, nor ships, nor money to attempt conquests. He could only prepare a small armament to aid the sultan in his expedition to recover his throne, and which, in March, 1761, sailed from Manila for Zamboangan. The ill-luck of the sultan still followed him. His vessel sunk near Mindoro, and it was late in July before he reached the presidio. The Spanish commander of the squadron had meantime lost patience, and passed on to Súlú, where he soon found occasion to bring matters to a hostile issue. After a cannonade of several days, a landing was made and some damage done upon Bantilan's capital. A negotiation was then opened, and the usurper promising to receive the sultan on his arrival, to restore captives, &c., the Spaniards retired, taking care, however, to carry off two Chinese junks, they had seized, and which were declared good prizes.

The return of the squadron to the presidio, instead of leading to the relief and restoration of the sultan, was the signal for further outrage. He was charged by the governor with a treacherous correspondence in Arabic, while his letters in Spanish were friendly, arrested, and thrown,— with his followers amounting to nearly 200 men and women — into prison. Unhappily the representations of the local governor were listened to and the arrest approved by Ovando.

An investigation into the prisoner's conduct was ordered, and on

its conclusion, he was pronounced a breaker of the peace, a traitor, a hypocrite, &c., &c. It was decided that the condemned sultan and his suite should be remanded to Manila, and the war with Súlú continued. It was further stated that $90,000 had been expended between 1736 and 1750, in expeditions against Súlú, and now it was resolved — to destroy all the vessels of that people, to depopulate the islet between Súlú and Basilan, to put to death all natives found in arms, to dispatch the infirm and aged also, to sell as slaves all captives from twelve to sixty years of age, and to baptize all abandoned infants, and leave them to 'the care of divine Providence.'

To justify these cruel and impolitic measures, Ovando published a manifesto in 1752, giving a historical account of past connections with Súlú, disclaiming everything aggressive in the Spanish policy, but as for mercy or pity, reserving it not for the Súlúans, but for their miserable captives.

A junta was held, which adopted this declaration, and ordered the exiled Fernando to be imprisoned during the pleasure of his majesty. His followers were also condemned to be branded and sold as slaves, but it does not appear that this sentence was executed. The citizens were called upon for a loan to carry on the war, but they appear not to have approved the governmental course, for they made only a trifling donation. To incite them to more active coöperation, the declaration of war gave them full license to kill, plunder, and take cantive; and remitted the royal fifths on all spoil, except slaves of certain ages. These licenses, which threw open the whole native trade from Mindanao southward to indiscrimate pillage, were carefully worded to prevent any insult to the ships of the Dutch Company. Thanks to the remostrance of 1735, and the three men-of-war that brought it!

The vail, Ovando endeavored to throw over his iniquitous measures, seems not to have covered them so well as to save him from the general charge of avarice and ambition. The first of these charges seems perfectly well established, by the indiscriminate pillage of their effects which followed their imprisonment. Some check might perhaps have been imposed on these harsh measures had Arrechedera lived, but they lost their friend in November, 1751.

In March, the following year, Ovando's armament collected at Zamboangan. It consisted of nearly 2000 men, and reaching Súlú in May, began its work with a three days' cannonade. Detachments were then landed; but far from effecting a conquest, the squadron soon withdrew to Zamboangan, its only results being to increase alike the distress of those islanders, and of the Manila treasury The

budget of the following year showed the colonial chest to have only $27,000, wherewith to meet demands of $184,000.

The Spanish policy towards the people of Súlú now began to produce its legitimate consequences. War on the one side was retaliated on the other, with fresh and still more extensive and cruel depredations. The whole Mohammedan portion of the Archipelago caught the hostile infection, and by turns, Leyte, Panay, Negros, Ylo Ylo, Siangao, &c., &c., felt its fury.

To restrain these new inroads, it was again proposed to form a strong presidio on Balabac, on the south point of Paragua. The old clerical resident on the latter island gave his testimony, that the natives were docile, averse to islamism, and that the removal of the force formerly stationed at Labo, was the main cause of the decline of the Catholic missions. The alcalde of Calamianes confirmed this account, which was still further supported by the petitions of the settlers of Spanish descent, still remaining in the villages of Paragua. The junta consented to renew the military station, and Ovando, to pave the way, determined to send an envoy to the sultan of Borneo, to obtain a cession of his territorial claims, to form an alliance against Súlú, &c., &c.. The envoy repaired to Borneo (Borneo city?), and in due time brought back accounts of a welcome reception, with treaty, cessions, &c.*

To carry out his plan of an establishment on Paragua, Ovando now proposed to lead the expedition to that island, in person. But the city interposed with its prayer that he would not leave the capital, where his presence was so necessary; the junta repeated the request, and the governor first suspended and afterwards relinquished his proposition.

To attract settlers to the new station, fugitives from justice, &c., were invited to repair to the expedition, on promise of pardon. The instructions prepared for the armament required it to proceed to Balabac, and next to the opposite shores of Paragua, taking formal possession, and selecting the site for the presidio. It was also ordered, that the natives should be treated mildly, collected into pueblos, encouraged to industry by grants of land, and brought cheerfully to render homage, and receive baptism. The fleet of eleven vessels which sailed under these instructions, reached Balabac safely, and

* It is scarcely worth while to examine the right by which the sultan of Borneo gave Balabac, &c., to Spain, or to compare it with the cession of Balambangan by Sulu to the English. It is rather matter of gratification to find an occasional homage thus paid to peace and ownership, and a form of cession preferred to conquest.

after taking possession, went on to Paragua. Sickness there overtook the crews, more than 100 died, and the suvivors returned disheartened to Manila. It would appear from the details given, that the ignorance of the leaders, the want of interpreters, &c., were the first causes that this expedition, which had cost $37,000, resulted in no permanent occupation.

While the disposable force of the colony was thus employed, the southern islands were suffering constant irruptions. The Calamianes group, the islands of Tablas, Mindoro, Ticao, the province of Caraga, &c., were by turns assailed, their pueblos ravaged, and the priest and his flock carried into captivity. The piratical prahús made descents an the southern shores of Luzon, and were seen to the northward of Manila. The vindictive feelings of the Spanish authorities, at the report of these reiterated outrages, turned upon the captive sultan, though innocent as themselves of any participation in them. To divert this indignation from the head of her father, his daughter Fatima sought permission to go to Súlú as the bearer of letters to her uncle. On her arrival there, she collected 50 captives, sent them back to their homes in the the Philippines, and before the close of 1753, returned herself to Manila, bringing an envoy from Bantilan with her. The envoy renewed proposals for peace on his master's part, and after conference with the sultan, made formal offers to restore captives, to renew an offensive and defensive alliance, &c., &c. Ovando received the articles favorably, but chose to withhold a final ratification, and keep his grasp on the imprisoned sultan and his suite, until actually in possession of the returned captives. Alarmed again by pressing calls for aid from the southern provinces, he hastened the preparation of a naval force of ten vessels, which sailed in February, 1754, but the movements of which were paralized by the dissentions or cowardice of its officers.

We refrain from transcribing the long detail of robbery, captivity, and butchery which now followed, making the year 1754 memorable in the colonial annals, as that of its greatest suffering by Moorish irruptions. The piratical fleets, sometimes of 50 or 100 sail, traversed the Archipelago, attacking the strongest posts, until but a few of the 21 provinces of the colony could boast immunity. Occasionally, a successful defense was made within the walls of the stronger churches or fortifications, but much more often, the cruel visitors sacked, and made captive at pleasure. At times, the same ill-fated spot was visited again and again, till the miserable remnant of its population, having lost their all, were scattered over the neighboring country

One unhappy pueblo is named which was ravaged ten times in succession. This long train of successful irruption so emboldened the Moors, that they did not hesitate to besiege pueblos, defended by one or two companies of infantry, and were more than once successful. When the galleon of 1754 arrived, and the dispatches and unmanifested silver were landed at Ticao, the pirates pursued the boats, cut to pieces the Spanish guard, and carried off the treasure.

The appearance of this annual ship put an end to the government of Ovando. His unfortunate administration had laid him open to a process of inquiry, and the following year, declining the permission given him to return to Spain, viâ the Cape of Good Hope, he embarked for Acapulco. Under the anxieties of his situation, his health sunk apace, and he died before the passage was over. One of the causes of his sovereign's dissatisfaction with the marques was, that he had advised the abandonment of the Marianas, in order to centre the force of the colony on the southern frontiers. But the king declared in reply his pleasure that all the existing establishments should be maintained, in a tone not to be disputed or trifled with.

Don Pedro de Arandia, the new governor, a native of Ceuta, who had acquired some distinction in the military service, began his administration with inquiries more than usually searching, into the state of the colonial defenses. In the course of these, the amusing disclosures, already referred to, of the shirtless and barefoot condition of his majesty's forces, were made; and Arandia found in them sufficient reason for the failure of so many expeditions. In fact, he found the soldiery scattered over the suburbs, and entirely without discipline or military practice. It was now admitted on all hands, that the ardor which distinguished the early days of the colony, had died out, and that the annual supply of 100 or 200 recruits from Mexico, scarcely sufficed to keep up a nominal force, in character equally feeble and vicious. While this was the state of the soldiery, the officers, only half-supported by their low rates of pay, were looking after their private interests: the governor proceeded to reörganise a local force of 2000 men, divided into two battalions of twenty companies. The new rates of pay were fixed at $25 for a captain; $18 for a lieutenant; $14 for an ensign; $3 to $4½ for non-commissioned officers, and $2⅔ for the privates. For this last named consideration, the soldiery submitted reluctantly to the new discipline, 'abhorring — as they did — the broth of the mess-kettle,' and 'deserting continually, until restrained by dread of punishment.' A brigade of artillery was also formed, with a school for gunnery and field-practice. New regula-

tions were introduced for the care of the public stores, for the adjustment of the hours of labor in the arsenal, the public offices, &c.

At an early period of his government, the 'Provincia de Rosario' brought before Arandia its claim for arrears of sacramental wine, computed at 840 arrobas due the Order, on the old annual allowance from the crown, of one arroba per padre. Far from admitting this novel claim, the governor pronounced it wholly unjustifiable, and fined the civil officers who had lent their sanction to it.

Another, and less suspicious claim was put in at this time by the Franciscan order, for an allowance for the support of fifteen shipwrecked Japanese, who had been thrown on the coast in 1753, and had been ever since maintained in one of their convents. The fathers referred to cases in 1693 and 1706, when royal grants of maintenance had been made to wrecked Japanese, and which charity had happily inclined their hearts to Christianity. Their petition had been already laid before Ovando, who, in reply, had given the unfortunate men permission to go where they pleased, but had promised them aid, on their conversion to Catholicism. This condition they had complied with, and Arandia, admitting their claim, as strangers and converts, assigned them a support out of a small fund left for charitable uses, by the last martyr to Japanese exclusion, the abbe Sidotti.

A much more pressing appeal was again made upon Aradia's humanity, by the distresses of the people dwelling on the bank of the small lake of Taal, a few leagues southeast of Manila. This laguna had in its centre a small island, whose volcanic character was well known, but which had been long inactive, and had been made even a source of profit by the extraction of quantities of sulphur. In August, 1754, while the Moors were devastating the southern provinces, the volcano of Taal was first observed to have a light cloud resting on its summit. In September, some flame was seen, some light ashes fell, and slight shocks of earthquake disturbed the neighborhood. In November, the mingled smoke and ashes had increased to a darkening volume, and the roar of the subterranean combustion became like the report of the loudest artillery. The inhabitants of the shores fled through the overwhelming showers, by torch-light to more distant villages. From the 25th to the 27th, the volcano continued in fearful activity. On the 2d and 3d of December, a violent gale and storm concurred with the irruption, and their joint effect was, to bring down the volcanic showers, in the form of fetid mud, until the villages of Taal and Tanaran, with their churches and convents,

sunk under the enormous load deposited upon them. With great difficulty, the same fate was averted from other neighboring villages. By the 12th of that month, the activity of the crater declined, and the inhabitants slowly returned to the sites of their former habitations. It was long, however, before their deeply covered fields could again be made to put on their former livery of rich and verdant cultivation.

Local distresses and reforms did not long divert the governor's attention from the state of the southern frontier of the colony. To test the plan of collecting the natives into large pueblos, orders were issued for the inhabitants of Simala, Banton, and Tablas to concentrate upon Komblon; those of Masbate and Burias upon Mobo; the Ticoans upon St. Jacinto; the Macalayans upon Sorsogan, &c., &c. These commands seem, however, to have failed of any effect, from their very nature, and from the imperfect control held over the native population.

Arandia was more fortunate in his choice of a new commander for the southern squadron. He gave the flag to the padre Ducos, a friar who had distinguished himself on shore, in some gallant defenses of besieged forts and convents. The result showed that he could fight well on either element, on the attack as well as on the defensive. Under the command of the energetic padre, some sharp battles were had with the piratical fleets, and when a wound shattered his arm and put out his eyes, his successor followed his example and carried on the contest. In a few months, if our account he true, a severe chastisement was inflicted upon the Moors, for their previous irruptions. One hundred and fifty-nine of their prahús were taken; 2000 killed; and 500 of their kidnapped victims rescued from captivity. When, however, we find from the sequel of the report, that all this castigation was inflicted with the loss of 5 killed and 50 wounded on the Spanish side, we are led to doubt, whether the sufferers were the guilty parties, or whether so much weakness and cowardice on their part, are reconcilable with their previous history.

When the accounts of these successes reached the capital, early in 1755, a day of thanksgiving was kept, royal salutes were fired, and *te deum* sung in the church of Santa Potenciana, in the presence of all that Manila contained of rank and splendor. The padre Ducos was especially complimented, and it being determined to erect a new fortress on Misamis, he was named governor.*

* The plan now adopted of placing the southern forts under a separate command instead of the orders of the provincial alcaldes, and of manning them with

This brightening of the colonial affairs in the south worked some slight change in favor of the captive sultan. Pulgar, who had seized him at Zamboangan, was dead; Ovando was also gone; and the archbishop, who had been for some time alienated from his convent, which had deprived him of the consolations of the church, now by Arandia's influence, was brought to a full reconciliation. The wife of the sultan now dying, he was permitted to renew his addresses to his favorite concubine, who had separated from him on his conversion, and had since figured as donna Rita Calderon, among the collegialas of Santa Potenciana. When the day for the espousals came, the palace was thrown open to the bridal party, and the governor and his suite condescended to grace the ceremony. The renewed friendship of the archbishop did not long avail the sultan. The prelate was now old and infirm, and a distressing difference arose between him and the governor, on a point of punctilio. This important point, whether the bells should chime or not on certain occasions, was duly referred to his Catholic majesty. Before the decision came, the bells had tolled their last chime over the archbishop's funeral obsequies. The real improvement in the sultan's case, does not seem to have been great, however, since we find him petitioning Arandia in vain for an increase of the allowance of $50, and six cavans of rice, made monthly to himself and family.

Among the orders, with which Arandia came charged, was a fresh one for the checking of Chinese immigration. When he proceeded to publish these commands, giving the Chinese residents the option of exile or baptism, 515 out of 3696 submitted, and 2070 preferred to leave the colony. These orders do not appear to have been applied to the Chinese in the provinces, nor to those on board the junks in the harbor. Indeed it was not the royal wish, that any check should be laid on the foreign commerce of Manila. To preserve to the natives the more lucrative occupations of the interior, and to keep the Chinese party under control, were the chief objects of the Spanish policy. One expedient now adopted to these ends, was to build for them the Alcayceria de San Fernando. This structure (which cost $48,000) was henceforth required to be the residence of the unconverted Chinese, connected with trade, and from which they were not to wander into the interior.

It may be well to mention here, in connection with the trade with China, an order Arandia received, to send samples of Chinese quick-

Spanish mestizos in place of natives of Bohol, who had hitherto figured as the chief fighters, is said to have worked favorably

silver to Mexico, in order to ascertain if the supply for the silver mines could be drawn from this quarter. The governor transmitted the orders to Amoy and Canton, but the agents brought back word, that the Chinese quicksilver was adulterated and inferior, and moreover that its export was prohibited under heavy penalties.*

The attention of the governor was again called to affairs on the southern frontier, by the receipt of reports from the naval officers commanding in that quarter. The first of these related to the eastern and southern coasts of Mindanao, and after describing its piratical communities as few and poor, it argued that to war on a people so contemptible, so defended by their local advantages, and able to flee at a moment's warning to the manglar, or the mountain, was to sacrifice life and labor on an object quite undeserving. The second report informed the governor, that its writer, Favean had visited Súlú, where the acting sultan Bantilan, had received him with a kind and showy hospitality. Favean fully confirmed the sultan's statement, that the late hostilities were the work of the governor of Zamboangan, whose avarice and cruelty incited the Súlúans to resistance and retaliation. Bantilan further declared that neither 'the east nor the west, nor the seven heavens should drive him from the fullfilment of the late treaties,' and with this assurance, he intreated again for the release of the captives. Favean further described Bantilan as mild and affable, and fully acquitted the captive sultan from the charges on which he had been imprisoned. He believed Fernando a sincere friend of Spain, and that the designs of his brother extended only to the exclusion of Catholicism. He reported the surrender of sixty-eight captives, by the Súlúan rájá, and pressed the request that the sultan, or at least his suite, be suffered to return to their country.

Unhappily the favorable feelings of Favean toward Súlú, became known at Zamboangan, on his return there, and no effort was spared to ruin his credit with Arandia. These efforts were so far successful as to procure his recall to Manila, whence he was remanded under arrest to Mexico.

These reports were considered at a junta held at Manila, April 9th, 1755, whereat it was determined, that the princes should be freely restored, don Fernando and his son only remaining, until the exchange of further ratifications. In accordance with this decision, four vessels were prepared, in which the released Súlúans, 134 in

* Spain has since furnished large quantities of quicksilver to China, and some small parcels have been received from Austria. The rise in the European value has again checked this branch of trade, and within the last few years, the article might, at one time, have been exported profitably to Mexico and S. America

number, sailed on the 28th of April. They, and the envoy who accompanied them, were kindly welcomed, and on the return of the latter, he was again made the bearer of a pressing appeal for the sultan's release, which can hardly have come from a usurper pleading in favor of his supplanted rival.

Our authority does not supply the remainder of the unfortunate Alimudin's history. It seems, however, that the crisis of piratical irruption passed with the year 1744, and though some districts continued to be the mark of these attacks, and one plundering crew ventured as far north as Lubat, yet on the whole, the colony never again suffered under so cruel a series of depredations. In the report on southern affairs made to his majesty in 1755, Arandia still distrusted the sincerity of Bantilan. Without justifying the seizure of Alimudin, he fails to pronounce upon the authors of that outrage, the condemnation they merited. He described Súlú as owing its chief importance to the valor of its people and their wealth, acquired in piracy. He believed them able, along with their allies, to ravage the southern islands, while expeditions of mere retaliatory incursion against them, or anything short of the overthrow of the whole Mohammedan power in the Archipelago, seemed ineffectual to overcome them. He concluded, (if we understand his obscure inferences,) that retaliation should be forborne, all possible defensive preparations made, and no efforts spared to draw out the rulers of Súlú, and detach them from the Mohammedan interest. Perhaps the negotiation now opened with Jampsa, rájá of Mindanao, was a part of this policy, though it seems to have resulted chiefly in mutual recriminations. A truce was, however, agreed to, although it was the opinion of a strong party at Manila that these intervals were used in preparations for new hostilities; and that it was impolitic to grant them. Good use of the return of peace was made on the Spanish side, in recalling the disheartened and scattered natives to their homes, giving them the means of defense, relieving them for a time from tribute, and teaching them that a great part of their sufferings arose from their voluntary exposure, apart from the larger pueblos, for the sake of escaping the restraints of law and morality.

Two leading objects now remained, to engage Arandia's attention; the restoration of the fallen commerce, and the regulation of the disordered revenues of the colony. Before he left Spain, and even after his arrival in Mexico, he had heard extravagant accounts of the wealth of the merchants of Manila. He saw, however, before he left Acapulco, that the buyers of New Spain no longer paid excessive

prices. On reaching his government, he found the colonial traders 'in tĕars,' disheartened by a long succession of losses. Their arrears to the 'obras pias' dated as far back as 1724, when the respondentia premiums were at 40 per cent. and had now accumulated to $300,000. The capture of the Cobadonga, the long suspension which followed, the fate of the Pilar, &c., &c., had contributed to bring on a state of general insolvency. Even the last galleon, without the help of any disaster, had lost 20 per cent. on her investment, and the shippers were now reluctant to adventure more, at 20 per cent. premiums. It was true the galleons continued to bring back their million, but it was because they had carried out nearly as much in their outward investment. In proof of these facts, and to silence the arguments of the Spanish party, the Manila merchants engaged to ship $1,000,000 to Acapulco, consigned to the agents of Cadiz, on condition that 35 per cent. profits, ($350,000,) were returned to them. Arandia saw that there was much truth in these statements; that the Spaniard unfit for labor in the climate of the Philippines, looked to trade as his only resource, and that, in short a flourishing commerce was essential to the welfare of the colony. The result of these considerations, was a memorial to his majesty, recommending that the annual shipments be raised to $1,500,000 (without increase of the duties), and be made free to every body. The services of the colony, its critical state, &c, were pleaded anew in this memorial. Some of its many suggestions seem to have been adopted afterwards, but no material change came in to relieve and build up the colony.

While waiting permission to effect more important changes, the governor applied himself to such mercantile reforms as came within his own authority. Among the abuses he sought to check, were such as filling the water-casks, &c., of the galleon with goods, which of course, paid neither freight nor duties. The ship itself was every year so stripped of everything portable, that each new departure made a complete outfit necessary. These reforms were approved at home, but we are left free to presume, that the system which created such abuses, did not fail to reproduce them.

In some other of his plans for the regulation of trade, Arandia was not at all successful. The abuses or frauds which prevailed in the sorting and packing of goods for the Acapulco market, attracted his notice, and he sought to repress them, by fines and forfeitures. The new law became so onerous, however, in the hands of its ministers, that the governor was obliged to reprimand them and repeal it. The same fate attended an order for the more complete manifest-

ing of the cargoes of the Chinese junks on their arrival at Manila. The opposition of the Chinese owners and supercargoes soon reduced the command to a nullity.

But the favorite plan of Arandia at this time, was the formation of a company which should benefit the capital by transferring the profits of the retail trade of the colony from the Chinese to the Spaniards and mestizos. To gain this end, he instituted an association, whose funds were to be employed in furnishing shops, at wholesale prices, and whose sales, being made at a uniform advance of 30 per cent., would gave eight per cent. to the crown, 10 per cent. to the shareholders, and 12 per cent. for the payment of salaries, &c. The private capital of Manila being unequal to this new call, Arandia repaired to the "obras pias," and with a loan from them of $130,000 at 5 per cent., the shops of the company were soon tolerably furnished. The citizens were called on to patronize the shops, where warranted goods were to be had at uniform prices, and whereby twenty-one indigent, but deserving, families were to be supported. The company soon found itself embarrassed by the quantity of clipped coin then in circulation, and its difficulties increasing, as it went on, from other quarters, the governor was glad to wind up its affairs at the close of the just year, just saving the original capital.

While we are upon these commercial details, it may be worth while to notice the still more unfortunate result of a project for shipbuilding on the banks of the Meinam. The agent of the association formed for this purpose had sailed from Siam as early as 1725, carrying with him $30,000, a sum said to be sufficient to equip a galleon. He was kindly received by the Siamese king, and the vicar apostolic, having blessed the newly-laid keel, the work went on prosperously, under the shadow of the cross and the national colors. Before the ship was built, the agent's money ran short, and the king generously helped him out with a loan of $12,000, without interest. Once completed, at the cost of $44,000, the unfortunate vessel began to be the sport of disasters. Twice driven to Macao, and once to Batavia, and everywhere requiring expensive repairs, she at last came into the hands of her owners, at a total cost of $91,000; even then she was pronounced unseaworthy, and condemned and sold for $10,000. The unfortunate shareholders were of course called on to repay the loan taken from the king of Siam, and the Spanish government was so annoyed by the result of the experiment, that it decreed, that no galleons should be built, except within the dockyards of the colony.

The second branch of Arandia's cares respected the disordered finances of the colony. From his reports on this subject, it appeared that the soyal subsidy of $250,000 per annum had been assigned to the Philippines out of the Mexican revenues in 1665, and had been paid down to the time of governor Crusat of economic memory. By his recommendation, $170,000 had then been discounted, and these clippings had been repeated from time to time, until in Arandia's day, the amount actually received was only $74,000. He stated the ordinary revenues to be $606,000, and the expenses $696,000, leaving an annual deficit of $90,000. The heavy drafts on the treasury for southern operations, the losses entailed by the expulsion of the Chinese, by volcanic eruptions, &c., were represented, and the restoration of the annual subsidy to its original sum, intreated.

It only remains for us to add a few scattered anecdotes of Arandia's administration. One of these. respecting the mortality on board the Trinidad galleon, on her voyage to Acapulco in 1755, is honorable to the governor's humanity. It appeared from the inquiry instituted at Manila, that the crowded state of the ships, and the insufficient food and clothing of the Indian crews, usually resulted in many deaths, whenever, as in this case, the passage lasted six or seven months, and was made beyond 40° north latitude. Measures were immediately taken to run the courses on a more southern line, and prevent the recurrence of the same calamity

In the course of these annals, repeated reference is made to efforts on the part of one order of Catholic missionaries, to effect exchanges or transfers of the districts assigned them with another order. Thus the Jesuits endeavored again and again to dispossess the Recollect fathers of the province of Caraga. When Arandia assumed the administration, he espoused the Jesuit side, and after a long negotiation, compelled the Recollects to cede the province in question to their covetous rivals. These forced transfers afterward came before the home government, and the king reverting to the old rule, that where one order had entered, another should not follow to molest or expel, annulled the transfer, and restored to the Recollects their vacated parishes.

In these contests between rival orders, the natives are represented as adhering generally to their spiritual teachers. An opposite instance of aversion occurs, however, in the case of the people of Bohol, who revolted to the number of several thousands on the refusal of a Catholic priest to inter their dead, except on payment of certain burial charges For many years, the rebel Dagoboy remained un-

softened, at the head of his eighteen villages, and though some outward submission afterward took place, it scarcely affected their real independence.

A reference made at this time to the results of certain attempts to draw out the mineral wealth of Luzon, supplies an illustration of the difficulties under which the colonial enterprise still labored. Some veins of gold being found in the town of Paracale in the province of Camarines, permission to work them was asked and granted, under the usual formalities. The adventurers proceeded to work five veins, which were said to be tolerably productive, but the aversion of the natives to a new mode of labor, and other local difficulties intervening, the whole enterprise was abandoned.

A second adventurer, who had opened an iron mine in the town of Boso, obtained permission to import a number of workmen from China, and so placed himself above native prejudices. The Chinese were brought to the spot, and the ore found to yield 75 per cent. of pure metal. But the governor now discovered that the use of infidel Chinese in mining was contrary to law, and the adventurer was required to reconvey them to China. His mines too were then abandoned.

One other measure of Arandia's perhaps merits notice, as illustrating the low state of security in the colony, viz., the order forbidding the use of firearms to the Indians under severe penalties. It is further said that a commission for the apprehension of robbers was instituted under his authority, and that by these means, several bands of miscreants, fugitives from justice, &c., were broken up.

The closing pages of the fourteenth and last volume of our authority are filled with the details of expeditions for the reduction of the Ygorrotes, a wild tribe, inhabiting the sierras on the borders of Pangasinan and Ylocos. After summoning these poor villagers to homage and baptism, 2000 men were marched upon those who adhered to barbarism and infidelity. Some stand was made against the invasion by these simple men, but, if the destruction of their chief villages, and the driving back their frontier settlements to the higher ridges were the measure of success, the enterprise was successful.

The unfinished way, in which the 'Historia de Philippinas' here terminates, leaves us to infer, that its continuation was intended. Ample materials for the completion of the work undoubtedly exist in the monastic and other archives of Manila. We cannot but hope that the long abandoned task of the P. Juan de la Conception will erelong be resumed by some more compact and discriminating writer.

The 'Historia,' when thus completed and abridged, will form an appropriate introduction to a new work — much wanted by the student of Eastern Asia — on 'the present state of the Philippine Islands.'

For the sake of chronological satisfaction, we subjoin, at the close of this sketch, a few dates of principal importance in the subsequent annals of the colony.

The governor Arandia died in May 1759, leaving the administration in the hands of don Manuel Roxo, at that time archbishop of Manila. Three years after, war broke out between Spain and England, and before the Philippine authorities were aware of the declaration of hostilities, a British armament anchored before the city of Manila. The invading force landed on the 23d September (1762), and after several sharp actions, the city capitulated on the 6th Oct. This surrender did not, however, secure quiet submission of the islands to the representatives of the E. I. Company. A strong force was soon organized in the interior, under Spanish officers, and when the news of peace arrived, in June 1764, the British posts had already been driven in, and their authority circumscribed to the immediate vicinity of the capital. On the 31st March, 1764, the islands reverted to the Spanish crown, and the British force lessened by sickness and casualty to the extent of 1000 men, retired from Manila. 'While they were in possession — says the English narrator — they were cut off from every part of the country their army and navy did not overawe; it is melancholy to read the official papers and proclamations issued at the time; while the details of murder and desolation which took place in the interior from the moment the old administration was shaken, excite horror.'

The unfortunate archbishop having died during the occupation, a new governor succeeded till 1770, when Anda, the brave antagonist of the British, was rewarded with the administration of the colony. Under his government and that of his successor, Manila was made the comparatively strong capital we now see it, while various plans for colonial amelioration were zealously prosecuted

The old system of royal government continued down to 1812, when the colonies of Spain were recognized under the constitution, as integral parts of the empire; and in the language of count Toreno, "the deputies from Peru were seated by the side of those from Estremadura, and near those from Catalonia, were seen the representatives of the Philippine islands." When the constitution was subverted in 1814, and again for a time restored in 1820, the Philippines followed

an easy accommodation, the fluctuating policy of the mother country The native was, on both these occasions, too little while in possession of political rights, to learn their value. He wore with some bashful reluctance the honors thus thrust upon him, and at the first call of reviving royalism, cheerfully resigned them. It would be a wide deviation from the design of this sketch, to turn from the past to the future, or to make one effort to draw the veil which covers the destiny of this colony, which hides the part one day to be assigned in history to the empire of the Philippines.

ART. III. *A Budhistic Stratagem, communicated by a literary gentleman in Peking to his friends in Canton, July*, 1839.

[A friend has kindly handed us the following story for publication. Like thousands of others, often reported and believed here, it shows how much darkness rests on the minds of those, who by their rank and learning ought to be the patterns and guides of the people. The gentleman who relates the story is of the rank *keu jin*, corresponding to the degree of A. M.]

"ON the 23d of the 3d month (May 6th), of the present year, near Peking in the department of Shunteën, and upon Mt. Teënshow there was a dark fog some thousand feet in height, which ascended to the sky. From beneath the mountain, black and red waters simultaneously gushed forth; and upon it, were droves of foxes and flocks of birds, which pursued both man and beast. The officers and people quaked with fear. This whole district, in open air, with heads uncovered, performed their religious rites. The astronomers predict, that, although the crops may be abundant, it will be difficult to avoid the calamities of fire and flood, and the judgments of war and plague. Only those who work righteousness can escape. The workers of iniquity will with difficulty hide themselves. But observe the eighth, ninth, and tenth months, when this calamitous exhalation will assuredly arise again. Men will then die in countless numbers, and their corpses will promiscuously strew the ground. At midnight the cocks will crow and the dogs bark, and there will be malignant spirits, evil demons, who will call out men by name and they cannot answer. Now to be secured against these dire judgments, upon the first day of every month, with sincere heart, practice abstinence from animal food, wine, &c. Also to transcribe ten copies (of this prediction), and circulate it among men, will avert the calamity from one family. If unable to copy and circulate it thus, it will suffice to disseminate the intelligence orally. Neither copying nor circulating it, but on the contrary if you ridicule and vilify the subject, curses will inevitably

descend upon your person. It is proper also to write with red ink, and upon yellow paper, the following twelve characters, and reverently worshiping, to rest them upon the altar, and thus you will be able to avert the danger from one family. Or to write and bind them about your body, will suffice to avert the calamity from your own person. The goddess of mercy, as appears from casting the *kwa*, also affirms that during the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months, there will be distress among the people. Six or seven out of ten will die: winds and rain will be unseasonable, and judgments and calamities will flow in all directions. On the ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth, of each of these months, at 12 o'clock A. M. you cannot kindle a fire, but the deity Hung Lŏting will descend from heaven, and cruise about among men, observing who is righteous and who is wicked. If able, fast as above directed upon the first day of the month; and you can secure tranquillity and peace, by selecting the twelve characters arranged below; viz. Chen, Chaou, Lae, Kwae, Foo, Kin, Muh, Shwuy, Ho, Too, *Ling*, *Foo*. The last two signify an 'efficacious charm.' The others are new coined characters and enigmatical."

N. B. On the preceding, our correspondent thus remarks: 'The translator, from the serious manner in which this intelligence was first communicated to him, queried if there had not been a volcanic eruption in the vicinity of the dragon's throne, as the phenomena described somewhat resembles one, and the explanations of the astronomers and goddess of mercy, were such as might be expected from an unscientific and idolatrous people. But showing it one day to a Confucianist, he immediately explained it to be one of the stratagems by which the Budhists impose upon the people and promote their tenets. It is a curious document, and illustrates the cunning of the Budhists. 'The moon story' was not more firmly believed by some in the west, than this is by many in the east. The present state and prospects of the country no doubt contributed to its credibility among the people.'

ART. IV. *Proclamation from the Chinese authorities, calling on the people to arm themselves, to resist parties of English landing on their coasts.*

LIN, high imperial commissioner, &c., and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, &c A proclamation giving clear commands. Whereas the English foreigners, in their overbearing pride and unpracticabili-

ty, have withstood the prohibitory enactments, these depraved individuals who deal in opium, have continued to linger at Macao, the empty store-ships which had surrendered their opium have thus long remained anchored in the outer seas; and newly-arrived merchant vessels, neglecting to surrender what opium they have brought, have assembled at Hongkong and the neighborhood, neither entering Whampoa, nor yet sailing back again; whereby occasion was given in a drunken brawl to cause the death of Lin Weihe, one of the people of the empire: and whereas, we, the commissioner and the governor, having reiteratedly issued commands to the superintendent Elliot, justly to investigate and take proceeding therein, he has still withstood us, has not received our commands, and has sheltered and failed to deliver up the murderer (acts of contumacy, and of stiff-necked presumption that cannot be surpassed):—Therefore, we the commissioner and the governor have given strict commands to the local officers, civil and military, at every point, by land and by water, faithfully to intercept and wholly to cut off from the English all supplies, that they may be made to fear and to pay the tribute of fealty.

We now find that these English foreigners, though they have one and all left Macao, have yet gone to reside on board the foreign ships at Hongkong, and it is to be apprehended, that, in the extremity of their embarrassment, some may land at the outer villages and hamlets along the coast, forcibly to purchase provisions, or plunder the inhabitants. Against chances of this natnre, it is most necessary to take all precautionary and preventive measures

For this reason, we make proclamation to all the gentry and elders, the shopkeepers and inhabitants of the outer villages and hamlets, along the coast, for their full information. Pay you all immediate obedience hereto; assemble yourselves together for consultation; purchase arms and weapons; join together the stoutest of your villagers, and thus be prepared to defend yourselves. If any of the said foreigners be found going on shore to cause trouble, all and every of the people are permitted to fire upon them, to withstand and drive them back, or to make prisoners of them. They assuredly will never be able, few in number, to oppose the many. Even when they land to take water from the springs, stop their progress, and let them not have it in their power to drink. But so long as the said foreigners do not go on shore, you must not presume to go in boats near to their vessels, causing in other ways disturbance, which will surely draw on you severe investigations

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th month, 23d day Aug 31st, 1839)

ART. V. *Memorial to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Lord Palmerston from the British merchants.*

My Lord, We, the undersigned British merchants, lately resident in Canton, several of whom had the honor of addressing your lordship on the 24th May on the subject of the outrageous proceedings of the Chinese government in March last, are once more compelled respectfully but most earnestly to address your lordship, in consequence of having been again subjected to further acts of arbitrary violence from the same source.

2d. On completion of the delivery of the opium surrendered by her majesty's superintendent to the imperial commissioner, on behalf of her majesty's government, (particulars of which have been laid before your lordship,) your memorialists retired from Canton to Macao, in obedience to the injunctions of her majesty's superintendent, in the hope of being allowed to remain peaceably in that settlement, under protection of the Portuguese flag, until otherwise arranged by the authority of her majesty's government.

3d. After a residence of three months in Macao, your memorialists have been compelled suddenly to abandon that place, and seek refuge on board their ships, in consequence of menacing preparations of the imperial commissioner, and edicts ordering the departure of all British subjects on pain of severe punishment: at the same time holding us responsible with our lives for the surrender of an individual to suffer death, in satisfaction of the alleged murder of a native, in an accidental affray with some British and American seamen, a few weeks since at the anchorage of Hongkong.

4th. Her majesty's superintendent has been unable after a careful investigation, according to the forms of British law, to fix such charge of murder on any British subject.

5th. Without any charge whatever against your memorialists, individually or collectively, from the high commissioner, in connection with the ostensible cause of our actual expulsion from Macao, we were first deprived of our servants, and supplies of food; and then compelled to abandon our dwellings, without previous preparation, and in the possession of means barely adequate for the removal of our books, papers, and articles of immediate use and necessity; under circumstances involving much cruel privation to families and invalids.

6th. The governor of Macao was pleased to express his anxiety to afford all aid in his power to the British community; but his excellency did not attempt to conceal from your memorialists the fact of his real inability to give them efficient protection: and they quitted that settlement under a perfect conviction that such a course was imperatively necessary for the general safety.

7th. Your memorialists further beg leave to call to your lordship's serious notice, a case of aggravated outrage committed by some Chinese boats full of armed men, and bearing the flags of mandarins,

upon a British owned passage-boat, containing seven Lascars and an English trader (then in the act of removing with his personal effects from Macao to Hongkong), whom they cruelly mutilated: and after murdering five of the Lascars, and robbing the vessel of much valuable property, set on fire, and then abandoned it: an event, which, although your memorialists cannot consider it to have been committed with the knowledge of the imperial commissioner, yet they can entertain little doubt, that it is mainly attributable to the highly menacing character of some of his late edicts, and to his generally violent bearing towards foreigners, especially British, thus inducing the inferior officers to conceive that any acts of brutal outrage might be perpetrated with impunity.

8th. In the former memorial, an opinion was expressed, that after the violent acts of the high commissioner in March last, the return of British subjects to Canton would be alike dangerous to themselves, to the property of their constituents, and derogatory to the honor of their country; until such time as the power of the British government might convince the Chinese authorities that such outrages would not be endured.

9th. And it was further stated, that such powerful interference could alone prevent the recurrence of similar or more violent proceedings. Your memorialists may respectfully refer your lordship to the facts now detailed in illustration of the justice of that opinion.

10th. It appears unnecessary to add that the circumstance of the British being outside the port instead of in Canton, has merely changed the scene, not the nature, of the commissioner's persecutions: there being every reason to believe that, had we remained in Canton, the plan by which the commissioner succeeded in extorting property to the value of between 2 and 3 millions sterling, would again have been resorted to, for the purpose of endeavoring to enforce the surrender of an innocent men for capital punishment.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. D. & M. Rustomjee & Co. Fox, Rawson & Co. Lindsay & Co. Dirom & Co. Gribble, Hughes & Co. R. Wise, Holliday & Co. Macvicar & Co. Jardine, Matheson & Co. Bomanjee Maneckjee. Framjee Jamsetjee. Cowasjee Shapoorjee Tabac. Jamieson & How. Burjorjee Sorabjee. Hormasjee Framjee. Cowasjee Sapoorjee. Burjorjee Maneckjee. Nesserwanjee Bomanjee. Pestonjee Cowasjee. Cowasjee Pallunjee. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. W. & T. Gemmell & Co. Turner & Co. Cox & Anderson. A. & D. Furdonjee. Daniell & Co.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. Visit of commissioner Lin to Macao; edict to the pilots; affair at Kowlung; the hoppo of Canton visits Macao; a visit to Chunhow; intention of blockading the port; British vessels in the opium trade required to leave Hongkong and the coast; a Spanish ship burnt by the Chinese; blockade suspended; captain Elliot holds ar*

interview in Macao with the Chinese authorities; negotiations; shipping; hospitals

EARLY in the morning of the 3d instant, a company of Portuguese troops, with a band of music, proceeded to the Barrier, the boundary of Portuguese jurisdiction on the northeast. Soon after sunrise, a long procession was seen moving from *Tseenshan;* it entered the Barrier at 8 o'clock; and, joined by the Portuguese escort, proceeded to the temple *Leenfung*, just north of the hill beyond the village of Mongha. The procession, as it proceeded from the Barrier and entered the spacious court-yard in front of the temple, presented an interesting spectacle. The morning was clear; and the place of rendezvous, under the brow of the hill, was cool. Crowds of spectators had assembled around the yard without, while within, the procurador, the sub-prefect, and the magistrate of Macao, with a deputy from the commissioner, were in waiting. Also some presents,— consisting of silver, silk, teas, pigs, and bullocks with their horns decorated with scarlet ribbands,— were arranged before the middle door of the temple. The procession, extending some eighty rods in length, consisted of about two hundred soldiers, all moving in double file. Very little order was apparent either in their line of march or manœuvers. An officer on horseback came first; then bearers of gongs and flags followed, with a division of Chinese troops, preceding the commissioner's sedan, borne by eight Chinese and attended by a Portuguese guard of honor. Next came a small division of native troops, preceding his excellency, governor Tang, who was followed by other officers and troops. Their excellencies, on arriving, were received by the officers in waiting, and conducted into the temple, where refreshments were provided, and a conference held with the procurador. The Chinese troops seem to have been selected, for the occasion, in small detatchments of twenty or thirty, from different regiments, each detachment having a different uniform and banner. All were armed; some with bows and arrows, some with spears and pikes; others with swords and halberds; and others with matchlocks and blunderbusses. Many of them were stout and ablebodied men; and their uniforms and accoutrements were not ill-looking, though they would match very well with those of Europeans in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese troops and band appeared to good advantage — the better perhaps for being viewed in contrast with the "celestials."

The interview with the procurador lasted nearly half an hour; he was seated a little to the left and almost in front of the commissioner, the interpreter (a Portuguese) standing between them. At nine o'clock, the procession again set forward; and, passing along close to the Praya Patanes, through the Chinese village of the same name, entered the gate near the church of S. Antonio, under a salute from the guns on the Monte. From S. Antonio, it proceeded to the long street near the inner harbor; thence, passing the tsotang's office, and the Chinese custom-house, it moved on near the church, of S. Joseph and S. Lawrence to the temple near the Bar fort; from thence, after a short halt, it returned, passing again near the S. Lawrence, down the lane, along the whole length of the Praya Grande, to the gate of S. Lazarus or Campo; thence entering the Rua de Hospital, it passed round close under the Monte, and moved out of town through the gate of S. Antonio, under a salute of twenty-one guns, the same as were given on entering. During this long march, the troops suffered much from the excessive heat, but seemed pleased with their service. The Chinese inhabitants had in several places erected triumphal arches, tastefully adorned with festoons of silk and laudatory scrolls; and when his excellency was about to pass the doors of their houses and shops, they set out tables decorated with vases of flowers, &c., "in order to manifest," in the words of a native spectator,

"their profound gratitude for his coming to save them from a deadly vice, and for removing from them a dire calamity, by the destruction and severe interdiction of opium."

The following edict to the Chinese pilots was issued by their excellencies, the commissioner and governor, immediately after the arrival of the Volage.

"It appears that whenever a foreign ship of war arrives in the waters of Kwangtung, the channels of the inner passages being very devious, the depths of the water not being uniform, and she not accustomed to navigate there, she durst not alone lightly sail in: but by means of traitorous pilots and fishermen and boatmen, who covetous of her large gifts and compensation secretly conduct her in, she covertly reaches the inner waters. Traitors like these are excessively wicked. Moreover, we have written to the subprefect of Macao, commanding him to give strict orders to all the pilots in accordance with this, that they do not conduct any in. To all the people of the fishing and every other kind of boats, that they may obey this strict interdict, it is published at every landing-place and harbor, that they may all fully understand it. If there are any who, under pretense of receiving wages on board of these ships, should secretly act as pilots, then at once the naval and military officers will closely examine and ascertain in all parts who they are, and taking these pilots will instantly decapitate them, and exhibit their heads at all the landing-places. Whoever shall sell provisions to them shall be most severaly dealt with, without any chance of compromising the sentence. Now let all you people of the boats be careful and preserve your lives by obedience, and implicitly observe these injunctions. A special edict." August 31st, 1839.

Of the affair at Kowlung, on the 4th instant, the reports are so contradictory, that we are unable to ascertain the real facts with any degree of certainty, beyond these, that the firing commenced about 2 o'clock and continued till night, two small boats engaging on one side, and three junks and a small fort on the other; it was occasioned immediately by the long denial of provisions. The following proclamation was addressed on the 6th, to the foreign merchant vessels concerning it.

"Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c, and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, &c., for the purpose of giving clear commands to the foreign merchant vessels, that they may seek to escape misfortune.

"The English foreigner Elliot having in repeated instances withstood and opposed the laws,— having concealed and failed to deliver up a murderer,— having prevented the merchant vessels from entering the port,— having ruled and directed extensive sales of opium,— the charge of crime against him is most clearly established, as by our reiterated proclamations and clear commands we have already shown.

"Now on the 27th day of the 7th month (4th September), he had the daring presumption to send a number of vessels of various sizes to Kowlung, and directed them to fire upon and attack the naval cruizers; from noon till eight, they had several encounters, and wounds were inflicted on the governmental soldiery. In this, since he has come forward to seek a quarrel, we, the commissioner and the governor, cannot but command the assembling of the powerful companies of the army and navy from the various regiments and squadrons, that they may combine in an attack of extirpation, and place his life in our hands. Let it be asked, through the foreign soldiers be numerous, can they amount to one ten-thousandth part of ours? Though the foreign guns be allowed to be powerful and effective, can their ammunition be employed for any long period without being expended? If they venture to enter the port, there will be a moment's blaze, and they will be turned to cinders. If they dare to go on shore, it is permitted to all the people to seize and kill them. How can the said foreigners remain unawed?

"Do but consider, all you who have brought commodities hither, that the object of your coming is trade. Already, by Elliot's hindrance of your entering the port, your goods must have suffered from mold and decay, and great must have been the loss upon the outlay. And now, if you attend to him and follow him in perverse resistance, the gems and the common pebbles [that is, good and the bad] will be consumed together. It will be impossible to turn aside to show indulgence. Let all then speedily separate themselves, and not incur cause for future repentance. A special proclamation."

The hoppo of Canton entered Macao, under a salute from the Monte, on the 5th, and left the town on the 8th, with the same public honors. His object, it is said, was to make an arrangement with the Portuguese authorities for the reöpening of the trade between Macao and the provincial city, which for several months has been interrupted. Six chop-boats have since arrived from Canton, for the transmission of cargo.

On the 10th, one of the foreign residents (Mr. Bridgman), by request from the imperial commissioner, attended by three linguists with a passport, proceeded in a native boat to Chunhow, where, on the following day, he had an interview with a *weiyuen*, a Chinese officer deputed for that purpose direct from his excellency. Chunhow,— memorable for the destruction of opium there last summer,— is situated a mile or two east of the Bogue. Besides the village on the creek, near where the opium was destroyed, there is a small town just inland, behind the hills, which is the residence of the admiral, and the temporary abode of the commissioner. A part of the town is walled, forming a strong castle. The interview was held in an academical hall, with closed doors,— and is generally understood to have had special and sole reference to the difficulties pending between the Chinese and English authorities. Mr. B. returned on the 12th.

Two public notices, of a highly interesting character, have appeared bearing date September 11th, 1839. To what consequences they will lead, time will show. They are subjoined.

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE.

The high commissioner and the governor of these provinces having publicly forbidden the regular supplies of food to her majesty's subjects, having commanded the people to fire upon and seize them whenever they go on shore to purchase provisions: and certain of her majesty's subjects having been actually cut off: Notice is hereby given that it is my intention, at the requisition of the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, to establish a blockade of the river and port of Canton, and notice is hereby further given that none other than vessels actually within the port, or foreign vessels entering within six days from the date hereof, will be allowed free egress till the blockade be declared raised. Notice of the blockading force will be hereafter promulgated.

Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor in Hongkong bay, off the port of Canton, this 11th day of September, 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, Captain of her Britannic majesty's ship Volage.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

To commanders of all British vessels, and other her majesty's subjects.

Ship Fort William, Hongkong, 11th September, 1839.

Amongst the pretexts put forward by the commissioner for the vindication of his measures of dark and undistinguishing violence, against all her majesty's subjects in China, men, women and children, is the declaration that some of them are actually engaged in the illicit traffic of opium at this anchorage. The chief superintendent, on his part, considering it his duty to leave no just room for the inference that her majesty's flag is flying in countenance or protection of persons engaged in a trade declared to be lawless by the

government of this country, (to the great aggravation of the risks of the ships detained till the lawful trade can be conducted on a safe and honorable footing,) has now to require all commanders of ships, not having opium on board, to repair to this vessel within 48 hours, and make oath to that effect. And moved by the pressing public considerations herein before set forth, the chief superintendent has to require that all British vessels engaged in the traffic of opium, should immediately depart from this harbor and coast.

By order of the chief superintendent, (Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE.

Early in the morning of the 12th, a Spanish ship, the *Bilbaino* from Manila, was seen on fire in the Typa, off Macao. She is supposed to have been mistaken by the Chinese authorities for the opium ship *Tan-sze-no*, (the Virginia), from which opium was delivered to them at Chuenpe last spring. The Virginia sailed from this neighborhood months ago; and it is reported, on the best authority, that the Bilbaino had no connection with the illegal traffic. The captain was on shore; and the officer in command, at the time the Chinese boats came alongside and boarded her, made no resistance, but merely hoisted his colors. The officer and one or more of the men were carried off, and have not yet returned; the remainder of the crew were set on shore. The representations made to the Chinese authorities on this subject have, so far as we can learn, hitherto failed to gain reparation or even credit. We can scarcely doubt but that a case so clear and free from all suspicion, (as every foreigner believes this to be,) will have a reversal, and ample reparation be made. It exhibits, in a striking point of view, the great necessity of a free and better mode of intercourse with this government. With reference to this matter the Portuguese government have issued the following.

Edict.— "The lamentable occurrence having happened that the Chinese cruizes have, early on the morning of the 12th inst., unjustly burned the Spanish brig Bilbaino, then anchored in the Typa, on suspicion of the vessel having opium on board; the loyal Senate do consider it their duty to fit out an armed vessel to cruize in that anchorage as far as the Roads, and by this means to procure: 1st, That vessels of any nation whatsoever anchoring there with opium on board may be taken and confiscated;—2d. That no other fatal mistake like that of the Spanish brig may happen. It is therefore published that all vessels of whatever nation that may anchor in the above named anchorages on or after the first day of October next with opium on board shall be confiscated." Dated Macao, 14th September, 1839.—Signed, Silveira Pinto, Braga, Silva, Barretto, Lemos, Lima.

A ship's boat, containing a number of English subjects, who were supposed to have been captured by the Chinese, and to whom captain Smith refers in his notice of blockade, being ascertained to have reached its destination safely, and also in consequence of proposed negotiations, captain Smith published a second notice, suspending the blockade. All the American ships had in the meanwhile entered the port. In order to save time, the American merchants petitioned the keunmin foo or sub-prefect for liberty to proceed directly up to the Bogue, and there to procure pilots. Their request was granted. The following is captain Smith's second

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE.

The safety of certain of her Britannic majesty's subjects supposed to have been cut off by the officers of the Chinese government having been ascertained, and negociations being opened upon the basis of the withdrawal of the proclamations against the lives and liberty of her said majesty's subjects: It is hereby declared that till further notice be given (founded upon the result of such negociations), the blockade notified by me on the 11th instant will not be established, and vessels continuing to enter will be permitted to pass out unobstructed.

Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor in Hongkong bay, off the port of Canton, this sixteenth day of September, 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, captain of her Brittanic majesty's ship Volage.
L. S. Certified true copy. EDWARD ELMSLIE, Secretary, &c.

An interview took place, on the 24th, between the sub-prefect of Macao and captain Elliot, at the residence and in the presence of his excellency the Portuguese governor of Macao, captain Elliot having come on shore the preceding day, accompanied by captain Smith of the Volage, who was present at the interview. It is known that communications have passed between the Chinese and British authorities, having reference more or less direct to an amicable arrangement of pending difficulties.

These occurrences, and the allusion to *negotiations*, in captain Smith's second notice, afford reason to expect that the conflicting parties will pause for a while, and allow of the adoption of some measures, temporary no doubt, so that the business of the season may be transacted. Precisely what these measure will be, does not yet appear. It is held to be certain by most persons (though not by all, if a current rumor be not false), that no British ship will enter the Bogue, till after a final settlement. It is very generally believed, too, that the Chinese will not allow British merchants to carry on their trade through Macao—possibly this point may be ceded. It is more probable, however, if an arrangement is made for business, that the ships will have to discharge and take in their cargoes near the Bogue or in some of the adjacent anchorages. These points are, we hear, now under consideration, and have been referred, on the part of the commissioner, to the hoppo and the hong-merchants.

According to the shipping lists, given in the Canton Press of the 28th, the number of vessels in Whampoa is sixteen, viz.

American. Cynthia, Osage, Oneida, Providence, Canton Packet, Lintin, Oscar, Apthorpe, Morea, Talbot, Rose. *Danish*. L'Esperance, Mithras. *Bremen*. Wilhelm Ludwig, George Washington. *Spanish*. Gertrudes

The number of those at Hongkong and other anchorages is sixty-six, viz:

British. Jane, Lord Amherst, Harrier, Psyche, Hercules, Austen, Jardine, Mermaid, Isabella, Anna, Mithras, Roza, Governor Findlay, Mavis, Pearl, Thistle, Lady Hayes, Syed Khan, Hannah, Carnatic, Mangalore, Copeland, Tory, Edmonstone, John Marsh, John Horton, Lama, Fort William, Cornwallis, Eucles, Cambridge, General Wood, Charlotte, Charles Forbes, Belhaven, Hannah, Slains Castle, Sir C. Malcolm, Vansittart, Sultana, Pekoe, Scaleby Castle, Heroine, Harlequin, Myaram Dyaram, Caledonia, Singapore Packet, Planter, Lambton, Shah Allum, Allalevie, Manly, Cordelia, H. M. S. Volage, Good Success, Castle Huntly, Earl Balcarras, Charles Grant, Lady Nugent, Frederick Huth, Black Joke, Ternate. *American*. Albion, Lion, Levant.

Though the *Hospital* at Canton has not been re-opened since the disturbances in March, the friends of the intstitution abroad will be glad to know that medical practice among the Chinese in the provincial city is still continued by Dr. Parker. The practice in the *Hospital* at Macao, commenced under the auspicies of the Medical Missionary Society, by Dr. Lockhart July 1st, was discontinued on the 21st ultimo, in consequence of the departure of the British residents from the settlement. In prospect of the protracted interruption of friendly intercourse, between the British and Chinese, Dr. Lockhart sailed on the 7th instant for Batavia, to sojourn and practice temporarily among the Chinese of that place. His return to China, and the resumption of his practice here, may be expected as soon as present disturbances are settled, and there is opened a fair prospect of a safe and unmolested residence. On his return he may expect to find, among the many who will give him a hearty welcome, a new associate, William Beck Diver, M. D., from Philadelphia, who arraived in China on the 27th instant. For the present, and probably for many months to come, Dr Diver will give his whole attention to the study of the Chinese language.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Notice of an embassy sent from three Japanese princes to the pope at Rome in* 1582.

ONE of the most interesting incidents in the history of the Catholic missions to Japan, which has been handed down to us, is the embassy sent from three of the Catholic princes to the pope. The prime mover in this avowal of homage to the holy see was Valegnani, who in 1579 had arrived in Japan in the capacity of visitor-general to all the missions belonging to the company of Jesuits, and who is characterized as "one of the greatest men they had had in the east." Thirty-eight years had elapsed since Xavier first landed at Kagosima, and now, such had been the rapid extension of their spiritual conquests, that Valegnani in virtue of his office having ordered all the Europeans belonging to the Company to report themselves at Coshinotsu in Hiuga, fifty-nine religious, among whom were twenty-three priests, obeyed the summons, still leaving a few at Miako, who could not come. The objects he had in view were —to examine into the conduct of the missionaries, to settle a few questions which had come up in the management of the missions, and to give the teachers of the new faith such instructions as the exigencies of their situation demanded. What the aggregate number of converts was at this time does not appear, but as an instance of the arduous duties of the missionaries, and a proof of the need of more laborers, it is stated that a single priest had in the course of two years baptized 70,000 persons. The principal counsel which the visitor urged upon their attention at this interview was, "never to forget that they had to deal with a nation, capable no doubt from their character of all that

was heroic in virtue, but from the nature of its government exposed to strange revolutions; that they could reckon only on the present, but still should not cease to labor for the future: it was particularly important that they should use great prudence and dexterity in their intercourse with those who were able to aid or to thwart their ministry, and by this means rather to give solidity to what had already been done, than hastily to lay open fallow ground which they were not yet able to cultivate." He told them "that their object was not to run into martyrdom, but to win souls to Jesus Christ; and that if they flattered themselves so powerful a nation were to be evangelized, it was only to be done by entire subordination, and by a perfect uniformity in the conduct of their ministry." It can hardly be doubted that the observance of advice and rules similar to this was one great secret of the apparent success of the Jesuits, not only in Japan, but in China also.

After concluding the affairs which demanded his attention at this meeting, Valegnani presented himself at the court of the prince of Arima, and by his persuasive arguments induced him to embrace Christianity, and to aid him in establishing a college within his dominions for the instruction of young noblemen in theology and polite literature. He then visited the court of the prince of Bungo, in order to propose the founding of a similar institution in his territories; and both these princes entered into the visitor's designs with much heartiness. "His desire was to multiply these institutions as much as possible, for he was firmly persuaded, that among all the means to glorify God, which had been suggested by the founder of the Company, the erection of seminaries for the instruction of youth was that of which the success was most durable." The opinions of this man on this point are worthy the attention of those who now endeavor to propagate Christianity, and the hold the Jesuits obtained in Japan is to be in a great measure ascribed to their colleges, in which natives were thoroughly instructed in their allegiance to the pope, in the principles of Catholicism, and in obedience to their superiors. After Valegnani had visited the court of the emperor at Miako, he returned to Bungo, with whose prince, joined by the princes of Arima and Omura, he planned an "embassy of obedience to the pope." At this time, (A. D. 1581,) "although there were then in Japan more than fifty Jesuits, each of whom employed many native catechists, they did not more than suffice to administer the sacraments and break the bread of the word to the converts; still less could they instruct the idolaters who were perishing in their sins." One object proposed

by the embassy was, by the éclat attending it, to draw more assistance from Europe; while at the same time it would still more firmly identify those princes who sent it with the cause they had espoused, and make them and their nobility throw the entire weight of their influence into the scale of Christianity. Civan the prince of Bungo had always been favorable to the new cause, having received Xavier with many marks of respect on his first arrival, and assured succeeding missionaries of toleration and safety in his territories. He cherished a great regard for his teacher's memory, after whom he had received the name of François at his baptism, and strictly enjoined it upon his envoy to Rome to procure the canonization of that zealous man. The prince of Arima had but recently received baptism, and both he and the petty prince of Omura were supposed not to be very hearty in their love to the faith, and the visitor procured this public manifestation of their principles, for the purpose of more fully identifying them with it. That a foreigner could, in this open manner, induce three subordinate princes of the country to send an embassy in their own name to the court of Rome indicates how slender was the tie of fealty which bound them to the daïri, and how partially his authority was exercised beyond his own territories. No reference whatever appears to have been made to Miako, nor did that court endeavor to interrupt its progress, or require any explanations from those who sent it.

The name of the envoy on the part of the prince of Bungo was Mancio Ito, a grand-nephew, who at the tender age of sixteen was dispatched on this long journey. An associate was found in Michel de Cingiva, a nephew of the prince of Omura, and cousin to the prince of Arima, who went as their joint representative; he was about the same age as the first, and "had a graciousness and an air of nobility which prepossessed in his favor, and inspired respect." They were accompanied by Julien de Nacaüra, and Martin de Fara, two youths of gentle blood allied to the house of Arima, and "who did honor to those who sent them." The mission was placed under the care of pere Mesquita, the visitor himself being unable to accompany it farther than Goa.

We here introduce the letters sent by the three princes to his holiness, which are extracted entire from Charlevoix, out of whose work we have derived this account; they will exhibit the feelings which actuated these converts in this expression of their homage.

Letter of the prince of Bungo.

"To him who ought to be adored, and who holds the place of the King of heaven, the great and very-holy pope:

"Full of confidence in the grace of the supreme and almighty God, I write to your holiness with all possible submission. The Lord, who governs heaven and earth, who holds under his empire the sun and all the celestial host, has made his brightness to shine upon me, who was plunged in ignorance and enveloped in profound darkness. It is now more than thirty-four years since the sovereign Master of nature, displaying all the treasures of his mercy in favor of the inhabitants of these lands, sent here the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who have sown the seed of the divine word in the kingdoms of Japan; and he has caused of his infinite goodness some to fall into my heart:—a singular favor, for which it becomes me to be beholden, holy father of all the faithful, to the prayers and merits of your holiness. If the wars which I have to sustain, and my age and infirmities had not withheld me, I should have myself visited the holy places where you reside, and rendered in person that obedience which belongs to me; I would have devotedly kissed the feet of your holiness, and put them on my head, and intreated you to make with your sacred hand the august sign of the cross upon my heart. Constrained by these reasons which deprive me of so sweet a consolation, I had designed sending in my place Jerome, my grandson, but as he is too far from my court, and the father-visitor cannot delay his departure, I have substituted his cousin Mancio. I shall be under infinite obligation to your holiness (who holds the place of God on earth), if he will continue to bestow his favor upon me, on all Christians, and on this little part of the flock committed to your care. I have received from the hands of the visitor the relic, which your holiness has honored me, and I have placed it upon my head with all respect. I am at a loss for expressions to convey to you the gratitude which fills me for so precious a gift. I will not lengthen this letter, because the visitor and my embassador will inform your holiness more fully of all that relates to myself and my kingdom. In truth I adore you, most holy father, and while writing this I am seized with a respectful awe.

"François, king of Bungo, prostrate at the feet of your holiness.

"January 12th, 1582."

Letter of the king of Arima.

"To the very great and holy lord, whom I adore because he holds on earth the place of God himself.

"Aided by the grace of God, I humbly present this letter to your holiness. For two years, and during lent, in which the pre-

cious passion of our Lord Jesus Christ is celebrated, I was embarrassed with a very troublesome war, and plunged in the darkness of idolatry, when the Father of mercies deigned to illumine me with the sun of justice and truth, and to put me in the path of safety by the ministration of the father-visitor, and others of the Company of Jesus, who, after having preached the word of God in my kingdom, have shed abroad in my heart, and in those of my subjects, divine grace as a heavenly dew, by the virtue of the holy baptism. I return thanks to the Author of all good for so many favors, which fill my soul with a joyfulness far beyond all my expressions; and as your holiness is the pastor of the whole church, I have desired with all the ardor of my soul to go myself and render that submission and humility suitable to the obedience which is due, to kiss your sacred feet and place them upon my head: but my pressing affairs not permitting, I send my cousin-german, Michel de Cingiva, to offer in my stead my filial homage; he will inform you of the sincerity of my intentions, and the designs which I have formed for the glory of God. Therefore I will add nothing more, and close by protesting to your holiness that I adore you with all the submission of a faithful heart, and the most profound veneration.

"Protais, king of Arima, bows below the feet of your holiness.

"January 18th, 1582."

Letter of the prince of Omura.

"With hands raised toward heaven, and sentiments of profound admiration, I adore the most holy pope, who holds the place of God on earth, and humbly present him this letter.

"I take a great liberty, most holy father, in writing to you, but I do so with confidence, assisted by the King of heaven, although my style is rude and unpolished. Since I know that you hold on earth the place of God himself, and that all Christians receive from your holiness those salutary lessons which are necessary to regulate faith and conduct, it was my desire to cross the ocean in order to render my homage in person, to put the sacred feet upon my head, after having respectfully kissed them; but I am unhappily deprived of this pleasure by important affairs which will not allow me to leave my estates. It is not long since the father-visitor of the Jesuits came into these kingdoms of Japan, and now having regulated all things for the good of this church, he returns towards you. I have thought this a favorable occasion, and have sent with him Michel de Cingiva, my nephew, who is ordered to render in my name the submission which

is my duty. A commission of this importance is much beyond his age and strength, but I hope you will do me the favor, most holy father, to receive him indulgently, and permit him to kiss the feet for me and for himself. I desire also, most earnestly, that your holiness would remember me and this little portion of the flock which the great Shepherd has intrusted to you. The visitor and my embassador will inform your holiness of all that concerns my estates and person. I close by offering to you my adorations with fear and respect.

"Barthelemi, prostrate at the feet of your holiness.

"January 20th, 1582."

Charged with these commissions of homage and obedience to the holy see, the party, consisting in all of seven persons, embarked the 20th of February, 1582, at Nagasaki, in a Portuguese ship on their long, and, at that time, perilous, journey. They reached Macao in seventeen days; but, because the season for sailing to the Indies had passed, they were constrained to wait in that port ten months, at the end of which time they reëmbarked in the same vessel that brought them from Japan, and safely reached Malacca on the 27th of January, 1583, after twenty-nine days' passage. The first sight which greeted their eyes was the wreck of a large ship that left Macao in their company, and in which the visitor had been urgently solicited to take passage. Tarrying at Malacca only eight days, they embarked for Goa, and narrowly escaped being shipwrecked in the straits between Ceylon and the mainland, from the pilot mistaking the coast, and after enduring other hardships from sickness and famine, they landed at Cochin the 7th of April, and made their way to Goa by the end of September. Here they were received by Mascaregnas the viceroy with high honors, who ordered the St. Jacques to be put in readiness to carry them to Lisbon; and in the meantime, entertained them as well as possible, until they embarked on the 20th of February, 1584, two years from the time of leaving Japan. They arrived in Lisbon the 10th of August, and were received by Albert, the viceroy of Portugal, with great respect; they remained there twenty-five days, and every day was marked by a fête.

In their progress towards Madrid, they passed through Evora, the residence of the archbishop, and Villaviciosa, where the duke of Braganza resided, in both of which places they were honorably saluted. At Madrid, Philip received them as embassadors from princes, gave them a public audience, and treated them with the same attentions as if they had been deputed solely to visit him. On the 26th of November, when they left for Alicant, on their way to Rome, he gave them

a letter to count de Olivarez, his minister at the Vatican, enjoining him to render them all the services and marks of honor in his power; "for I suspect," he adds, "that on their return into their own country they will laud the treatment which they have received, and this will induce their countrymen to become Christians." From Alicant they passed over to Tuscany, having narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Turkish cruizers, and went to Florence, Milan, and Pisa, in all of which places they were honored with the attention of the highest dignitaries and princes, escorted by troops, welcomed and dismissed by salutes of artillery, and invited to see whatever was curious and wonderful. When they left Florence to go to Sienne, all the nobility of the latter place mounted their horses and proceeded out of the gates to meet them, and two hundred arquebusiers were appointed to escort them into the territories of the holy see. As soon as their arrival in his states was known, the pope sent a troop of light-horse to bring them to Rome, and the nobility also came out of the city to greet them, so that from Viterbe to the capital, the way was filled with people. "More than a thousand gentlemen accompanied them, and all the road from the gate Del Popolo to the house of the Jesuits was crowded with people, who by their acclamations announced their arrival to the whole city." The next day, the 23d of March, was appointed for their entry into the eternal city, which took place from a country-seat belonging to the pope, and which was conducted on a magnificent scale; their escort from thence to the Vatican consisted of a troop of light-horse, the Swiss guard, the officers of the cardinals, the coaches of the French, Spanish, and Venetian ministers, all the Roman nobility on horseback, pages and chamberlains with musicians, and finally the two embassadors from the land of the Rising Sun, mounted and richly dressed in their native costume. "The prince of Fiunga went between two archbishops, the prince of Arima between two bishops, Martin de Fara came after between two titled persons, and pere Mesquita, as interpeter followed behind, as well as a great crowd of cavaliers richly dressed. When they reached the St. Ange bridge, all the cannon of the castle opened, which were answered by the artillery of the Vatican, and a band of all kinds of instruments struck up, and accompanied them to the hall of audience." Scarcely had the aged Gregory XIII. seated himself on his throne, "when the embassadors appeared, each one holding the letter of his prince in his hand, and prostrated themselves at his feet, declaring in their own tongue with a loud and distinct voice that they came from the ends of the world to pay that homage to the vicar of

Jesus Christ, in the name of the princes who sent them, and for themselves, which was their duty." Pere Mesquita translated what they said, and also the contents of the letters; after which the pere Gonzalez pronounced "an oration of obedience" on their behalf, to which M. Antoine Bocapadula replied on behalf of the pope. He stated the pleasure of his holiness to see this manifestation of their zeal, returned thanks to God for the success of the gospel in Japan, and expressed his ardent desire that all kings and princes who reigned, not only in their country but in all parts of the world, would follow their example.

As soon as this reply was finished, they again kissed the feet of the pope; after which the cardinals embraced them, and entered into conversation with them, in which their good sense and wisdom appeared. At last, the pope rising up, pronounced aloud the words of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, &c., &c.*, and requested the two embassadors to assist in robing him, and then to lift up the skirts, and thus attend him out of the hall to his own apartments. They were then conducted to a banquet which had been prepared for them, and here their conversation and ready answers highly pleased the pope and all his cardinals. Julien de Nacaüra was so ill during their stay in Rome that he was unable to join in any of the ceremonies and fetes to which his associates were invited, which were so numerous that nearly every day was occupied. They were allowed to kiss all the relics that were stored up in the several churches in the city, while other visitors are hardly permitted to see them; they assisted in all the rites of the church during lent, holding a conspicuous place near his holiness, and conducting themselves so well that "all admired the gracious manner of these strangers from a country whose usages are so different, in taking part in such new ceremonies." The embassadors from all European powers residing at Rome honored them in the names of their masters, and they were introduced to whatever was worth seeing.

On the 10th of April, 1585, pope Gregory XIII. died, the joy of receiving these "children of the church," having probably hastened his death; but before his decease, he assigned to the seminary of Valegnani in Arima, a revenue of 40,000 crowns. His successor, Sixtus V. called the princes in to assist at his coronation, and afterwards confirmed the acts of his predecessor. He issued briefs in answer to each of the letters, containing much good advice, and accompanied them with pieces of the true cross, richly set in a cross of gold. He moreover knighted them all in public assembly, investing

them with the sword, spurs, and girdle of the "Chevaliers aux eperons dorez," by the hands of the French and Venetian ministers. At last, having received an audience of leave, they departed from Rome on the 3d of July, "leaving the whole city charmed with their modesty, graciousness, and wit, but especially with their piety, of which they gave such undoubted proofs that they were regarded as saints, and well sustained the reputation that had for a long time been conceived of the high-toned virtue of the Japanese Christians." Whatever may have been the ideas of the travelers, it is quite certain from the accounts given that nothing was left undone by the court of St. Peter to impress upon them the magnificence, power, and regard of the church they had adopted.

From Rome they went to Spoletto where they were received by cardinal Spinola, uncle of Charles Spinola, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in Japan At Loretto, Bologna, and Ferrara, the whole population turned out to meet them; at the last place, Nacaüra again fell sick. At Venice, the doge received them in full senate, and the princes gave him in return a full Japanese costume; at the festival of the apparition of St Mark, among other curious things carried in procession, "the ambassadors were surprized to see themselves exhibited in the act of rendering homage to the pontiff" Orders were given to have their portraits taken and placed among those of the doges; and valuable presents were heaped upon them. At Mantua, the son of the duke came out of the city with an escort of fifty chariots, and a hundred pieces of cannon saluted them as they entered the gates. Among other ceremonies, the two embassadors were chosen to hold the font during the baptism of a Jewish rabbin; and a great bell in the abbey of St. Benedict sounded, which was only struck when kings came. Here also they left with the duke a rich Japanese suits and two swords, "very precious." At Milan, troops of light-horse received them on the boundaries, and at the gate of the city, the governor waited for them, attended by more than five hundred chevaliers; the streets of the city were hung with tapestry in honor of their arrival.

From Milan, they went to Genoa, where they were received by four of the senators, and a number of the nobility at the distance of four miles from the city, who conducted them through the streets amid the acclamations of the people. The wind being favorable, they went on board the vessel prepared for them (having an opportunity only to pay their respects to the doge), which had been made ready at the expense of the senate. They reached Barcelona the 17th of

August, where they were obliged to remain a month on account of the repeated illness of Nacaüra. When he had sufficiently recovered, the party proceeded to Monçon to meet king Philip, who gave them a gracious audience, and soon after sent orders to Lisbon to equip the best vessel in port to convey them back to Goa. After remaining at court a short time, they took their departure for Lisbon, passing through Sarragossa, to visit its university, and through Evora to make a parting call upon the duke of Braganza, and reached the end of their European travels in the spring of 1586. They embarked on the 13th of April, in company with seventeen Jesuits, whom they had obtained from the pope and the king of Spain for the mission in Japan, and without meeting any important occurrences, except the long delays incident to voyages in those days, they happily reached Nagasaki the 21st of July, 1590, having been absent more than eight years. Pere Valegnani returned with them from India in the capacity of embassador to the emperor from the viceroy at Goa. During their long absence, many important events had taken place; the old king of Bungo and the prince of Omura were both dead, and their successors not so well disposed to Catholicism; and other changes had transpired, which the embassadors were as desirous to hear, as their friends were eager to listen to the recital of their reception in Europe, and all that had happened to them. When the visitor had his audience with the emperor, the embassadors were presented at the same time, dressed in the same velvet robes they wore when waiting on the pope; and the distinction with which they had been received by the pope, the king of Spain, and the viceroy at Goa, had great influence on his mind, and predisposed him to favor the cause of Catholicism. In truth, at no time, does the new faith appear to have been higher in the estimation of the Japanese rulers than soon after the return of the embassy, and while controled by the discreet Valegnani. The four young travelers and embassadors were soon after their return admitted into the Company of the Jesuits, after which we hear no more of them.

W.

ART. II. *Tour in Borneo, from Sambas through Montrado to Pontianak, and the adjacent settlements of Chinese and Dayaks, during the autumn of* 1838. By E. DOTY, and W. J. POHLMAN.

WE embarked at Singapore, Oct. 15th, on board the native schooner Anambas, bound to Sambas, were eleven days in reaching the mouth of the river, and four days more in arriving at the town, a distance of only thirty miles. The crew were Malays, besides whom were a motley mass of passengers, Chinese, Bugis, Javanese, natives of the Coromandel coast, &c., amounting in all to sixty-three individuals. All these lived upon deck, excepting a few of the more prominent characters, who occupied that part of the small cabin, about one half, not appropriated to our use. Among them were many nominal, and some six or eight Mohammedans of the strictest sect. These were intelligent men, and apparently honest and sincere followers of the false prophet, and very regular and devout in their daily prayers and prostrations. Their devotions were performed on the open deck in the midst of crowds, they speaking aloud in the Arabic language, and turning their faces towards Mecca at the setting sun. Could their conduct have been witnessed by many Christians, we fear they would have been put to the blush.

On arriving at the mouth of the Sambas river, the current was so strong against us that we were obliged to come to anchor. This gave us an opportunity of going on shore to visit the Chinese village of Pumangkat, which is situated on the south side of the river, nearly a mile up a small stream navigable for little boats. Between it and the sea is a towering, conical mountain, whose lofty peak seems almost to hang over the village, while all around, excepting here and there small portions of ground appropriated to agriculture, is an impenetrable jungle and marsh. Pumangkat is literally a *hidden* village. The approach to it is so completely concealed by dense jungle that the outlet of the narrow stream can scarcely be discovered until in it, and even then, unless forewarned of the fact, no person would suppose himself near any human habitations, much less in the vicinity of a large village. It consists of a single street, a quarter of a mile long, and extending from the little river, nearly to the base of the mountain, where is the residence of the *kungse*, or headman. There are also some cottages of respectable appearance scattered along the foot of the mountain, which we took to be the dwellings of the prin

cipal cultivators of the soil. The materials of the buildings are of the lightest and most unsubstantial kind, chiefly atap and kajang.

We paid our respects to the headman, who received us with politeness, though we thought we observed feelings of not the most perfect cordiality. He spoke Malay badly, and the Fuhkeën dialect of the Chinese not at all. One of his attendants spoke a little Fuhkeën. From him, and from another man whom we met in the street, and who spoke both better Malay and Fuhkeën, we gathered the following items of information, viz: that Pumangkat was founded about nine years since; that most of the inhabitants speak the Khĕh dialect; that many Hok-lo men are intermingled with them; that the number of the inhabitants somewhat exceeds 1000; that some attention is paid to the education of their children; that there are some readers among the adults; and that the principal article of produce is rice, which is consumed by the growers. The inhabitants have every appearance of being very poor.

The Sambas river is a noble stream, nearly a mile wide, sufficiently deep for vessels of large burden; its borders are skirted with an unbroken jungle and forest, without the appearance of a single habitation or trace of human culture to enliven the sombre scene. Occasionally there may be seen the outlet of a small tributary stream, which drains the extensive marsh of its superfluous waters. On some of these rivulets are groups of Malays, who have found an elevation of ground sufficiently dry to erect rude dwellings and cultivate fruit and rice, which are their only means of support. Several small boats from these villages visited us to sell their articles of produce. About twenty miles from the sea, the river divides into two branches, the southern of which is called Little Sambas river, and leads to the town.

On Tuesday, Oct. 30th, we arrived at Sambas, and were kindly received by the Dutch resident, Mr. Bloem. He not only showed himself favorable to our object, but seemed disposed to assist us by all the means in his power. At his invitation, we accompanied him to see the sultan, and were received in a friendly and social manner. We made known to him the object of our visit, and our future plans, requesting at the same time a guide to accompany us on our tour.

The situation of Sambas is low and marshy. The river on both sides is lined with a single tier of houses, which can be reached only by rowing from one to another in small boats. Direct intercourse among the inhabitants must therefore of necessity be attended with no little difficulty. The Chinese kampong is a single street on the south

side of the river. The population is about 150, most of whom speak the Khĕh dialect, and are petty shopkeepers. Among them we noticed many inveterate opium smokers. Most of the inhabitants are Malays. A small kampong of Bugis and a few Javanese comprise the remainder. The number of Malays, Bugis, &c., is variously estimated, at from 3000 to 5000; the former is probably nearest the truth. In consequence of information obtained from the resident and natives, as regards facilities for traveling, we concluded to perform the whole tour to Pontianak on foot. It had been our purpose to hire a boat to carry us to Siukawang, which is the sea-port nearest to Montrado, and thence to commence walking. The necessary arrangements, of obtaining coolies, provisions, &c., being made, we determined to leave Sambas on the 6th of Nov. The sultan sent us two guides, instead of one, and the resident kindly furnished us with letters of introduction to the various kungse, through whose jurisdictions we expected to pass.

We left Sambas at half past 7 o'clock, A. M. in a small boat, and proceeded down the river to Sa-batu, a distance of ten miles. Here we took a small river on our left, which winds its course through scenes of the wildest aspect. Here and there are scattered a few Malayan huts, but generally nothing is presented to the eye, but one vast marsh, covered with impenetrable jungle. At half-past eleven, we landed in a place newly cleared, and which is now for the first time planted with rice and corn. Here we ascertained that we were but a short distance from a village of Dayaks, and we soon had an opportunity of learning that the Dayaks are held in a state of servile subjection by the Malays. We had scarcely left the boat, before our guides and coolies began to consult about calling on the Dayaks to carry our luggage. To this we objected, as we had engaged a number of men for this express purpose. Our remonstrance, however, was in vain. We were told that such was the order of the sultan, and therefore *right*. In truth the Malays regard the Dayaks as an inferior race, ordering them about, and using them as long as they please. Besides this, a yearly tax of ten rupees, or nearly four dollars, is demanded from each family, by the sultan. This exaction often takes all the poor Dayak is worth, but as far as it is in their power, it is said to be cheerfully paid. The fact is, that the mild and peaceful character of the Dayaks makes them contented anywhere, and under any tribute, however oppressive and unjustly levied. After an impatient delay of more than two hours, a number of Dayaks came; and, cheerfully shouldering our baggage, led the way.

The path was a track used by the natives. It lay partly through a deep forest, and partly through cleared ground thickly covered with "lalang," or coarse jungle grass. About one hour's walk brought us to the village called Sabatong. The rain rendered it very muddy and difficult traveling. This, together with the slipping bogs and deep marshes of the way, made our first attempts at footing rather a "sorry experiment." Our matresses and other loose baggage became thoroughly soaked, but the trunks containing our clothing and Chinese books for distribution escaped. We were kindly received, and treated with such hospitality as the village afforded. Immediately on our arrival, the headman presented us with some sweet potatoes, eggs, and a fowl. We learned that there was no rice in the kampong, the crops having been cut off by the vermin, as is the case in all the region of Sambas. We therefore gave a small portion of our own stock to the headman, which was thankfully received. This kampong consists of about twenty families. Their houses are elevated upon posts, six or eight feet high, and are built so as to constitute one continuous range, being divided into apartments according to the number of families. In front of this series is a verandah, extending the whole length of the village, and about ten feet wide. This is inclosed in front, but has several doors, opening upon a rudely constructed platform. A log with niches cut into it, or a few poles tied together, serves for steps, by which to ascend and descend. The floors are slats or small poles lashed to cross pieces underneath. The roof is atap, and the sides are enclosed with kajang.

There are five human skulls suspended in the verandah, before the door of the headman. Some of these, he tells us, were cut off by himself, when a young man. At present, they do not cut off heads. The reason they assign is that the sultan does not like the custom, and will not permit it. They speak of the practice with perfect indifference, and say they only cut off the heads of other Dayaks who do the same to them. In disposition they certainly do not appear to be savage, but on the contrary, mild, affable, and disposed to do us any kindness in their power. During the evening, we made known our object, and asked the headman, whether the Dayaks, who live in this region, would send their children to us, provided we opened a school in Sambas to teach them. His reply was, "that he did not know, it must be just as the sultan said." There can be little doubt, should the sultan give his consent, missionary efforts might be carried on among the Dayaks to almost any extent, and under very encouraging circumstances

Having breakfasted, and made some trifling presents of beads to our kind hosts, we left Sabatong at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 7th. Our path lay through a mountainous region of country,— course east of south. The scenery was exceedingly interesting, alternating from the rugged and apparently inaccessible peaks of a range of mountains lying on our right, to the gently rising hill and occasional extended vale — all a vast jungle or deep forest. Most of the land has been cleared, but now lies a waste. It appears to be a rich soil, and with proper cultivation would sustain an immense population. The Dayaks, however, are no cultivators, but only clearers of the soil. They usually cut down and clear off the timber, plant their rice and corn; and having gathered the crop, they leave one, and seek another place to go through the same routine of labor. The richness of the soil immediately produces a luxurious growth of the useless "lalang," which gives indeed a beautiful appearance to these cultivated hills and vales, but which henceforth become of no service to the original tillers. Hence it is that the Dayaks seldom remain longer than five or six years stationary. After they have thus cleared up all the land for several miles around, they forsake their village, and build again in a newly selected location. To-day we passed several remains of kampongs, which had been thus forsaken. It is said the Chinese sometimes avail themselves of these forsaken lands, and by their superior skill in agriculture, turn them to good profit. In our course we also passed several exhausted gold mines, and three or four now in operation. These mines are generally situated on the declivity of a hill, having the convenience of a stream of water for washing the earth. The soil in which the gold dust is found is a loose yellow loam, near the surface of the earth, the depth varying from two to ten or twelve feet. One company of miners was Dayaks, the rest were Chinese. We have met with only six or eight inhabited dwellings, and these erected for the accommodation of the miners. As soon as a mine is exhausted, they remove to another place.

There are two Chinese villages situated to the right of our way today. The first is Sabawi,. which can be reached from Sambas in four or five hours' rowing. The village is said to contain 80 families, and has one school. The second is Seminis, three hours' walk from Sabawi. The population is reckoned at 140 families, and has likewise only one school. The Chinese in these villages are almost wholly engaged in mining.

After a fatiguing walk of about five hours, and crossing several streams, we arrived at our second lodging-place, a Dayak village.

named Medong. This is much larger than the one we have left this morning. It consists of four ranges of dwellings built in a style similar to those at Sabatong. As the village has recently been located here, all the buildings are not yet completed. The inhabitants, however, have cleared a large tract of land, which is now producing a fine crop of rice and Indian corn. The village contains forty or fifty families, and can muster, they say, one hundred good warriors. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of all,—men, women, and children, as the headman. either is, or feigns to be ignorant on this subject.

The Dayaks of this village still continue the barbarous practice of cutting off heads. They boast of bringing two or three fresh ones every year. In the verandah where we have our lodgings, there are fifteen or twenty, and some suspended immediately over the place assigned us to sleep. How many heads are now in their possession, we cannot learn, but we are told they are numerous, or to use their own language "many tens." The Dayaks in general appear to know nothing of numbers above ten, and hence they always give us their reckonings in this way, saying one ten, or "two, three, four," or "many tens," as the case may be. The warriors of this kampong sally forth every year on a beheading expedition. We learn from them that this takes place, when their rice is so far grown as to require no more weeding and attention until ripe. This reprieve from their ordinary toil is embraced by them for an excursion against some neighboring tribe, which being a rival, or having given offense, must be made to suffer the consequence by the loss of some of their heads. It seems that either distance from Sambas, or something else, renders the sultan's prohibition, if there be any, of no avail. The Dayaks seems not to have the least compunction of conscience on this subject. They laugh at us when we express our astonishment at the practice, and ridicule us when we attempt to teach them its cruelty and wickedness.

It really appears that the Dayak character is made up of extremes. As we see them at their homes, they are mild, gentle, "and given to hospitality;" but when they exchange their domestic habits for those of the warrior, their greatest delight seems to be, to revel in human blood, and their greatest honor to ornament their dwellings with *human* heads, which are the trophies of their *inhuman* barbarity. Shocking as it may appear, they carry about with them tokens of the number of persons they have killed. This they effect, by inserting locks of human hair, corresponding to the number of persons decapi-

tated, in the sheath of their war-knife, which is always attached to their persons, when from home. We fell in with a man this evening just returned from his labor, with a basket in which he had carried out the necessaries for the day, and, to which was fastened a lock of human hair. The lock was ten inches, or a foot long. He informed us that it was a token of his having cut off a head during the past year. Oh, how true it is, that these "dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty!"

Nov. 8th. Left Medong at half past 7 o'clock, but not until we had opened our box of beads, and satisfied, in some measure, the strong desire of our Dayak friends for these children's toys. Immediately on leaving the village, we ascended a lofty peak, and on arriving at the summit were gratified with one of the most beautiful sights we had yet seen. Below was the valley with its carpet of green; beyond and all around us were lofty peaks and rugged cliffs, "mountain on mountain piled"—all blooming in rich and perennial verdure. As we were clambering up this peak by means of steps digged in the earth, we observed several Dayak women engaged in weeding their paddy, while the men stood near with shield and spear, ready to act as their gallant protectors, in case of attack by savage beasts, or still more savage men. This brought to our minds the remark of some writer, that the Dayaks are very careful to guard and defend their females. Hence it is that in their system of head-cutting, the heads of females are more highly valued than those of the men, inasmuch as it requires more artifice and bravery to obtain them.

About two hours' walking brought us to the small Chinese village of Tabran, containing forty inhabitants. Including those scattered in the surrounding region, and who are under the headman of the village, the number will amount to about one hundred. This village belongs to the kungseship of Sepang. The inhabitants are all miners, except a few engaged in gardening and raising vegetables for the general use. The process of mining is very simple. The place usually selected for digging is so situated, that the waters of some neighboring stream can be conveyed by opening a ditch directly through it. Into this artificial channel, the earth, containing the ore, is thrown. A brisk current carries off all the useless matter, while the gold-dust from its weight sinks to the bottom, and is afterwards collected. An incident occurred just before reaching this village, which affords a specimen of Chinese superstition. As we were passing a mine, and approaching the spot where the men were at work, our guide requested us to close our umbrellas. This we did, asking

no questions at the time. Afterwards upon inquiry, we learned that the Chinese think, if the shadow of an umbrella comes over the place of working, the precious ore will be carrried away with the stream.

Having rested an hour, and distributed a few tracts and gospels, we pursued our journey. We had now to pass over a very steep and high mountain, still covered with a dense forest. The path was with difficulty recognized by our guides, and the only way of ascent, was by pulling from one tree to another. By the time we had arrived at the highest point we were quite exhausted. After waiting for our baggage to come up, we began to descend the opposite side and soon found that we had met with only a small specimen of the difficulties of the route. In the descent, we had to wind our way along steep declivities, where a false step would have precipitated us headlong, hundreds of feet below. Our only security was the strength of the saplings on which we held. Added to this, our way was beset with several almost impassable ravines, which with their tumbling rivulets, gave us no little difficulty in crossing. Two hours were consumed on this mountain, when we issued into a newly cleared region, containing thousands of acres, that was still several miles from the kampong, and separated from it by a mountainous peak, very steep, but not so high as the one we had just passed. A few dwellings were scattered over this extensive paddy plantation. At these, we inquired the way and distance to the settlement, and each successive reply was only, the not at all consoling one of "far, far," while they pointed to the mountain before us. To add to our other troubles, a storm which had been for some time collecting, now burst upon us. In ascending the mountain, the water rushed down upon us, which, together with a slippery path would have stopped our further progress, had it not been for a flight of steps digged in the earth, and rendered firm by poles placed across the way. Though almost exhausted with fatigue, the Lord shielded us from the bolts of heaven, and we arrived at the village with our baggage, drenching wet.

This village is called Bering-Aiyo, and contains from sixty to seventy-five families. Their buildings, similar to those before described, comprising two rows of houses, fronting each other, form a street about twenty feet wide, which is an elevated platform, having poles and slats, as usual for a floor. We were received most kindly, and the hospitality of the people was shown, in rendering our situation comfortable, and by furnishing rice for our men, and a fine fowl for ourselves. Here we discovered the first indication of any religion among the Dayaks. Upon our arrival, the first thing that

attracted our attention were several small wooden images placed under a shelter. On inquiry, we were told that these images are mementoes of their old men, who had distinguished themselves by daring exploits, by the number of heads obtained, and other acts of bravery. When such persons die, they make a wooden image, crude indeed, yet in the form of a man, varying in length from twenty inches to three feet Around this they all gather, and hold a sacred feast, after which it is placed among those which have been similarly consecrated. These are their patron gods, whose peculiar province it is to watch over and prosper the cultivation of rice. At the time of planting rice, they are removed to the field, or placed, as in this case, near the kampong under a rude covering, with their faces in that direction. Here they are left until the crop is gathered, when they are again brought into their dwellings. As far as we could learn, the only act of worship paid to these images is that of offering them food once a month, such as rice, pork, eggs, fowls, &c. Human heads were hanging all round, and we made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain one. The bare expression of the wish was met by a prompt and decisive "no, we cannot part with them." The same is the case with the wooden images. On no condition whatever, will they consent to give up either, and the only reason assigned is, that sickness will be the inevitable consequence. The heads are considered as so many charms, to ward off evils and procure blessings, and therefore it is no matter of surprise that they are loth to part with them.

The Dayaks are decidedly a more muscular and better built race than the Malays. Their hair is lank and black, and being suffered to grow quite long, and to hang loose upon their shoulders, gives them a wild appearance. The men go nearly naked; a single piece of cloth, or a narrow strip of bark, is bound closely round their loins. As an ornament, some wear a string of cowrie shells around their heads. Their war or agricultural knife, tied to their waist by a strong cord, completes the dress of the men. The dress of the females consists of a cloth around their loins, and extending nearly to the knees. On the head, they constantly wear a cap made of rattan. Most of them have a profusion of ornaments. Their ears are usually perforated with a piece of bamboo from five eighths of an inch to an inch in diameter. Great quantities of beads adorn their necks. Their arms are ornamented with many rings, chiefly brazen, but they had some, of Chinese workmanship, of a beautiful stone. Above the cloth around their bodies are rings made of small rattans, dyed a bril-

liant red and jet black color, and fastened in front by means of a bead clasp. Some few also wear a bandage made of various colored beads, six or eight inches in width, which is exceedingly beautiful. Their breast and arms are entirely naked, except occasionally a loose cloth thrown over their shoulders. The male children under seven or eight years are destitute of any covering; the female children wear cloth in the manner of the men, and are generally loaded with trinkets of various kinds.

Nov. 9th. Left Bering-Aiyo at 8 o'clock A. M. Our path lay through a beautiful undulating country, with high mountainous peaks in the distance, rendering the scenery equally picturesque with that of previous days. After a fatiguing walk of four hours, we arrived at Sepang, a Chinese settlement, and the first of any extent yet visited. Some of the coolies had preceded us, and announced our coming. This appeared to create quite an excitement, and hasty preparations were made for our reception. A large number collected in the house of the *kungse*, and as soon as we were seated, a salute of three guns was fired in honor of our arrival. A table was spread for us, loaded with grateful refreshments of tea, oranges, and cake. Eggs, fowl, and pork were provided for our use. In addition to this, some of the chief men cheerfully vacated their own sleeping apartments for our special accommodation. After dinner, we opened our box of Chinese books, and found a welcome reception for all we could furnish. We distributed about 150 tracts and portions of the Scriptures. To the kungse, we gave a complete copy of the New Testament. Very soon we heard some whispering among themselves, "that these were the books that told of *Ya-soo*, or Jesus." Among all the tracts, none produced a greater sensation, and excited more attention than one on the *use of opium*. Several persons immediately applied to us to cure them of opium smoking, which, however, we had neither medicine, nor skill to do.

The population of this village we cannot learn with much exactness. On this point the most contradictory statements are made. While some state the inhabitants to be only a few over one hundred, others swell the number to 15,000. Taking into account the number of dwellings, and relying somewhat on the statement of one of the chief men, we think the population may safely be calculated at 800 or 1000. There is one school containing sixteen boys. There appears to be a goodly number of readers among the adults. Budok, another Chinese village, is about half a day's journey westward of Sepang. It is a kungseship, and said to contain as many inhabitants as this place.

The situation of Sepang is delightful. It has on the north, the lofty range of the Bawang mountains. In front, for miles around is a beautiful undulating region, while towering peaks are visible in the distance. The village is arranged differently from what is usual among the Chinese. Instead of being compact, having a street or series of streets, their dwellings are scattered over considerable space, with now and then a single house; and in other places, clusters of some half a dozen houses. The establishment of the headman is extensive and commodious. He has connected with his own mining operations about one hundred men. Here is an ingenious contrivance to force the water out of the mine, which otherwise would greatly retard the progress of the workmen.* The mines of Sepang are noted for their productiveness, and for the finest specimens of gold the island produces.—Our general course from Sambas to this place has been a little west of south.

Saturday, Nov. 10th. On our departure from Sepang this morning, we were honored with another salute of three guns. We were attended with Dayak coolies from a neighboring kampong of twelve families. Over the Bawang mountain near by, is another village of twenty or thirty families, and several small settlements are said to be situated between Sepang and Budok. On our way, we passed other Dayak kampongs, and the remains of some former ones. Our course has been nearly east, and the path more open and plain than on any preceding day. The journey has, however, been very laborious, lying directly across a continuous series of mountainous ravines, situated at the foot and along the north side of the Bawang range. In some places, these ravines are exceedingly precipitous and deep, and through most of them run rivulets of the purest water. The Bawang mountain consists of a succession of lofty peaks, stretching from west to east. To-day we passed one of the highest peaks we have yet seen. It towers far above the rest, and presents a bold and prominent appearance, terminating in a perpendicular table rock, two or three hundred feet high, on the summit of which is a beautiful cluster of trees.

A fatiguing walk of five hours, under the most oppressive heat we have yet experienced, brought us to the establishment of the kungse of Lumar. In his absence, we were received in a friendly manner by his secretary, and a convenient room was furnished us,

* A description, with a plate of this pump, may be seen in Davis' Chinese, vol. II. page 300. Instead of buffaloes, the machine is propelled by water power on Borneo.

separated from the bustle of the business office. This circumstance is peculiarly acceptable, as the morrow is the Sabbath, which we purpose to spend here. Our kind friends, however, seem determined that we shall not be alone. Since our arrival, we have been constantly surrounded by a number of inquisitive Chinese, who puzzle us not a little with various questions. These Chinese are Khĕh men, but speak a mongrel Fuhkeën, in order that we may be able to understand them. As we are probably the first "red-haired men" they have seen, their curiosity is excited to the utmost. This by the way is the title the Chinese here give to the English, Americans, and to all Europeans, excepting Hollanders. During this evening, almost everything we have with us has been undergoing a thorough scrutiny. Their inquisitiveness is far more annoying than that of the ruder and more ignorant Dayaks. Although the curiosity of the latter, at times, appeared most intense, showing itself in examining our baggage, and narrowly watching all our movements, yet they always maintained a respectful distance, and conducted with the greatest propriety. Being exhausted, and desiring rest and repose, we were obliged to send away our Chinese friends, who willingly departed after receiving a few tracts.

At Lumar we rested and kept holy day; and never before had we such an experimental conviction of the necessity and importance of the Sabbath—simply as a day of rest. We have not, however, enjoyed the quiet retirement we hoped to find here. Our apartment has been the constant resort of various individuals, who have left us scarcely a moment of uninterrupted retirement. In front of our door, also, a cooper has had his benches, prosecuting his work.

The village of Lumar is nearly a mile from the house of the kungse where we are staying. About noon, we went there to distribute what tracts we could spare for this place. These were received with such eagerness, that at times it was difficult to retain the prerogative of giving away. One and another would lay hold of the books, and insist upon helping themselves. Such frowardness was generally checked by a single word, or the raising of the hand, and we continued to distribute deliberately, and with as much discretion as we could exercise. Only a few minutes were required to dispose of all we had. It should be remarked, that this anxiety of the people to obtain our books does not arise from a knowledge of their contents, or any desire to know the truth; it is doubtless owing to the novelty of a gratuitous distribution of works in a Chinese dress, and to the great scarcity of books among them; novels or infidel publications, we

presume, would be as eagerly sought after, as those we are distributing. Here also the tract on the use of opium excites peculiar attention. We had not been in Lumar an hour, before application was made for medicine to cure this pernicious practice.

The village is beautifully located in a valley, with mountains all around. It is compactly built with two streets running at right angles in the form of the letter T. The plain is filled with gardens, or covered with paddy. For a great distance over the valley, scattered dwellings are seen, which adds life to the natural beauties of the scene. It is difficult to ascertain the number of inhabitants, as there does not appear to be any one who knows it. We think much of this ignorance is feigned. There are said to be 300 men working in the mines. We should think there are a thousand in the village, and two or three hundred scattered over the plain. So that the whole number of Chinese in, and about Lumar, is not far from 1500. Notwithstanding the bustle around us, we found it delightful this afternoon to engage in our usual mental exercises of singing, prayer, and reading. We read one of Flavel's sermons, and rejoiced together in the goodness of God, committing all our concerns entirely into his hands.

Nov. 12th. About 8 o'clock we left Lumar, and at 12 o'clock, arrived at the establishment of the kungse of Lara. We came too unexpectedly upon the people at Lumar to afford them the opportunity to receive us, as appears to be their custom, in military style, but this expression of their feelings was not wanting at our departure this morning. They gave us a salute of three heavy guns.

On every side around Lumar, are numerous Dayak villages. Some of them are said to be large, containing several hundreds. Our guides inform us that six or eight settlements of this interesting people would be embraced in a radius of one and a half hour's walk, with Lumar as a centre. The headman of one of these kampongs visited us. He was dressed in superior style, and is one of the best looking Dayaks yet seen by us. During our walk to-day, we saw three or four Dayak villages, built as usual on the mountain side. Their distance prevented our making any calculation of the number of inhabitants. The Dayak population in this region appears to be more dense, than in the vicinity of Sambas. The steeps and cliffs of the mountains seem to be their delight and choice, and here their desire in this respect can be fully gratified.

Most of the way to-day, our path has been good, and far less mountainous than heretofore. The kungse resides some distance from the village of Lara, to which we expect to go to-morrow. We have met

here a cordial reception. In consequence of the previous arrival of some Chinese from Lumar, information of our approach had been communicated, and the kungse received us with a salute. Refreshments of tea, cakes, &c., were set before us, and a duck, eggs, and pork furnished for our dinner. Immediately around the dwelling of the kungse are about fifteen houses, and probably over one hundred inhabitants. This establishment is situated at the foot of what appears to be a continuation of the Bawang range of mountains, but which here are not so high or precipitous, as around Sepang and Lumar. Still on almost every side of us, lofty and rugged peaks of mountains are towering among the clouds, while the intermediate regions are undulated with numerous gentle elevations, among which frequent rivulets wind their course. Viewed from a point, advantageous for observation, the whole presents a scene most grand and beautiful. In the language of bishop Heber, while surrounded with these beauties of nature, and looking upon the wretched heathen, we are often led to exclaim —

"Every prospect pleases,
"And only man is vile."

Nov. 13th. At half past 9 o'clock, we proceeded to the village, or as the Chinese say, the "city of Lara." The distance is about four miles. We received a hearty though noisy welcome, and were conducted to the house of the chief man, at whose special invitation we had come. The whole village was in commotion, to see who had come thus to disturb their quiet, and turn their little "world upside down." We had scarcely taken seats in the house, before the room was literally crammed with a multitude, who manifested much curiosity and wonder. One would think from their continued and piercing gaze, they would never become satisfied with looking at us. Our host had the kindness, whether designedly or not, to relieve us from this annoying scrutiny, by inviting us into his own private room, where we partook of tea and refreshments. After a pleasant interview, we were shown into an apartment, assigned us for the night. The entrance is from the main street, and the door is the only admission of air and light. From these, however, we derive little benefit, as every passer-by must stop and see us. Our room is constantly thronged. Had we the ability, we could preach the blessed gospel to the whole village, without leaving our apartment. What little we know of their language has proved of great service. Still the dialect spoken by all the Chinese of this region is so different from the Fuhkeën, as to preclude the possibility of a continued conversation.

Lara is situated in a valley with mountains all around, whose towering peaks, like so many spires of nature's glorious temple, point to the power, and majesty of the great Architect, and bid us "look through nature up to nature's God." But their voice and monition are not heeded by the dwellers of this vale. The god of this world has so blinded their naturally darkened minds, that they are content to worship the creature more than the Creator, and rejoice more in the work of their own hands, then in the knowledge and service of *him*, who alone is God over all, blessed for evermore. The village is large and compactly built. It lies about twenty miles east of south from Lumar, and if our map is correct, about 50 miles due east from Batublat, a noted point on the sea-coast. We are informed that it is seventy years since the Chinese first located here, and there are many evident marks of its being an old settlement. The population is dense, amounting, we are told, to two thousand or more. From all we can see and learn, we are inclined to believe this statement is not an exaggeration. Quite a number of the men read, as we have had the opportunity of learning from our own observation. The portion of tracts we had assigned for this place were distributed in a few moments. Afterwards in passing along the street, we observed several engaged in reading, some of whom had a company of listeners around them.

We find in the chief man of the village a kind and hospitable host. He is one of the finest looking Chinese, we have anywhere met with, possessing a countenance beaming with intelligence, as well as great symmetry of body. His generosity has been manifested not only in providing abundantly for us, and our men to-day, but also in furnishing us with a sufficient quantity of rice, for our three days' journey to Montrado, and refusing to receive any compensation, at the same time expressing gratification at the pleasure of giving.

Nov. 14th. Detained at Lara until 10 A. M. for want of men to carry our baggage. We then walked leisurely forward, our course being west half south. Soon after setting out we passed the outskirt of "Salamat," or mountain of peace. After this, our path for a long distance was through a beautiful valley, with the Bawang mountains on the north, and the Pandang range on the south. The former terminate here in a series of lofty and rocky summits, equal in height to any other part of the range. Then the Pandang mountains open to view, with equal majesty and grandeur. The valley is enlivened, in some degree, by the presence of man and the hand of cultivation. It is inhabited by Chinese, who are wholly devoted to agriculture.

and seem contented to receive the treasures of the soil, without tearing up the bowels of the earth in search of golden ore. Their gardens, affording a rich supply of vegetables of the most luxuriant growth, and their beautifully arranged and well tilled fields of rice, present a pleasing contrast to the utter wildness of nature all around. Their dwellings are usually located in clusters, forming villas or small neighborhoods. This settlement is called Durial, and probably comprises 200 inhabitants.

After winding our way through the plain, we left the main path, in order to find the Dayak kampong, where we were to rest. Soon we came to some fine upland paddy, a sure indication of being in the vicinity of Dayaks. It seems to be a mutual understanding between the Chinese and Dayaks, that the former shall occupy the valleys, while the more hardy and adventurous Dayaks scale the mountains, there to labor and toil to obtain their miserable pittance of rice. A walk of three quarters of a mile from the direct road brought us to the village of Sabutut, in which are ten or twelve families. From thence in an hour and a half, we arrived at Pesuni, which also lies about a mile from the main path. This settlement comprises thirty families, about half of which are now scattered over their rice fields We were received in a very friendly manner, by the headman, and presented with two fowls, and some rice. At Sabutut, and in this village, a species of ornament is worn by several of the men, which we have not before seen. It is a necklace of tiger's teeth, fastened by their roots to a brass wire, in such a manner that the sharp points stand outward, and present a formidable defense for the breast. Beads and cowrie shells are inlaid among the teeth in a neat manner.

Excepting the annoyance of smoke, noise, &c., we generally find ourselves quite comfortable among the Dayaks. Our lodging is always the great verandah, in which are fire-places for the accommodation of the whole village, while the construction of the houses is such that their domestic animals, consisting of dogs and swine have the benefit of the same roof. The whole space under their range of buildings is a vast pigsty, and it can easily be imagined, that our dormitory is not the more desirable, on this account. So far as our observation goes, there is no disposition to pilfer among the Dayaks. We hang up our clothes in the most exposed places in their village, and hand little articles to them to be taken care of, with feelings of perfect security. If they desire anything, they beg for it, but we do not think they would steal, unless the temptation should be very powerful

At 8 o'clock, on the 15th, we left Pesuni, and soon reached the main road, which is most of the way a good footpath. Our course was little south of west, and led over a rugged peak of Punaring mountain. Upon this summit, our guide informs us, there was a bloody battle fought about ten years since, between the rival settlements of Lumar and Montrado. The contest continued for a day and night, and many were killed on both sides. The cause of the war we could not learn, but it was terminated by the interference of the Chinese of Lara. Soon after descending this mountain, we passed a small agricultural settlement of Chinese. We proceeded on our way for two hours, when the guide without any previous notice of his intention left the main path, and one hour more brought us to Barangan or Gajing, a large Dayak village, which ends our day's journey. This kampong contains thirty families present, and about as many more, who have taken up a temporary abode in the rice fields. The buildings are better than usual, and the verandah is very large and commodious, being twenty-two feet wide. This is used as the manufacturing shop of the village. Nearly in the centre is a blacksmith's forge and anvil. The smith is busily engaged in making edge tools, such as are in demand among the Dayaks.

The instruments in use among them are the *kamping*, or large war-knife for decapitation, said to possess a temper and edge, superior to any other edge-tool known; the *tempuling*, or spear, which is similar to a fishing spear; the *jabang*, or small knife, attached to the sheath of the *kamping*, which answers the purposes of our pocket-knife; and the *parang*, a knife larger and heavier than the *kamping*, being two feet long. This last instrument is the only one employed in their agricultural pursuits. It serves as an ax for clearing off the forests, and is a kind of substitute for our hoe and harrow, inasmuch as it is their sole instrument for digging, planting, weeding, &c. So far as we can learn, no other instruments of iron are in use. For their water and drinking vessels, the Dayaks depend upon the simple provision nature has made in the bamboo. A joint of this useful tree, with an aperture cut near the end, answers every purpose. Each family has fifteen or twenty of such vessels. Whenever they are empty, the women attend to refilling them. The Dayaks of this village appear to be a step further advanced, than their neighbors. They make use of plates instead of leaves for eating. Some few of the men wear more clothing than is common, and the women are better covered. They have also lights at night, borrowed doubtless from the Chinese. We noticed some very neat wicker-work wrought

from the rattan. It is a species of basket, used in carrying articles on the back, which indeed is the only way they raise any burden.

Human heads are suspended over us as we write. As usual, they are ornamented with various figures, carved in the bone with a knife, and with bunches of leaves of the rattan. Among the heads is a small bowl, carefully tied up with cord. On inquiring its use and meaning, we are told that it is a challenge from a rival Dayak kampong of the *Mempawa* region. This seems to be an emblem chosen by common consent, as a warning for any village receiving it, to look out for their heads.

Nov 16th. This day's travel has afforded more variety, and presented more exciting scenes, than any since we left Sambas. In consequence of the great fall of rain yesterday, we found our path exceedingly wet and muddy. In half an hour's walk, we arrived at Sakayh, a village of Dayaks containing twenty or twenty-five families. About half a mile further we passed Kaiyu, another Dayak village of fifteen families. Near this we encountered a rapid stream of water, now swollen by the abundant rain into a large river. This we had to ford, the water being waist deep, and the current very strong. All hands, however, succeeded in crossing with the baggage, without any accident. A short distance from this river, we passed a third Dayak kampong, containing eighteen families. This is called Tampiong. All these, and other villages in this region, belong to one great tribe, called Salakau, and appear to be under some general law of government. The nature of this band of union we could not learn, further than that there is a very old man, residing at Sakayh, who exercises a general chieftainship over them.

As we proceeded, we found all the low lands flooded, and the mud very deep, so that often the water and mire reached our knees. We were therefore rejoiced, after a laborious effort of two hours and a half, to exchange the crooked, devious, and marshy path of the Dayaks, for that of the Chinese, and once more to pursue our journey in the main path, which we left yesterday to go to the Dayak kampong. Here the contrast was striking, and the variety agreeable. We took the direct road in the midst of an agricultural settlement of Chinese called Tatap. It embraces twenty-five dwellings, scattered over a beautiful valley, surrounded with a low range of hills. Our path now became comparatively dry and good, and the weather being cool, we prosecuted the journey before us with vigor. About one and a half miles from Tatap is Semalah, another valley of similar beauty, in which ten families of Chinese are residing. Our road

next lay through a dense forest, broken only by two or three clearings. In one of these is a Chinese eating and lodging house, the only dwelling to be met with. About 1 P. M., our weary spirits were cheered, by beholding, far in the distance, the lofty peaks of the Sinkawang mountains which presented a beautiful appearance. The six miles forest being passed, a walk of two miles brought us to Kajimantan, another agricultural settlement of twenty five families, also scattered over a plain, waiving with rice, or covered with a luxuriant growth of garden vegetables. Here we stopped to rest, and give our men an opportunity "to eat rice."

Two hours' fast walking from this place, introduced us to Montrado, the end of our day's journey, and the place of all others, we have desired to visit. About 5 o'clock, we entered the house of the headman of the Chinese, and were received with every mark of friendly respect and hospitality. Our arrival was announced by three guns, and we were refreshed with tea and cakes, while a room was making ready for our accommodation. As this residence is removed a short distance from the village, we hope to be free from the noise and bustle, and what will be truly grateful to us at this time, from the annoyance of a multitude, thronging us. The usual tokens of Chinese hospitality have already not been wanting. The servant has just entered our room with a supply of eggs, and informs us that three ducks have been presented, while rice, tea, and other necessaries have also been provided for our use, and for all with us.

Nov. 17th. After breakfast this morning, the headman of the Chinese with whom we lodge, accompanied us to visit the other official characters. Three guns were fired as we left the house. A few minutes' walk brought us amidst the bustle of the market, and throngs of people. Pressing our way through them, we repaired first to the residence of the kungse of the village. We were invited to seats on the floor, the usual manner of the Chinese here, and partook of refreshments. A short social interview ended the visit, and we proceeded to the house of the kungse of the gold mines. He came out of the audience-room into the yard to receive and welcome us to his abode. A variegated carpet-rug was spread on the floor for us, and tea furnished. This, however, was only a prelude to something more genteel. We were soon summoned to the great hall, where a table was spread in European style. The repast consisted as usual of tea, candy, cake, and fruit. While partaking of this fare, the question was asked—"who we were, and what was our business?" To the best of our ability we made known our object and designs, with which they

seemed pleased. On leaving, a small quantity of tea, some candles, eggs, and two ducks, were handed to our men for us. In returning, our host called on several of his friends in the village, where similar respect and kindness were shown us. He also requested us to visit a sick woman. The case proved to be a pitiable one indeed. It was a middle aged mother, whose breasts were ulcerated in a shocking manner. About 12 A. M., we arrived at our lodgings.

This afternoon, we again visited the village, and took with us some medicine, and the few tracts allotted to this place; having previously presented to the headman of the Chinese and the two kungse, an entire New Testament, the gospel of John, two copies of Luke, two of Gutzlaff's tract on Redemption, and one volume of the monthly Magazine. In our way, we called on the sick woman, and did what we could for her relief and cure. The headman was present, and manifested a deep interest in the case. We have reason to think the woman was poor and pitied by our host, who sought advice and relief from us. We walked through the market and examined the village in all its parts. The eagerness to obtain our books was more intense than we have ever before witnessed. Only a few instances of rudeness occurred, though at times some twenty hands were extended, and as many voices raised, begging for a book. It was the work of only a few minutes to give away the 80 or 100 tracts we had, a very meagre supply for the multitude around us, perishing for the bread of life. Montrado contains a great number of children, for whom there are but four schools. We noticed several boys of the ages of ten, twelve, and fourteen who read pretty well, and whom we supplied with books. This we consider as an indication that some attention is paid to education, although the number of schools is very inadequate for the population.

It is probable that Christian books have never been distributed among this people. Such is the anxiety to receive our tracts, that we exceedingly regret our inability to supply the demand. We were obliged to travel with as little luggage of this kind as possible. As we gave out several of the tracts on opium, we heard frequent expressions of approbation. Many addicted to its use here also applied for medicine to break up the habit. We tell them nothing more is needed than to abstain, but the subject of "total abstinence" is so new or strange to them, that they cannot, or will not be persuaded of its efficacy. From the constant inquiries of all classes of Chinese for medicine to cure opium-smoking, we suppose they are convinced of its bad effects, but have not the moral courage to refrain from it.

Montrado is more delightfully situated than any village through which we have passed. Its location is on high ground in the midst of a valley, and skirted all around by a range of low mountains which present a most beautiful and variegated appearance. This arises from the fact that some parts have been once cleared of the forest, and are now grown over with grass; while other parts are still in the wildest state of nature. On every side there is sufficient variety of scenery to awaken emotions of pleasure, but nothing to impress or overpower the mind of the beholder with feelings of grandeur and awe. All is charming, nothing sublime, if we except the towering peaks of the Sinkawang mountains, which are visible though distant.

The central part of this valley has been selected for the chief settlement. So far, however, as our observation extends, the whole region is thickly populated. The village itself consists of one principal street, about one quarter of a mile in length, intersected with several shorter streets at right angles. The streets are very narrow, being not more than ten or twelve feet wide. Every part of the village seems to be thronged with inhabitants, and new houses are erecting. The shops are well furnished with the usual articles of Chinese manufacture, as cotton cloth, silks, teas, tobacco, shoes, &c. Blacksmiths, tailors, coopers, and other workers, as well as artisans in wood and leather find employment. The market affords a good supply of fruit, vegetables, fresh pork, beef, venison, and salted fish. The whole scene is one of bustle and activity, calculated to impress the mere looker on, that he is in some commercial mart. The villas, or clusters of houses around the place of traffic, are numerous. Much attention is paid to gardening, and judging from the luxuriance all around, the laborer is well repaid for his toil. The cultivation of rice in the immediate vicinity appears to be superseded by the quantity raised in the surrounding country. Montrado is a great mining district. The gold found here is of the finest touch. Several extensive mines are now in operation, and the number that have been exhausted, indicate the length of time devoted to, and the profit realized from, this branch of industry.

It is very difficult to ascertain, or even to conjecture, what is the population of this region; that it is large, cannot be questioned; that it has been greatly exaggerated by writers, who have relied on hearsay or upon first impressions, is equally certain. The number of inhabitants at present is doubtless less than it was some years since. This diminution has been caused by feuds, fomented, as the resident of Sambas informed us, by the Malay sultan and court, among the Chi-

nese themselves. As a consequence, one and another branch have, at different times, broken off and removed to other places. An old fort and some ruins designate the spot, where a portion of those now at Lumar formerly resided. Little more than a year since, owing to a civil war, another small colony withdrew and settled near Sambas. These have since been scattered to one place and another, so that at present few remain together. Very few of the inhabitants of the region through which we have traveled appear to be in a state of extreme indigence. As a general thing, these Chinese are in better circumstances, and in other respects superior, to the Chinese as a body, which we have seen in other places. This is in a remarkable degree the happy condition of Montrado. This is a point in our route towards which we have looked with no little anxiety, as we were told it would be dangerous to proceed here, owing to a lawless banditti of Malays on the borders of the two residencies of Sambas and Pontianak. On arriving here, our fears are dissipated by learning there is a good road, well traveled, and perfectly safe. The dominions of the sultan of Sambas extend but little south of this place, and consequently he could not afford us guides any further than Montrado. Our coolies were engaged to proceed with us to Pontianak, but they desire to leave here, and return home. Their request is cheerfully granted, as they have proved of very little service to us. Had it not been for the faithful and willing Dayaks, we cannot conceive how we could have prosecuted our tour. Our future course from this lies through a region where there are few Dayaks. We have therefore been obliged to make other arrangements, and have succeeded in engaging a set of Chinese coolies to convey our luggage to Ka-mandor. Our principal trouble and difficulty thus far have arisen from the deceitfulness, and double dealing of our Malayan guides and coolies.

Sabbath, Nov. 18th. About nine o'clock, the dignitaries of Montrado called to see us. We found it difficult to communicate with them. Scarcely an individual here speaks or understands any Fuhkeën. The dialect employed is the Khĕk, which bears some analogy to that of Canton. One of the train present spoke a little Malay, and acted as interpreter. He requested, in the name of the kungse, to know our business and designs in traveling through the country. His knowledge of Malay being inadequate to comprehend our answer, we wrote down in Chinese that "we are teachers of the doctrine and religion of Jesus." This was at once comprehended by all. We further informed them, that the doctrines we teach are contained in

the books we have presented, and inquired whether it would be pleasing to them, to have us come and reside among them, to assist in instructing their children, and to furnish medicine. They answered that they would be glad to have us reside with them, and aid them with medicine, but that in the matter of instruction, they themselves were skilled, and would not need our assistance.

During the interview, an English magazine published in London, a volume of French mathematics, a small gold seal, and a Roman Catholic cross, were produced for our inspection. On a blank leaf of the magazine was written with a lead pencil as follows. "Commodore Sayes gave this book to his esteemed friend (name illegible), the chief commander of Montrado, on Borneo, September, 1815." These mementoes are carefully preserved to show to any Europeans who may visit the place. As a token of our visit, we left a small volume of the Psalms. On the part of the kungse, we each received a present, consisting of three gold rings, valued at $23, as an expression of his friendly feelings. In the afternoon, the kungse also sent us some excellent fruit. Our host and several of his friends have been the whole day engaged in playing at cards. The constant firing of guns, and sounds of music have indicated some cause of joy among the people. The Chinese appear remarkably fond of salutes; no less than fifteen guns were fired yesterday, during our calls upon the chief men.

As far as we can ascertain, the Chinese themselves reckon 20,000 inhabitants under the kungse of Montrado. This kungseship is large, being bounded on the east by that of Lara, on the north by Budok, on the west by the ocean, on the south by Mempawa and Ka-mandor. Hence, they include all the Chinese scattered over this extensive region. We suppose that Montrado, with its environs, may contain 10,000 inhabitants; possibly a few more, but we are inclined to the contrary opinion. These probably are the Chinese referred to, as "the independent colony of Borneo." All the Chinese in the western coast are under the jurisdiction of, and pay an annual tribute to, the government of Netherlands India. They are also subject in some manner to the Malays, but the nature of this subjection we have not been able to learn. It is nevertheless true, that the internal polity, and the administration of justice, are under their own regulations. Hence persons residing among them, ought to have the protection of both the Dutch and Malay authorities, as well as the goodwill, and friendly feelings of the colonists themselves.

Nov. 19th. Our departure from Montrado, this morning, was

attended by every expression of kindness and goodwill. Intercourse between this place and the surrounding settlements is frequent, and missionaries here might extend their influence to Lara, Ledo, Lumar, Sepang, Budok, Seminis, &c. We hope the experiment will be made at once.

Our course to-day has been almost due south. A walk of half an hour brought us to a gold mine just being opened, in which there are one hundred men at work; and two hours more introduced us to an extensive mine in full operation. Here is a small village of fifteen or twenty families About 1 o'clock, we reached the residence of the kungse of Sung-keaou-lew-le, who is an under officer of the kungse of Montrado. Here is a mine in operation, employing 100 men.

Nov. 20th. Resumed our journey this morning at 7 o'clock, course a little east of south. For three hours, our path was through a deep forest, and all the way was marshy ground. Over this, the Chinese have placed planks upon benches made for the purpose, thus forming a narrow, but otherwise good raised walk. This passed, we soon reached Seängkeng, a small Chinese village of fifteen or twenty families. Here we stopped at a Chinese victualing-house, and procured dinner. In the village, we met several Dayaks from a kampong, which they said was distant half a day's walk, called Abang. They said it contained thirty families, and that many other kampongs are in this region. Their chief employment is gathering sago, which is their principal food. The sago-palm abounds in this vicinity.

Nov. 21st. This day's travel has completed our tour on foot, and we have now reached the point, whence we purpose to proceed by water to Pontianak. Our path most of the way was very good, lying through successive and beautiful vallies, in each of which is a settlement of industrious cultivators of the soil. The first is Taoukwo, comprising about forty dwellings. This place has one school. The second is Minvong, having thirty-five houses. Here we noticed what we have not seen before, a species of cow, said to have been introduced from Singapore. The third settlement, and one of great beauty, is Boolem. In this we counted forty-one houses. There is more rice growing in this region of Chinese cultivation, than through our previous routes. We reached Ka-mandor at 4 P.M., having walked during the last three days, about sixty miles. As we were favored with a letter of introduction from the kungse of Montrado, we met with the most cordial reception from the kap-tai or headman of this place Having learned that an open boat was to proceed to Pontianak on the morrow, we concluded to embrace this opportunity of going On

hearing of our determination, the headman interfered, and said we must remain a day with him to see the village and the mines; he also gave orders, that the boat should wait until the following day.

Nov. 22d. After breakfast, we were furnished with two guides, who conducted us through the village, and to two mines now in operation; one of them is very large, employing 150 men. Ka-mandor lies on a branch of the Pontianak river, about seventy miles from the sea. It is situated in a less mountainous region than any place we have seen, excepting Sambas, and everything around us presents a different aspect. There is one principal street, about a quarter of a mile in length, with others running parallel and some at right angles. The houses are in good order, and well built. Most of them are constructed of wood, and covered with shingles. The streets are unusually wide for a Chinese village, and remarkably neat and clean. We are somewhat surprised at the small number of inhabitants. Compared with Montrado, we were reminded of the deserted towns in America, during the prevalence of the cholera. Instead of being literally crammed, as is generally the case, so that one can scarcely move without treading on his neighbor, the dwellings are larger than usual, and few, if any, inhabit each. A satisfactory explanation of this is given us in the fact, that most of the mines are exhausted, and the people are resorting to other places where their toil will meet with a surer reward. It is now about sixty years since Ka-mandor was founded. The kap-tai informed us that there are 2000 persons in the village, and about 4000 residing within his jurisdiction. Three village schools are sustained. The demand for books on our route has been so urgent that we have retained only a few for this place. As we find several Chinese tracts lying around, there seems to be less need for an abundant supply at this time. Among a parcel of books and Chinese writings in our room, we have found a copy of Milne's Sermons and a portion of the Scriptures, which are much marked up, and appear to have been studied as well as read. The Chinese here are the same with those at other places. They call themselves Canton men, but speak the Khĕh dialect. This afternoon the kap-tai put into our hands a small parcel, nicely done up, observing "it is of no value." On opening it, we found two gold rings, in themselves of little value, but as a token of kind feeling on the part of our good host, we attach importance to the gift.

Nov. 23d. Arose at an early hour, but our host would not suffer us to leave till after breakfast, which he insisted on our taking with him and other dignitaries. All things being ready, the boat was

loosened from her fastenings at 9 o'clock, and we departed with many good wishes from our friends. The current of the river is rapid, and rendered more so by recent and abundant rains. The mere force of the stream carried us along with great rapidity for about twenty miles. At first the river was so narrow that the branches of the trees met together over our heads, forming a natural screen from the rays of the sun. All the skill and strength of the men were required in order to avoid contact with trees, branches, and other obstructions, and especially to accommodate the boat to the numerous short windings of the stream. We have been astonished to witness the agility and precision of the men, in the use of their forked and spiked poles, by which they at the same time both guide and give additional impulse to the boat. Four and a half hours' progress down the river in this manner brought us to an establisment belonging to the kap-tai of Ka-mandor, which is a custom-house. Here we stopped for a short time to obtain certain requisite documents. From this place, the river became wider, the current less rapid, and the poles have been exchanged for oars.

Nov. 24th. We had a refreshing night's rest, being shielded from musquitoes and insects by curtains, and sheltered from the rain by a thatched covering, forming a good roof on the boat. About 6 A. M., we were again on our way. The accommodation in our boat was good, and the quietness of our situation very agreeable. At 1 o'clock, we reached a second custom-house, which is situated at the junction of the Ka-mandor and Sapatah rivers. The latter is a small stream. From this point to the third and last custom-house, the river is 100 yards wide. This is at the junction of Landak river, with that of Ka-mandor. The Landak is of itself a large stream, and the union of the two forms a river almost equal in width to the Sambas. The name "Landak" is given to it till it reaches Pontianak. About 10 P. M., we arrived at Pontianak. It being too late to call on the Dutch resident, the boat stopped at the house of the headman of the Khĕh men. The whole distance, of about seventy miles from Ka-mandor to Pontianak, is a vast forest and jungle, with no traces of man, except the three or four Chinese houses referred to.

Nov. 26th. We learned that a vessel now at the bar of the river, was about to sail for Singapore, and that this would probably be the only one for months to come. The Chinese supercargo informed us that he should proceed to the vessel in the afternoon, and that she would then sail, also that there were good accommodations, and without doubt we could obtain a passage. Our intercourse with the

resident, Mr. Humme was pleasing. We stated our object in visiting the island, and our expectation to return and engage in missionary labors. He promised to do everything he could to assist us, should we come, and especially as regards a house, which we would need, upon arriving with our families. After being on the ground, he said we could select a location without any restriction as to place, and build for ourselves. The expense of building is said not to be very great. He also offered his own boat to convey us and our luggage to the vessel, which lies about eight miles from the mouth of the river, and twenty from Pontianak. But just as we were leaving the office to proceed down the river, we met the headman of the Fuhkeën Chinese, who, on learning our plan, proposed that we should accompany him to-night in his own boat, as he had business with the ship before she sailed. We gladly accepted this kind offer, as it afforded us several hours of further inquiry and observation. Our friend then conducted us to the Chinese kampong, and introduced us to several individuals. After this we accompanied him to his own residence, where we enjoyed a long and pleasant interview.

The situation of Pontianak is in many respects similar to that of Sambas. It is located at the junction of the Landak and the Sangaur or Kapuas river, forming the Pontianak river. The establishment of the sultan is at the point of junction. The Dutch residences and the fort are on the south side of the river, about half a mile below the sultan's. On the same side and next above the Dutch is the principal Chinese kampong, extending to the junction of the river. Here commences the chief settlement of the Malays on both sides, reaching some distance up the Kapuas river. From the sultan's palace upward, on the south side of the Landak river, the Bugis are located. Immediately opposite the sultan's; and across the Landak river, is another small Chinese kampong of Khĕh men. This is of a recent origin, and but few dwellings have yet been erected. Pontianak is low ground, and subject to floodings during high tide and heavy rains. It is dryer, however, than Sambas, especially in the vicinity of the Dutch residences, and the Chinese kampong. It is said to be a healthy place. In reference to a permanent location, we cannot but regard Pontianak as decidedly preferable to Sambas.

From our friend and others, we gathered the following information concerning the number of inhabitants. Malays 6000, Bugis 5000, Fuhkeën and other Chinese 100 families, Hok-lo 1000 families, Khĕh 500 families. The whole number of Chinese is reckoned at from 3000 to 4000 The entire population of Pontianak is put down

at about 15,000. The Fuhkeën and Hok-lo dialects are so similar that communication is free and unembarrassed. In the vicinity of Pontianak, there is said to be a number of Chinese engaged in the cultivation of rice. The Bugis and Malays are supposed to be on the increase. The resident informed us that the nearest Dayaks are distant about two days' journey. The headman of the Fuhkeën people and others, to whom we made known our design of returning and settling at Pontianak, seemed much pleased. In Pontianak, there are only two Chinese schools, one of the Khĕh, the other of the Fuhkeën men. The Hok-lo class have no school.

Nov. 27th. At 11 o'clock, last evening, we left Pontianak with our kind Chinese friend, for the ship, and arrived this morning at half past six. The vessel is the Algerine, owned in Singapore, a fine brig, James Young, commander, who received us kindly, and readily granted us accommodations with himself. Here again, as often before during our tour, we were called on to recognize the hand of our heavenly Father. At 11 A. M., weighed anchor, and for a season bade adieu to this land of spiritual darkness and death.

Art. III. *The iniquities of the opium trade with China; being a development of the main causes which exclude the merchants of Great Britain from the advantages of an unrestricted commercial intercourse with that vast empire. With extracts from authentic documents. By the Rev. A. S. Thelwall,* M. A., *of Trinity College, Cambridge. Drawn up at the request of several gentlemen connected with the East-India trade.* London: W. H. Allen & Co., Leadenhall street, 1839. *pp.* 178

The iniquities of the opium trade! Why, "I never heard before that we carried on any such traffic, much less that any iniquities were connected with it." Thus Mr. Thelwall thinks he hears his countrymen exclaim, on reading the title of his book; and ingenuously adds, that "till very recently" he himself was "equally ignorant." But "some weeks ago," his attention having been called to circumstances connected with the traffic, the result was, that it appeared to him a subject of such moment, "that the attention of all

ranks and orders ought to be called to it without delay." Accordingly he proceeds at once to state the *facts of the case*, under four heads; 1st, the effects of opium; 2d, the vast extent to which opium is introduced into China; 3d, the manner in which it is introduced; and 4th, the light in which the Chinese government and people look upon this traffic, and upon us, as people engaged in it. For this part of his work, many facts and documents were drawn from the Chinese Repository, the author having "taken pains to verify and correct them."

With regard to the first point, he admits that opium, used as a medicine, in skillful hands, "is one of the greatest alleviations of bodily suffering and anguish that a merciful Providence has vouchsafed us." Yet he adds, "every physician knows that it needs to be used with skill and caution. In some painful diseases, which might seem at first sight to demand its use, the effects would be highly injurious, or even fatal; and there are many constitutions to which a very moderate dose of opium, even under the circumstances which would commonly call for its exhibition, would be fearfully deleterious. Perhaps there are few persons, who (looking round among the range of their acquaintance,) cannot find one or two who know, by experience, that they must not venture upon the use of opium at all: the most moderate dose would cause them severe suffering. What then must be said to the use of this potent drug as a *mere luxury*, at the will and pleasure of the ignorant individual who takes a fancy to indulge in it? I put the question plainly to one of the most eminent physicians in London, and his unhesitating answer was, that *no one could thus use it without shortening his life.*" He shows that "there is something peculiarly ensnaring in the use of opium," and that "thus the habit grows upon the wretched victim till he becomes entirely enslaved to it." "The plainest proofs, however, of the baneful effects of opium-smoking in China are, perhaps, to be drawn from the fact, that the subject engages the most serious attention of the Chinese government; and persons of the highest rank, and in the most responsible stations, see and feel the increase of this habit among the people to be an evil of such vast and fearful importance, that all their faculties are tasked to devise a remedy, or the means of effectually putting a stop to its progress." He notices, under this head, the pictures of Sunqua, as "they give the impression of the baneful effects of opium-smoking which facts and observation have made, not upon an individual alone, but upon multitudes of Chinese: for such pictures are commonly the result, not of a single notion in the mind of

an isolated individual, but of a feeling that widely prevails. They are indications of the general sense of a class at least of the community."

On the second point, namely, "the extent to which this pernicious drug is introduced into China," Mr. Thelwall brings forward a variety of statistics, which are already familiar to all our readers: and then gives us the following calculation

"If a mace weight would fill twelve pipes (which may be allowed to be a tolerably good allowance for each day), and if it be further observed that (according to some accounts) the mace weight which has served the luxurious smoker to-day will supply the pipe of a more wretched slave to this habit to-morrow; then will 34,000 chests (the amount imported during the last year to which my information extends,) be abundantly sufficient to ruin the health and shorten the days of not less than 2,980,000 individuals. And, if he who begins to use this baneful drug at twenty years of age can never expect to reach his fortieth year, then what must be the average number *per annum*, of these who are cut off prematurely by the use of opium? The ordinary calculation is, unless my memory fails me, that of sixty persons living and in health at the age of twenty, one may be expected to die every year. That is to say, the above-mentioned 2,980,000 persons who are living and in health at the age of twenty, would not, in the ordinary course of nature, be all dead in less than sixty years. If, on the contrary, in consequence of the use of opium, they all die in twenty years, the rate of mortality is tripled! And thus within the space of twenty years, not less than 1,996,000 are MURDERED by the use of this pernicious drug; or 99,800 every year! I confine myself, in this calculation, to the effects of *imported* opium. At whose hands will the blood of all these victims to opium-smoking be required? . . . . . This calculation (adds Mr. T. in a note) may seem extreme, or even exaggerated: nor is it easy to make any calculation, in cases of this nature, which can be depended upon. If the destruction of life by means of opium-smoking amounts to only *one tenth* of this number, it is sufficiently awful." *pp.* 29, 40.

On the third point, the manner in which the opium is introduced, he commences by stating the notorious fact that it is all smuggled "in defiance of the laws and regulations of the Chinese government;" he then gives the process in detail; and observes that "all the iniquities of bribery, fraud, duplicity, perjury, and violence, which are inseparably connected with smuggling are continually going on! And . . . . (&c., &c.) . . . Is it needful, in this enlightened age, to enlarge upon the evils, which are inseparably connected with such a system of smuggling? . . . . I know not what those who consider themselves as enlightened Britons will think or say upon this subject I know not what judgment they will pronounce upon *the practice of*

opium-smoking, or *the system of determined smuggling*, by means of which this pernicious drug is introduced in such quantities into China. This little book is but an appeal to my countrymen on the question. We shall see, in due time, what kind of response it meets with. But this I know, that the Chinese government and people, absurd, unenlightened, prejudiced, ignorant, and semibarbarous, as perhaps we imagine them to be, have formed their judgment, deliberately and decidedly, both with regard to the conduct and character of those who are engaged in smuggling opium into China."

This brings Mr. Thelwall to his fourth topic, which is to ascertain in what light the Chinese government looks upon this traffic, and upon foreigners engaged in it, "which is perhaps, to any one who is jealous for the honor of this country, the most humiliating part of the inquiry." There is no blenching here, no asperity, no show of party feeling. "Facts must be known. It will not do, in such an age as this, to shut our eyes or our ears against them." And after a few appropriate remarks, he introduces to his readers Choo Tsun, "taking a calm and deliberate view of a question in which the welfare of the Chinese empire and people is concerned; reasoning thereon like a politician, a philosopher, and a philanthropist; defending indeed the present system and deprecating a change; but doing this with a soundness of reasoning and weight of argument, which might well put to shame very many of our European statesmen." He quotes the memorial of Choo Tsun entire, adduces other official documents with a few remarks, chiefly explanatory; and then thus concludes this part of his book.

"I have now laid before my readers the whole of the evidence which has come before me upon this subject, and endeavored to put it in the most intelligible form. It is not to my own opinions and remarks, but to this evidence, that I desire to call attention: and I put it to their judgment and conscience,—as if they were a jury appointed to try the question, and to give a true verdict according to the evidence laid before them,—whether the documents I have produced do not distinctly prove the following points. That opium, used as a stimulant or luxury, is a deleterious drug which ruins those who indulge in it, body and estate—which depraves and enervates them, physically, and intellectually, and morally, and finally brings them to an untimely grave: that it is introduced into China in such immense quantities, as to effect the ruin of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the inhabitants: that thousands of acres of *the most rich and fertile land*, which might supply abundance of wholesome food for the support of many thousands of our fellow-creatures, in health and comfort, are *worse than wasted* in the production of this poison, of which the tendency and effect is to ruin and

destroy: that this baneful drug is *smuggled* into China by our countrymen [chiefly, but in part also by other foreigners] in the East-Indies, in direct and systematic violation and defiance of all laws both human and divine, and in a manner calculated to justify the Chinese government in excluding us from all the benefits of comfortable and unrestricted commercial intercourse with their immense population: and, finally, that the baneful effects of opium-smoking, and the whole system of iniquity by which so much opium is smuggled into the country, are perfectly laid open, and familiarly known to the Chinese authorities, both provincial and supreme; and the inevitable consequence is, that both the government and the people feel themselves justified in looking upon us with mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt,—in treating us with studied insolence and indignity,—and, therefore, in rejecting even our best endeavors to do them good—(for how should they be able to imagine that any real good or true kindness can come from a nation and people whom they look upon as smugglers and dealers in poison, for their ruin and destruction?)—that they also feel themselves justified in increasing, instead of removing, the hindrances and difficulties which deprive both nations of benefits, commercial, intellectual, moral, and religious, that might be expected, in the course of time, and under the blessing of the Almighty, from reciprocations of free and friendly intercourse between the two mightiest empires in the world;—whereof one, professing and calling itself Christian and enlightened with wisdom from on high, has benefits and blessings of incalculable value to bestow, and would itself be *doubly blest* in bestowing them;—for with regard to the honor and blessing which accompanies the communication of the knowledge of salvation, must not a Christian people, with humble thankfulness, 'remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive?'

"Thus far then, reader, my sole concern has been to lay before you *facts*. If now you choose to close the book, and make your own reflections, and form your own judgment, and decide for yourself, what common humanity, what real concern for the honor and welfare of your country, and what the fear of God and Christian principle demand of you, I am well content. To bring the facts of the case fairly before you, has been my main object in writing. But this I intreat you to remember, that (these facts being once laid before you), you are called on both to think and to act. You may, perhaps, truly say that, thus far, you have been altogether innocent in this matter—that you have had no part in these iniquities: that you never knew—that you never suspected—that such a traffic was carried on by your fellow-countrymen, and under the British flag. But this you can no longer say. The case is altered *now*. From this time forth, if you do not protest against these iniquities—if you do not endeavor, according to your ability, to put them down—you become, in your measure, a partaker of them, and (by careless connivance) a tacit accomplice in the crime of your fellow-countrymen. He who stands by unconcerned while murder is committed, and (still more) he who shelters the murderer and facilitates his escape, according to

all law, divine and human, is justly deemed an accomplice in the crime. What, then, shall be said of you — what will you in your conscience judge concerning yourself — if you (now knowing the fact, that the opium trade is every year destroying thousands and tens of thousands of the people of China,) shall go on unconcerned and reckless, without lifting up either your voice or your hand, to protest against or prevent such wholesale murder?" *pp.* 129, 133.

The second part of the volume consists of "Remarks and Practical Appeals," containing a "letter from a gentleman who had long resided in India," with "returns to be moved for in parliament." Here Mr. Thelwall says, with evident and very just feelings of exultation — "ruling an empire upon which the sun never sets — possessed of an extent of dominion, such as Rome in her greatest glory never saw—and containing a population, with which no empire upon earth but that of China can compare,— Great Britain, in regard to all the elements of earthly glory,— in regard to power, dominion, and wealth,— seems indeed to be lifted up as an object of admiration and envy [?] to the whole world." And then adds: "great in proportion to the glory and exaltation of our country, must be her responsibility in the sight of Him, before whom all nations are accounted as the drop in the bucket, and as the small dust of the balance." He says, it has been calculated that the Mohammedan and pagan subjects of queen Victoria are not less in number than 130,000,000; and that if to these be added the allied and tributary states of India, "it seems probable that 230,000,000 would be much nearer the mark." After animadverting somewhat on the conduct towards these, he asks, "What but the special help and blessing of Almighty God can possibly uphold and preserve us? and, under this, that moral strength which is founded on the deep respect, if not the affectionate gratitude of those with whom we have to do; and, more especially, of the nations subjected to our sway, and dependent on our protection?" He further asks, whether the conduct in the generations past, or even now, is such as is calculated to secure either of those desirable ends; and without attempting an answer, turns to the facts of the opium trade with China, and says, "Let each put home to his own conscience the plain question, is this traffic calculated to bring upon us, as a nation [or upon any people who are engaged in it], the blessing of the Most High? or to gain for us [or for them] the respect and affection of the inhabitants of Eastern Asia, to whom those facts are known?"

Again: "If the facts regarding the opium trade with China be as I have stated, and if upon these facts, which they know the Chinese

government and people found their judgment of us as a nation, have they not much to plead in justification of all the restrictions they have imposed? Must we not conceive it a very possible thing, yea, highly probable, that Chinese statesmen and patriots will say, respecting us—'Shall we open our ports to wholesale smugglers, and to wholesale dealers in opium? Shall we put these foreign smugglers and murderers upon an equal footing with our own peaceable and injured subjects? Shall we deal with them, or communicate with them, as if they were honest men, or worthy of any respect? Have they not reason to be well content, that we suffer them to live? And to marvel at our forbearance, that we have not long since expelled them from our boundaries, never to return, or put them to death without mercy?' The very thought of their using such language respecting us may be very humiliating — very galling to our national pride: but is it not *natural* that they should use it? Let us put ourselves in their place, and think with ourselves, how *we* should judge concerning a people, whose very name we could not dissociate in our minds from the constant, determined practice of smuggling poison into our country, that was ruining and destroying thousands of our population every year?"

And again; "While these things are so, must not our present commerce stand upon a most precarious and humiliating footing?" Other similar interrogations follow. Mr. Thelwall, like a writer over the signature P., in one of the Calcutta newspapers, seems to have anticipated the present crisis, and that not only the property but the lives of his countrymen here, would be placed, erelong, in most imminent peril. We intended to quote a part of the letter, above alluded to, pointing out some of the evils connected with the production of opium in India — evils which seem to us incredible — but our limits forbid this, and allow us space for only one more extract. In view of the facts and considerations adduced Mr. Thelwall inquires —

"May it not be safely affirmed, that regard to national honor and national prosperity, as well as the word of God and Christian principle, and regard to the far more important and sacred interests of religion and humanity,— all combine to demand, on the part of the legislature and people of this country, these two things:—

"1. A thorough investigation before parliament of all the facts connected with the opium trade with China?

"2. A steadfast determination, and the most vigorous exertions, if these things be so, to put down this abominable traffic; and a most friendly, cordial co-operation with the Chinese government and local authorities, in every measure that can be devised for delivering their country from this poisonous pest?

"The first of these is what I am mainly concerned with *now*. I call for public investigation. I have examined myself, and laid before my readers, the best evidence I could obtain; but what can be done by a private and obscure individual is not enough. It is for parliament to investigate a question, in which the honor and welfare of Great Britain is concerned. I would, therefore, suggest, that government be requested to lay before both Houses of Parliament, annual returns, for the last ten or fifteen years, upon the following points.

"1. The quantity of opium cleared at the custom-houses of Calcutta, Bombay, and all other places in the East-India Company's dominions, for China, or for Singapore, or any other port, for the purpose of being eventually conveyed to China.

"2. The number of vessels under the British flag which have been moored at Lintin, or immediately in the vicinity of the ports of China, as depots for opium.

"3. The number, tonnage, and particular character of the vessels which have been, and are employed, in carrying opium, from our different presidencies in India to China.

"4. The treaty of commerce [!!] between the East-India Company and the Chinese government, or the Chinese authorities at Canton.

"5. The orders of the East-India Company to their commanders and officers, prohibiting them from conveying opium in their ships,—when the East-India Company had the monopoly of the trade between England and China.

"6. Copies of the decrees and manifestoes issued by the government of China, whether supreme or provincial, for the prohibiting of opium, and the suppression of the trade.

"7. The quantity of land employed in the cultivation of the poppy, within the territories of the East-India Company; and the number of persons engaged in that cultivation, and the preparation of opium.

"8. Copies of any other Chinese decrees or documents complaining of, or denouncing, any other circumstances of the conduct and transactions of British merchants and residents at Canton,—that all their grounds of complaint and reproach against us may be fully known and investigated." *pp.* 169, 171.

This account of what Mr. Thelwall's book is we submit to our readers without further note or comment. There can now be no more doubt that the subject will come before the parliament; and we doubt not every Briton and every subject of queen Victoria will feel assured that there it will receive all due consideration with a just and honorable adjudication.

Art. IV. *A letter of a Chinese youth addressed to an English gentleman.* From the Canton Press No. 212, Oct. 26th, 1839.

I am a mere rustic, like grass obey the winds that chance to blow. I have seen but little of the world, so that meeting a gentleman I scarcely know how to make my respects. As to Cap. E., I have never met him face to face; but Mr.——— I am extremely obliged to for his kindness. Amid a hundred cares he can speak to me, an obscure man. It is like striking a bell which cannot but return a sound. This sound perhaps is a prolonged and melancholy tone, or abrupt and loud, like the alarm bell's note, which if heard at midnight cannot fail to alarm the human spirit.

The superintendent's name is *E Lut.* Is this, truly, a just law? Opium injures the soul and body. This he has been able to surrender to be thrown into the flowing ocean. Both the scholars and nobility of my country, in mutual conversation, have said, in reference to it, truly a heart of fellow-feeling all men possess; and I myself have secretly extolled the superintendent's appropriate name. But since I have heard the foreigners have widely disseminated the poison, resisting and opposing the laws of the land, I pause to ask where is the "*lut?*" Suppose an inhabitant of the central kingdom were to go to England and with some stupifying drug should intoxicate the people, while he robbed them of their property; accidentally waking up from their stupor, would they not immediately and absolutely seize him? For should they not arrest this man, how could they exterminate the evil? The stupifying drug being taken from him, and through favor he should not be prosecuted to the utmost of the law, would you stop to consider, if you take from him this means of attaining his purpose of spoliation and not pay him for it, *and not pay him for it,* how great may be his loss? The robber's nature, is not to know your extensive favor, but instead, he turns himself against what is right, and giving himself up to unreasonableness he rails at you. Would the managers of affairs give him a present? With paternal excellence the statesman seeks to bless when as yet he has no opportunity; and embraces the first occasion to make him a present, (as in the case of his excellency) and admonishes him to reform himself. It cannot he helped if the robber is not satisfied. It would be exceedingly difficult to assign a reason why he should have more. Perhaps he might say, I am a subject of the central kingdom. How can

they thus disgrace me and insult my nation? I will return and raise an army directly. Do the public officers sincerely think the central kingdom would grant him the army?

The sages of the inner land legislate for all the empire. Although they do not like the disobedient man's heart, they wish every man to follow his own inclination, as far as possible. But when the public good requires, they must oppose his private wishes. Therefore the empire delights to follow them in that which they enact. Yet the pique of an individual cannot obtain sympathy throughout the empire, and that which is opposite to the general wish cannot be granted, and his application for soldiers would therefore be useless. For the sage's acting for the empire cannot bring all cordially to acquiesce in his will. In the origin of the human race, men were born susceptible to hunger and cold, and the ills peculiar to men and women, with desires for food and drink, and possessing the passions of the sexes. All below the sky were alike; the sages did not seek to change their nature, but immediately instituted laws and taught them the various arts of cookery, to marry and to give in marriage, beget children and nourish and educate them; and all this was according to their mind, and was peace and satisfaction.

Oh! you foreigners, profit and lust inflame your hearts. In performing their duty, the statesman and instructor, although they would please the people, they cannot do it to the annulling of the laws. Now the foreigner ———, on his own responsibility absolutely has desired injuriously to involve the royal family's public business. Her sovereign highness cherishes self-respect, and in numerous countries wins favor, and extends her fame and with all mankind does that which is pleasant and delightful. Even a young lady has been eligible to the British throne. Heaven must truly furnish that which her throne requires. Now a single officer cannot cause the national family to sustain this dissatisfaction and bear this grief. On the contrary, it is nonsense so to advise her majesty, seeking to produce an occasion of war, in order to screen himself from error, plotting for an unjust advantage. No matter for the decisions of parliament, whether they are according to his idea or not. The superintendent is the ruler of all the people as regards this affair, and the destroyer of his beloved countrymen. Having lost credit with another nation he would sweep to oblivion the soldiery, and destroy his nation together. Such an offense it is absolutely impossible lightly to punish. I proceed sincerely to explain the case according to facts, selecting a few prominent points.

Foreigners have fearlessly bolted out into the villages, played with women; annoying people. They have destroyed public edicts, burnt a custom-house, and seized mandarins in the discharge of their duty, and cut off their queues. This is anarchy and a public nuisance. This is anarchy, this is a capital offense; but fortunately they have escaped. The merchant from birth and onward never reads half a page, and therefore does not understand propriety. It is understood that your scholars and nobility are not the same. But I drop this subject observing: that we have officers, who, looking up to the emperor's favor, leniently pardon you. For illustration; the commissioner sent his high officers who condescended to speak to a foreign merchant, desiring to see him face to face, to admonish him, and like a parent to explain his duty, because the emperor, his indignation being roused against opium, that overflowing poison's bitterness, had commanded him, his great statesman, to examine the ports and regulate the maritime affairs, forgiving foreign merchants, loving them as children, alway desiring their reformation.

"If the water is too clear, there will be no fish; men too clear, then none will follow them." The emperor's crown has a brim behind to screen the light, and two tassels of disheveled silk overhanging his ears to obstruct the noise. Manfestly he sees what he seems not to notice, and hears that which he does not appear to regard. He promotes great virtue and overlooks small offenses. A man's righteousness he does not annul. The crooked he straightens, and permits you foreigners to enjoy the commerce of China, you yourselves begging for, and scheming to obtain it; he is lenient to excess. Such is the emperor's example, who desires all men to be happy. The emperor's virtue is overflowing, like a zone surrounds the four seas, while at home he receives the strength of eighteen provinces. When he speaks from the imperial abode, the four corners of the empire respond. He can accomplish his purposes as easily as revolve his hand. It is a true saying, soldiers when not used are like a rat, but exercised they are like a tiger. A ten thousands catty cannon cannot of itself kill a man, but man the piece, and it can destroy men, especially if you have soldiers skilled in military tactics. Besides, even the imperial ladies can teach the superintendence of the army; and a flock of sheep, or a herd of buffaloes, may be employed to break your ranks. The evolutions of our military tactics are innumerable. Heaven's time, earth's advantage and men's harmony, we possess; i. e. a fruitful season, advantageous position of country, and domestic harmony, we at present possess. Do you think we are ignorant of

your aims, and are not awake to your devices? Alas! alas! you foreigners who wound and poison so many souls, you thus provoke and anger supreme heaven, and therefore heaven will exterminate your souls, and complete outright the number of your days: at least perhaps so, I cannot say. But I deplore the youth of your sovereign, and that parliament should send power, disorderly to exercise the lance and spear, and by so doing, weaken her royal family. Confucius said, the emoluments of office exhaust the public treasury, and to commit the public service to the nobility, are dangerous and destructive means. I can but draw a long and most audible sigh; and concluding ask, does not the poet justly say: the drum and gong are within the royal palace, but their sound is heard without. The stork on high utters her notes, and her music is heard in the heavens. If possessed of intrinsic virtue, sooner or later it will be manifest, there need be no fear of disgrace. The bell unstruck emits no sound, but stricken, the sound, like the blow, will be light or heavy; and applying the figure to myself, the sound is brief, for I have but incidentally mentioned my ideas, yet, if not long, you can bear to hear it. Then with it clean your heart, or it will fire your brain. I can but speak that which I know.

ART. V. *Memoranda of correspondence between her Britannic majesty's superintendent captain Elliot, and his celestial majesty's high commissioner Lin and Tăng governor of Canton.*

FROM the Canton Register, extra, of the 23d instant, we copy some memoranda of negotiations and correspondence between captain Elliot and British merchants on the one side, and commissioner Lin, governor Tăng, and the hong merchants on the other. We copy them as they stand in the Register, which contains only an "abstract" of the original documents.

No. 1. *Four propositions or conditions of amicable arrangement forwarded to captain Elliot in the name of the commissioner and governor of Canton.*

1st. Captain Elliot is accused of keeping the vessels outside for the purpose of smuggling; but now appearing desirous of establishing a permanent and honorable trade, he must collect all the opium and deliver it up. If it be still retained on board the ships, it will only remain to set fire to the whole.

2dly. It is asked if captain Elliot is unable to detect the murderer of Lin Weihe, among the persons found guilty of riot and assault in the late affray? What is to prevent their being sent for trial by the Chinese officers, one only to be kept to answer for the crime?

3dly. The immediate departure of the store-ships, and the rest of the

proscribed, is required; and in the event of disobedience, the ships are to be burnt, and the proscribed seized and brought to trial.

4thly. To the assemblage of British ships at Hongkong is attributed the renewal of the opium traffic, and the homicide of Lin Weihe; and to captain Elliot, the attack and defeat at Kowloong. Captain Elliot has stated that he must wait his sovereign's commands. It is inquired when the dispatch left, and when a reply may be expected? And then a modified arrangement will not be difficult to determine upon, if captain Elliot act obediently upon each of the propositions.

No. 2. *Captain Elliot's reply to the above.*

Having already taken severe measures, there ought not to be one catty of opium in the fleet, nor does her majesty's flag fly in the protection of a traffic declared illegal by the emperor, and, therefore, whenever a vessel is suspected of having opium on board, captain Elliot will take care that the officers of his establishment shall accompany the Chinese officers in their search, and that, if, after strict investigation, opium shall be found, he will offer no objection to the seizure and confiscation of the cargo. Again, if the consignee of a vessel profit by opium on board of her and does not declare the same to him, that it may be reported, he will offer no appeal if the firm be expelled from the empire. He proposes that to separate the lawful from the unlawful trade, no firm shall be allowed to reside or trade in China, until he, captain Elliot, shall have forwarded to the high officers a declaration signed by each member of it, solemnly declaring they have no concern, direct or indirect, with opium; neither will they permit any one under their control to have anything to do with the drug, and that they be made aware that detection will cause their immediate expulsion: and he further proposes that unless the commander and consignee of every vessel, on the day of arrival, hand in to him a solemn declaration, in Chinese and English, that she has brought no opium to China, has none on board, neither will receive any, she shall not be allowed to trade. Captain Elliot believes that this would effectually separate the lawful from the lawless trade here. With reference to the murder of Lin Weihe, captain Elliot assures the commissioner that every investigation was made to detect the murder, but there having been many American and English sailors on shore, it was impossible to detect him. Hereafter he proposes that a joint investigation be determined on, congenial with the customs of both nations. The most severe search shall be continued after the murderer of Lin Weihe, and a reward offered for him; and if found, he shall be placed on his trial according to the laws of his own country, before the honorable (Chinese) officers. Captain Elliot thinks it right his excellency's wishes should be complied with as regards the receiving ships, and the proscribed, as soon as the first northerly wind sets in, which will be in a few days; he appeals, however, in favor of Mr. Donald Matheson and Mr. Henry, they not having been concerned in the drug. Captain Elliot expects the commands of his sovereign in four months, and until their receipt it will be impossible for ships to proceed to Whampoa. He suggests it may be necessary to sell some of the receiving ships, several being old

and unfit for sea, and requests six days' residence at Macao for the proscribed, previous to their departure. Regarding the man found drowned at Hongkong, he did belong to a British ship. There were no marks of violence upon him, nor can captain Elliot say he was concerned in the death of Lin Weihe. Captain Elliot appeals to his past intercourse with the Canton authorities as affording grounds for their reposing confidence in him.

No. 3. *Rejoinder from the commissioner and governor.*

1st. Proof has been given that there is opium in the fleet, and captain Elliot is ordered to collect and make immediate delivery of it. Should any be stealthily removed and hereafter seized, all parties concerned shall suffer death according to the new law. If opium be taken on the coast, the vessel shall be taken and destroyed, and her crew put to death. So soon as the opium now in the fleet has been delivered up, officers shall be sent to examine the ships. A modified arrangement for carrying on British trade outside the Bogue may then be made, but not through Macao. Captain Elliot is required to make known that all vessels must obey the new law against opium, and that its violation is death.

2dly. The murderer of Lin Weihe must be delivered up in ten days. Delay may draw down measures of extermination.

3dly. The opium ships must leave immediately; leave is granted to the proscribed to return to Macao for six days, previous to their departure, but other foreigners must wait pending arrangements before returning to Macao.

4th. All the Chinese in the fleet are commanded to be given up. Captain Elliot's reply is to be sent throught the keunmin foo.

No. 4. *Captain Elliot's public Notice to H. B. M. subjects.*

In promulgating the following arrangement, the chief superintendent considers it right to say a few words explanatory of his views for rejecting any conditions involving the signing of a bond of consent to the trial and capital punishment of the queen's subjects by Chinese officers. He never pretends to deny the right of this government to make what laws it sees fit; but no share of the responsibility either of their principle or administration should be cast upon the queen's officers and subjects, not parties to the one or the other. The liability of the Chinese officers to irreparable error, attended with sacrifice of innocent life, has recently been manifested in the violence committed upon the Spanish brig Bilbaino, under the impression that she was the British vessel Virginia. This declaration has been repeated over and over again by the government; so that the high officers of the empire are deliberately sustaining shameful blunder by shameless falsehood, or the truth cannot reach them even upon subjects of this momentous nature. Either alternative furnishes irrefragable reasons, for resisting a bond of consent to the infliction of capital punishment by their forms of trial. But again if the principle be admitted in the case of one description of offense, how can it be rejected for crimes of a graver character, and notably

for homicide? The dangerous doctrine of Chinese law, however, upon that point, or at least of the practice in respect to foreigners, can never be sanctioned. For example, in the very instance which has pressed so cruelly and so unjustly for the last two months on the whole British community, the governor and commissioner still demand a man: in other words they require the chief superintendent to be guilty of the crime of murder by delivering up a man for execution in compensation for a murder committed by a person or persons wholly unknown to him. The pertinacity with which the Chinese press for this bond is peculiarly significant, and seems to be ascribable to a mixture of motives.

In some degree, probably to the sense of their own unfitness to judge foreigners (without their own consent), arising from utter difference of genius, language, and customs, and it may be from the feeling that the full protection of their own laws is not extended over us, to the same degree as it is over the native population. A stronger cause would of course be the apprehension of consequences from foreign governments; and they are certainly right in the belief that the chance of urgent appeal for redress would be slight indeed, if it were to be answered by the presentation of bonds of consent to sentences against ourselves, or by the simple declaration that we had delivered the man. In this last case, there could be nothing to say: in the other, the Chinese would produce the records of a trial, insist that they had examined faithfully, and decided justly; and hand forth the bond of consent. The chief superintendent is sure it will be felt by his own government and country that there can be neither safe nor honorable intercourse with this empire, if British officers and people concede such points as these. By order of the chief superintendent.

Edward Elmslie, Secretary and treasurer, &c.

No. 5. *Second public Notice to H. B. M. subjects.*

It has been agreed between their excellencies the high commissioner and governor upon the one side, and the chief superintendent upon the other, that under existing circumstances:

1st. The British trade may be carried on outside the Bocca Tigris without any necessity of signing the bond of consent to Chinese legislation (to be handed to Chinese officers), upon the condition that the ships be subjected to examination.

2d. That the place of resort shall be the anchorage between Anunghoy and Chuenpe.

3d. It is fully understood, that the vessels, while discharging their cargoes outside the Bogue, shall pay the measurement charge in the same manner as if they went up to Whampoa. The pilot's charges shall also be paid as usual. The linguists fees shall be paid in like manner.

4th. The vessels proceeding to Anunghoy will transport their cargoes by means of chop-boats, and will undergo search by officers. By order of the chief superintendent. Edward Elmslie, Sec. &c.

No. 6. *Minute of the committee of British merchants.*

The committee of British merchants, deputed from Hongkong,

have this day attended a meeting of the hong merchants, at the residence of her majesty's chief superintendent, to discuss the details of a proposed plan for renewal of commercial intercourse.

The committee have been informed by her majesty's chief superintendent, that the principles of such proposed trade, as agreed on between himself and the Chinese authorities, are comprised in the accompanying paper, bearing his signature, and that their opinion is desired merely as to the best mode of carrying the system into operation. They understand it to be the general wish of the British community, in concurrence with the views of her majesty's chief superintendent, that, if possible, a temporary settlement should be made for a trade outside the Bogue, and that it is highly desirable to prevent the return of the ships to Whampoa, and the British community to Canton, until the pleasure of her majesty's government be known.

The committee deeply regret to say, from the tenor of their communications with the hong merchants, they are apprehensive that the circumstance of one English ship, the Thomas Coutts, captain Warner, having actually proceeded inside the Bogue, in violation of the injunction of her majesty's chief superintendent, and the fact of the captain having signed the bond required by the Chinese government, may occasion delays and difficulties in the proposed trade outside, which would never have arisen, had all the English remained firm, as they have hitherto done, in resisting the attempt made to force them into a written acquiescence in the new laws, involving the trial of foreigners by Chinese officers, and their capital punishment for dealing in opium. With these preliminary remarks; and referring again to the terms agreed on by her majesty's chief superintendent, the committee subjoin the following memoranda of details, suggested by themselves and the hong merchants, for the conduct of the proposed outside trade.

1st. Chuenpe has been proposed as the port of discharge and loading: but the committee think it probable some other place outside the Bogue may be found less liable to objection on the ground of the strength of winds and tide, and difficulty as to the dispatch of cargo by chop-boats.

2d. It is agreed that the cargoes be discharged and loaded by means of China chop-boats.

Note. It is mentioned that only about twelve chops daily can be considered available for the outside trade.

3d. The hong merchants propose to charge for boat hire, 50 taels for 240 bales Bengal cotton, and 50 taels for 210 bales of Bombay cotton, and in proportion for other goods according to the old tariff for cargo from the Second Bar.

Note. This scal eof charge would be as follows, compared with the old rate. Charge for one boat $15.22; or say three boats carrying 240 bales Bengal cotton $45.66; present charge, at 50 taels is $69,43; increased charge $23.77.

4th. The hong merchants agree that the produce in boats from Canton to the ships shall be at their risk, as formerly the case with the Whampoa trade, and the goods from the ship to Canton at the risk of the foreigners.

5th. The weight of goods to be taken from the ship's side as at Whampoa.

6th. Goods in Canton, when unsold in the hongs, to be at the risk of the owners in case of accident by fire; and the government duty in such case to be paid by the owners.

7th. If goods remain unsold in the hongs two and a half months after arrival, the duty must then be paid by the owners.

8th. One hong will disembark the whole cargo of a vessel; but after the goods are brought to Canton and examined, the owners will be at liberty to send them at once to whatever hong they please.

Additional memoranda.

1st. It was stated by the hong merchants that temporary warehouses, or store-ships, at Chuenpe, or other port of discharge, could not be allowed.

2d. It was stated that the mandarins would object to vessels, when discharged, taking stone ballast at Chuenpe; but this, it has been represented, would prevent the ships fully unloading; which fact the hong merchants promise to represent to the mandarins.

3d. The hong merchants state that no unnecessary difficulties will be made in the examination of cargo; and it was further stated that no objection will arise to the continued stay of any ship or ships, while their business is unfinished.

Note. It is understood that her majesty's chief superintendent has agreed with the Chinese authorities as to the right of examination of ship's cargo at Chuenpe; but the hong merchants explain that this examination shall take place only on delivery to the boats. The committee consider that any other mode of examination would be very objectionable to the British merchants.

4th. It was mentioned by the hong merchants, that the arrangement for a temporary trade outside is intended to apply only to the ships now actually here; not to those which may hereafter arrive; but the committee conceive that the principle should apply to any vessels arriving prior to the receipt of instructions from the British government; at the same time, they do not consider it expedient to embarrass the question by agitating it at the present moment; leaving the matter for after negotiation, should the proposed plan be found to operate satisfactorily.

The committee further understood, from her majesty's chief superintendent, that on the arrangement for a recognized outside trade being completed, the injunctions against sending British property to Canton (not ships) will be withdrawn; and that property so sent will be considered as under the protection of the British government.

The committee have represented to her majesty's chief superintendent and the hong merchants, that in their opinion a trade under the proposed new plan cannot be commenced until the British community have returned to Macao. Oct. 22d, 1839.

(Signed) Henry Wright, George T. Braine, William Wallace, Wilkinson Dent.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. New bond required; the Thomas Coutts enters the port; progress of the negotiations and their interruption; provisions and servants forbidden to English subjects and they required to leave Macao; military operations; British ships ordered to Tungkoo; the Volage and Hyacinth, proceed to the Bogue; opium traffic vigorously prosecuted; robberies; the Bilbaino; the triennial examination.*

NEARLY eight months have elapsed since the high commissioner arrived in Canton; and the prospects of immediately suppressing the traffic in opium, and of placing the legitimate trade on a secure basis, are now darker than ever; nor are we able to conceive how either the one or the other of these desirable objects can be attained until this government consents to enter into free and friendly intercourse with foreign powers by treaty. Several important edicts have just appeared, which for want of space we defer to our next number. The following is the form of the new bond, signed by the parties controling the Thomas Coutts — which ship entered the port about the middle of the present month. For all ships, hereafter entering the port, the new bond is required. The *English* of the bond is done by a Chinese.

A truly and willing bond.

THE foreigner commander of ship belong to under consignment, present this to His Excellency the Great Government of Heavenly Dynesty, and certificate that the said ship carry goods come and trade in Canton; I, with my officer, and the whole crew are all dreadfully obey the new laws of the Chinese Majesty, that they dare not bring any opium; if one little bit of opium was found out in any part of my ship by examination, I am willingly deliver up the transgressor, and he shall be punish to death according to the correctness law of the Government of Heavenly Dynesty; both my ship and goods are to be confiscate to Chinese Officer; but if there found no opium on my ship by examination, then I beg Your Excellency's favor permit my ship enter to Wampoa and trade as usual; so if there are distinguish between good and bad, then I am willingly submit to Your Excellency: and I now give this bond as a true certificate of the same,

Heavenly Dynesty, Tao-Kwang year moon day,
Name of Captain
" " Ship " " Officer " " Crew

The preceding article containing correspondence, &c., shows the progress made towards a temporary resumption of trade. The conditions for it having been acceded to on both sides, the hong merchants left Macao for Canton, and the English families were at the same time returning to their residences, with what prospects the three following papers will show.

No. 1. "*Public notice.* The high commissioner and the governor of these provinces having this day violated their engagements, made under their signets, to conduct the trade outside of the port of Canton; having peremptorily demanded the murderer of Lin Weihe, and the entrance of the ships within the port of Canton, with the signature of a bond of consent by the commanders to trial by Chinese officers for offenses declared to be capital, or the departure of the ships from these coasts in three days; the whole under menaces of destruction: the chief superintendent has now to require all commanders of British ships to read this paper to their crews, and forthwith

to prepare for sea and proceed to Tungkoo bay; the anchorage at Hongkong being liable to surprize by fire-ships and war boats.

Given under my hand at Macao, this 26th day of Oct. in the year 1839.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent."

No. 2. "To capt. Smith, H. M. S. Volage. Macao, 26th Oct., 1839.

Sir,—I have the honor to acquaint you that I have this day received a communication from the weiyuen and keunmin foo, containing the violation of the agreement to conduct the trade outside of the port of Canton, lately submitted directly to me under the signets of the high commissioner and governor. Their excellencies now peremptorily require the delivery of the murderer of Lin Weihe, and the entrance of the ships at Whampoa, with the signature of the bond of consent; or their departure from these coasts in three days, under menaces of destruction. This shameless proceeding of the government is obviously attributable to the entrance of the ship Thomas Coutts, and the belief of the mandarins that their possession of hostages will enable them to constrain us into the acceptance of conditions incompatible with the honor of the British crown, and the safety of the queen's subjects. Under these circumstances, sir, I anxiously conjure you to take such immediate steps as may seem to you to be best calculated to prevent the future entrance of British shipping within the grasp of the government, to the incalculably serious aggravation of all these dangers and difficulties. Having reference to our conversation of this morning, upon the necessity of the immediate removal of the ships to Tungkoo, I take the liberty to inclose a memorandum which I request you will be pleased to circulate on your arrival at Hongkong. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent."

No. 3. "The undersigned coincides in opinion with the chief superintendent, and as H. M.'s naval officer in command in China, he warns all captains, officers, and crews of British ships against the danger of entering the Bogue and putting themselves and property in the power of the Chinese authorities. Dated on board H. M. S. Volage, Hongkong, 27th Oct. 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, Captain of H. M. S. Volage."

Edicts have just appeared in Macao forbidding under heavy penalties any intercourse between the Chinese and English; native servants are withdrawn, and all manner of provisions withholden; all British subjects required to leave Macao; at the same time military forces have been ordered out, and some four or five hundred have pitched their tents and quartered themselves just without the Barrier — in terrorem.

For better security all the British ships, engaged in the lawful trade, have been ordered to Tungkoo bay; and the vessels of her Britannic majesty proceeded, with captain Elliot, on the 29th to the Bogue — to seek, it is supposed, some more explicit declaration from the commissioner, touching the security of British life and property.

On good authority we have recently heard it stated that the number of vessels now engaged in the opium traffic is not less than twenty, and that the drug ranges from $1000 to $1600 per chest!

Robberies during the month have been very numerous, and the great number of vagabonds seems to be a source of some solicitude with the local magistrates, who have just issued a special edict for their full information.

We regret exceedingly to perceive, by recent edicts, that the case of the Spanish vessel Bilbaino remains without reversal, she having been declared to be the *Tan-she-na*, alias, the Virginia. This is a "most luminous example" of the fearful errors into which, the want of a free channel and better means of communication is constantly liable to plunge the Chinese.

The triennial examination in Canton this year has gone off with little interest or eclat. The number of candidates was about 3000 less than usual. This has been occasioned by the new measures respecting opium.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Catholic Missions in Tongking. Translated and abridged from the Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes.*

THE first preachers were Jesuits, who were afterwards driven out by the king. During this interval, French missionaries from the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères*, came to continue the work which the Jesuits had been obliged to break off. Deydier, the first missionary of this body, arrived in 1666, four years after the expulsion of the Jesuits. He labored with great success in propagating the faith, and in taking care of the numerous converts. His attention was particularly turned to the instruction of the most zealous of the catechists, with a view to preparing them for the priesthood. The first French missionaries, being few in number and having abundance of work, invited the Spanish Dominicans of Manila to come to their help. The Jesuits also returned in 1669.

The kingdom was divided into two apostolic vicarships, the western extending from the great river to Cochinchina and Laos; the eastern, from the same river to China. The Spanish Dominicans had the care of the eastern vicarship, where they had many European missionaries and native priests. The French occupied the western vicarship. The Jesuits continued to labor in the districts which they had already formed on both sides of the river, under the jurisdiction of their own apostolic vicars.

In 1776, the number of Christians was estimated at three hundred thousand. The population of the kingdom at the same period was supposed to be six millions. The western vicarship contained, in

1820, nearly two hundred thousand Christians; of the number in the eastern division we find no estimate given. The French had at this time a bishop who was apostolic vicar, another bishop his coadjutor, two missionaries from France, and more than eighty native priests. The number of French missionaries has at no time exceeded ten, including bishops. The western vicarship is divided into thirty-eight districts or parishes. The smaller ones are three or four leagues in extent, but most of them are much larger, and several are fifty or sixty leagues in length. Of these districts, some have three or four thousand Christians, many have from five to six thousand, and others have more than eight thousand. The European missionaries on account of their small number cannot confine themselves to a single district. Some are occupied in teaching the Latin language and theology to those natives who are intended for the priesthood; others go from place to place, visiting the different districts intrusted to native priests in order to direct them in the exercise of the sacred ministry, to maintain good order in their residences, and to inspire the youth who are in training for the service of the mission with the love of piety and virtue. They also visit the principal congregations of each district, where they preach and administer the sacraments. Although the people have much confidence in the native priests, they have far greater in European priests: consequently, they come together in crowds from all quarters to apply for the sacraments, and wherever Europeans go they find themselves burdened with labors greater than they can sustain. Each district is in the charge of priests of the country. Most of the districts have two of these priests, one discharging the duties of a rector, the other those of a vicar, who are changed from time to time, and removed to other districts, for the purpose of maintaining among them that spirit of poverty, and that freedom from worldly attachments, so necessary for missionaries. In order that they may devote themselves wholly to their ministry, without anxiety for the future, it is a rule that when a priest can no longer work he may live in his old district with his successor, who is to take care of him. The priests not being sufficient for so large a number of Christians and districts so extended, have catechists to assist them. There are about four hundred of them. Their duties are, to wait upon the priest in the administration of the sacraments, to visit the districts and instruct the converts, to preach Christianity to the pagans, and to prepare them for baptism when they are willing to embrace the religion of Christ. No one can become a catechist till he has passed the age of twenty-five. Besides good morals and zeal,

they must, before being received, recite to the bishop or one of his vicars, the book containing the instructions necessary to qualify them to teach the Christians, and to publish the gospel to unbelievers. Those catechists who distinguish themselves by their piety and their good behavior, their talents and their zeal, are promoted to the priesthood, and form a part of the company called "the family of the Lord,"—a name given to all attached to the service of the mission. There are in this number, eleven or twelve hundred, who are supported and provided for with paternal care. They are required to remain unmarried, but without taking a vow of celibacy, and whoever wishes to marry leaves the mission. Some of them belong to the households of European priests, others live with the native priests, who have the charge of the districts. Each of the priests has ordinarily twenty-five or thirty of these young persons under his care, and some have the training of a large number. They first learn to read their own language and also the Latin, after which they learn by heart the book of homilies. They are then employed in the service of the mission, each one according to his talents. Those who appear to learn the Latin easily are sent to a college, while the others become catechists. None are admitted to college till they are at least eighteen years of age. There are two colleges in which the Latin is taught; the principal one is in the southern province, the other is situated on the confines of Cochinchina; a European has charge of the former, a priest of Tongking is at the head of the latter; both having for their coadjutors several catechists acquainted with the Latin. There are sometimes as many as eighty students in the larger college, and fifty, in the other; at the present time [1820] the latter has but fifty and the former forty. Want of funds has occasioned this diminution of the number of students.

Besides these two colleges for the Latin language, there is a seminary for instructing in theology the catechists who are considered worthy to be raised to the sacerdotal office: this sometimes contains forty candidates; at present there are but twenty-five, all well recommended for their morality, piety, and zeal. No one is admitted here commonly before the age of thirty or thirty-two years, because the Indians are educated slowly and need a large trial. A European missionary has charge of this institution, and for several years past the same man has had the care of the seminary and of the larger college, which have been brought together into the same place and united.

Convinced that Christianity cannot be established in heathen countries on a solid basis without a native clergy, the first apostolic vicars

and the French missionaries have directed their efforts to this important point. Several popes, to encourage them, have declared that they would rather hear of the ordination of one Indian priest, than of the conversion of thousands of pagans. It is in accordance with these principles and purposes that efforts have always been made in Tongking, and are now making, to raise up a clergy in the country; but European missionaries are wanting, and not half as much is accomplished as might be if the number were greater. May the Lord send worthy laborers to coöperate in a work so blessed and so important. There are, besides these priests and catechists, in Tongking six or seven hundred nuns, living in thirty-eight or forty nunneries, where they support themselves by the labor of their hands and by trading in a small way. They take vows for a single year only, after which they renew them if they please.

Having spoken of the order established in the mission, we proceed to give some account of the manner of visiting the different congregations. The priest, in making his visits, brings with him several catechists and two young persons to assist him. Having arrived and received the welcome of the people, he ascertains what abuses have crept in, in order that he may correct them. Then commences the ordinary routine of duty. The priest spends the first day in prayer, in spiritual exercises, in receiving the Christians who come to consult him in regard to their troubles, in settling difficulties, in administering baptism, in receiving confessions, and in visiting the sick. A catechist, with one of the youths, spends the day in visiting the houses of the Christians, exhorting them to come and be instructed and to prepare themselves for the reception of the sacraments. At seven or eight o'clock in the evening the people assemble in the church. The catechist instructs those who are about to confess in regard to the state of mind necessary to the faithful performance of this act, and gives an enumeration of sins in order to facilitate the examination of the conscience. This instruction finished, the priest goes to the confessional, where he remains till eleven or twelve o'clock and sometimes later. The catechist, in the meantime, attends prayers with the whole assembly, and then instructs the adults while the two young men teach the children the prayers and the catechism. At eleven or twelve o'clock all retire, and at four in the morning the exercises commence again. Prayer is attended as in the evening, and then follows an exhortation from the priest, who afterwards celebrates the mass: after which all return home. Such is the method observed in visiting the Christian communities. The priest passes from one to

another, and all receive a visit from him at least once a year To avoid scandal and all suspicion, the strictest precautions are used with reference to females. The rules of the mission expressly prohibit the entrance of women into the houses of the missionaries and priests under any pretext whatever. For this reason, there is attached to each of the residences of the priests an exterior apartment, where females are received, a catechist, or some other person belonging to the mission, being present as a witness. When private conversation is desired, the priest attends them at the confessional in the church. When the priest is obliged to lodge at the houses of any of the Christians, he has an apartment for himself and his attendants quite separate from the family, and he always has some one present when he converses with females. Catechists and other persons of the mission always go out two by two that they may serve as witnesses to each other.

And how are all the persons connected with the mission supported? The funds are derived chiefly from the fees of masses and from donations presented by the Christians of Tongking or sent from abroad. In this way some twelve hundred persons are maintained. The French missionaries receive from the *Séminaire des Missions Estrangères* five hundred francs each per annum. The missionaries expend as little as possible, and by their economy manage to sustain the mission. The Lord is pleased with this self denial and bestows his blessing. Since the establishment of the mission, a considerable number of worthy priests and excellent catechists have been trained up, who have rendered great services to Christianity.

The Christians of Tongking have been persecuted often and severely. Of the persecution in 1773, we here present some brief notices. Father Hyacinth Castaneda, a Spanish Dominican, had been six years connected with the mission. He had first preached the gospel in the province of Fuhkeën in China, on which account he was imprisoned and sent back to Macao, from which place he came to Tongking in February, 1770. Vincent Liem, a native priest, was also of the order of St. Dominic, having been educated at the monastery of the Dominicans in Manila. Castaneda was apprehended by an officer, and enclosed in a cage so small that he could scarcely move, and in this condition he was exposed for several days to the scorching rays of the sun. The officer designed by this severity to excite the commiseration of the Christians, and to obtain from them a sum of money for his release. But all things considered, it was not thought best to purchase his release, as it would only feed the cupidity of the

persecutors and furnish occasion for new exactions, thus subjecting all the missionaries to the danger of arrest. The officer, provoked at seeing his hopes frustrated, sent soldiers to seize other priests. The men succeeded in apprehending one other missionary, Vincent Liem a Tongkingese, who was likewise imprisoned in a cage. The officer, angry because he could not extort money from the Christians for the deliverance of the two missionaries, laid a complaint before the king, accusing them of being the leaders of rebellion, and of having projected a general revolt throughout the kingdom. The king, who was young and open to suspicion, was enraged and ordered the supposed rebel chiefs to be brought before him under double guards. The two prisoners were consequently brought to the capital, still shut up in their cages. On their arrival, they were taken out and led to the palace. The king interrogated the Spanish missionary thus: "Why have you come into my kingdom?" "I have come," replied Castaneda modestly, "to preach the gospel which teaches men the way of happiness and eternal life." "But why," said the king "do you not teach the people of your own country?" "My countrymen," answered the prisoner, "are instructed in Christianity, and know what they must do to secure eternal life." Nothing was said during the examination of revolt or of any plot against the government. But after a few frivolous questions, the two confessors were conducted to the presence of the queen-mother, who inquired of the Tongkingese father, among other matters, what would be the condition in the future life of those who should not believe the doctrine which he taught. Vincent replied, with the boldness of the gospel, that such could not escape the sufferings of an eternal hell. The queen, who was strongly attached to her idols, was irritated by this answer, and immediately gave orders that the two men should be again inclosed in their cages, and have their feet put in fetters. They were taken back to prison, where they continued to preach the gospel with still more zeal than before. The king, forthwith pronounced the sentence of death upon them, wrote it with his own hand, and sent it to his council, with orders to have it signed and instantly executed. Three high officers, two of whom were Christians, perceiving that the condemnation of the men was built only upon the pretended crime of rebellion, of which there was no proof, refused to give their signatures. This courageous act occasioned in the council a discussion which continued three days. If this did not save the lives of the accused, it established their innocence of the crime of rebellion, and furnished proof that they were preachers of the Christian religion as they had themselves declared.

"On the 7th of November, the officers and soldiers, with bared arms, followed by an immense crowd composed of both Christians and pagans, repaired to the prison. They took the two cages and transported them to a large open space outside of the city. The judge was seated upon his chair of office, which was placed upon an elephant, while the soldiers were ranged around to keep back the multitude. The missionaries are taken out of their cages and seated upon the ground. Their knees are bound to two stakes. Their clothes are taken off even to the girdle. Their hair is cut. Men hold them by the head and by the right shoulder. The sentence is read, and at a signal given the executioners strike off their heads. At this instant, the Christians throwing aside all fear and breaking through the crowd, take up the heads of the two martyrs, dip things in their blood, bathe the bodies with their tears, and carry these precious relics to a distant village, where the funeral was celebrated by the vicar general and two Tongkingese priests with the solemnity appropriate to so mournful an event.

"The officer who presided at the execution had retired, but perceiving that the number of his followers was greatly diminished, he returned to the place of punishment, and observed attentively what was passing there. He noticed among the Christians, who were pressing forward to pay their respects to the relics of the martyrs, rich men, soldiers, and men of rank, three of whom were umbrella bearers to the king. On his return to the palace he reported to the king in detail all he had seen. The king was transported with rage, and issued commands to apprehend all who had manifested such eagerness to pay honor to the bodies of those whom he regarded as the enemies of his throne, and to put them in chains and confiscate their estates. He also published a new edict against the Christian religion, requiring that search should be made for all priests, whether Tongkingese or European, and expressing the desire that every one of them should be put to death within the space of two months. He also enjoined it upon all Christians to abjure their faith, to pull down their churches, to deliver up the furniture of the mass, and promised rewards to those who should discover and surrender to the officers, the missionaries and the Christians. On the publication of this edict, the missionaries were obliged to fly and hide themselves. The churches were demolished. The colleges and schools were deserted. The officers seized upon everything they could find. Those who were arrested were not executed, but were degraded in rank and required to pay fines."

"Thus you see," says the bishop in closing his letter, "that our lives are in danger. Poor in every way, we need to be sustained by the prayers of the good and by the special protection of our God. He will not forsake us."*

As supplementary to the preceding, the following extract from a letter, dated Upper Cochinchina, 3d January 1839, is subjoined. We copy it from the Friend of India for May 9th.

"This year, 1838, has been for us a year of calamity and desolation; and for Tongking and Upper Cochinchina, one of misery and tribulation. The sword of persecution has made great havoc in the vineyard of the Lord; heaven has been peopled with holy martyrs, but there have been likewise some apostates, and all together places the Christian religion in these regions in serious danger. Two Dominican bishops were arrested and beheaded for their faith last July; three Spanish clergymen of the same order have been also arrested and beheaded; seven indigenous priests (four of the Dominican mission, and three of the French,) have been likewise arrested and beheaded for the faith. All these generous confessors and martyrs have decorated the church of God, and done honor to the mission, by the courage, firmness, and constancy they exhibited in the midst of their tortures, and by the noble-mindedness and resignation with which they shed their blood, and gave up their life for the Christian religion, and the faith of Jesus Christ. Monsieur Havard, of the diocese of Rennes, bishop of Castoria, and vicar apostolic of Western Tongking, died last July of sickness, brought on by excess of misery and fatigue; his lordship was only three days ill. I have been told that monsieur Simonin expired during his flight in the mountains, but I have not received anofficial relation of his death. We also have had a furious attack here in Upper Cochinchina, on account of the dispersion of a small college we had founded. Monsieur Candal was at the head of the little establishment, but the people of the district, not having taken sufficient precautions, nor acted with sufficient prudence, the pagans came to know the whole, and in order to obtain money, threatened immediately to give information to the mandarins; but having no hopes of gaining any, they effectually denounced that this district contained a European priest, an indigenous one, a college, &c., whereupon a mandarin proceeded thither with 300 soldiers, and the next morning by daybreak blockaded the village. M. Candal and the indigenous priest were enabled to flee, and make their escape: and the chiefs of the place were arrested; were put to the cangue; were conducted to the head quarters of the province; underwent the interrogatory, but being overcome by dint of the torments inflicted on them, they had the weakness and misfortune to apostatize. A young cléve of M. Candal's, named Dominic Thien, a lad of eighteen years, was the only one among them that confessed the

* In the year 1798, there was a persecution in Tongking and a part of Cochinchina, and two native priests Emmanel Trieu and John Dat suffered martyrdom. In 1811, the number of Christians was supposed to be as great as it had been at any period. Tr.

faith; he suffered every sort of torment, and strenuously submitted to martyrdom. M. Candal having had to undergo a great deal, in order to avoid the pursuit of the soldiers and pagans, worn out at length with misery and langor, as well as exhausted with hunger, expired on the mountains of Upper Cochinchina, on the 26th of last July. Monsieur Jaccard was involved in this business, through the odium and malevolence of a mandarin, and especially of the king, who has been this long time seeking for a pretext to do away with him, so that this noble-minded confessor was strangled on the 21st of last September (St. Matthew's day), with the lad, Dominie Thien. Monsieur Borio and two Tongkingese priests have been arrested, and have suffered martyrdom; the former having been beheaded, and the two latter strangled for the faith, on the 24th November last. Upper Cochinchina is by no means in peace; all there is disturbance and confusion; all the clergy are dispersed and concealed; all the nunneries broken up. I have lately heard a melancholy piece of news. A Chinese vessel was lost in the beginning of December, to the north of Upper Cochinchina; some persons saw the ship at sea without her sails, and making no way in any direction; she appeared a complete wreck, and all hands seemed to have perished. There floated on shore staves, planks, boxes containing European articles, viz., books, pictures, mitres, episcopal sandals, wine, money, &c. The heathens have seized a number of the effects, and drank all the wine: the Christians have had very little of anything. I have sent orders to purchase whatever they can.

"I subjoin a synopsis of the number that fell victims to this awful persecution.

2 Dominican (Italian) bishops, 3 Dominican priests, . . . 4 Indigenous Dominican priests, 3 Indigenous French priests, .	}	In July last.
1 French priest strangled in Cochinchina,		Sept. 21st.
1 French beheaded in Tongking, . .		Nov. 24th.
1 Cochinchinese student strangled. .		Sept. 21st.
2 Tongkingese priests strangled, . .		Nov. 24th.

Total 17 martyrs. 1 French bishop died of misery. 1 French bishop starved on the mountains. Well, then, may we exclaim: 'But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, ... and to the general assembly and church of the first-born, who are written in heaven.' (Heb. xii. 22, 23.)"

ART. II. *Remarks on the study of the Chinese language, with the outline of a course proposed for those about commencing the study.* By PHILO.

ALTHOUGH the writer of the following article is a junior among those who are studying this language, still he is encouraged to present his thoughts on the subject by the consideration suggested in the Repository of August 1838, that even a beginner may suggest some hints, which may be useful to others. The task is difficult; and the importance of its being accomplished by many persons, and with as little expense of time and study as practicable, is so great, that he is unwilling to withhold any aid, which he is capable of giving to those who are commencing the study. There are various ways in which the language may be studied; and some will find one way more advantageous; and some, another. The writer will state the course which he would pursue himself, if he could commence it again.

If about to commence the study of the Chinese language, I would, in the first place, inquire *what use* I wished to make of it: or, what would be practically the same thing, what language I wanted to acquire; the language of business and common parlance, or the language of some profession, as the medical or clerical; or the language of books, alias, the written language. Having determined as definitely as possible, what I would attempt to do by means of the language, I would keep my eye upon this ultimate object, through the whole course of my studies. I know of nothing in which the advantages of division of labor would be greater, than in acquiring a knowledge of the Chinese language, and the application of that knowledge to the purposes for which it is sought. We, foreigners, commence the study at an age too advanced to allow us to hope that many of us will ever become masters of the whole language, and of both the spoken and written forms of it. But if one directs his energies to the acquisition of that part of the language which is most needed by the physician and surgeon, and another to that which he would have need to use in conveying religious instruction, and another to the acquisition of ability to *read* the language, and another still to learning to write it; then we may hope that each will be able to do something useful in his own department. But to return. If my object were to acquire the spoken language, to whatever purpose I might design to apply it, my mode of study would be essentially the

same. The only variation would be, that I should give more attention to such words and phrases as belong peculiarly to the profession or employment, in which I expected to be engaged. I proceed, therefore, in general terms to point out the course I would pursue.

1. *To acquire the spoken language.* I would, if practicable, procure the assistance of some person, who could speak my own language and the Chinese, for two or three weeks. If I could not find one who could speak them well, I would employ the best I could find, even though he might be able to make himself understood in one or both languages only to a very limited extent. I would sit down with him, pen in hand, and ask him, how I should say "What is this?" in Chinese; and on his pronouncing the Chinese words, I would repeat them after him, and bid him pronounce them again and again, till I could pronounce them well myself, and had become familiar with their sound, after which I would write it down in Roman letters. I would then proceed to use the phrase I had learned, and ask in Chinese the names of things about me, repeating them and writing them as I did the first words, "What is this?" In this way I would continue to learn new words and phrases, to repeat and write them; and in the absence of my teacher, I would spend as much time as I could study with advantage, in reviewing them. After a few days, I would go out with my teacher and try to *use* the few words I had learned, in talking with any Chinese I could meet with, speaking the same dialect; and if I was not understood, I would try to ascertain from my teacher, what was the fault in my pronounciation, or mode of speaking.

After having pursued this course two or three week,, I would exchange my teacher for as good a Chinese teacher as I could obtain, and would prefer one acquainted with no other language. With him I would spend most of my study hours for five or six months in conversation, repeating and writing down all or nearly all new words and phrases. I would ask him all the manner of questions about everything I could see, hear, or think of; and also tell him everything I could. I would not be afraid of saying things that would seem simple, or foolish; but talk, talk, talk, like the little child, like whom I am just *learning to speak.* This is the natural way to learn to speak a langage, and believe me, it is the best way.

At the end of five or six months spent in this way, I should be able to converse on many subjects in such a way that Chinese could understand me, and I should be able to understand them to a considerable extent. I would, therefore, go abroad more and spend most

of my time for the next six months among the people, observing and nothing down their forms of expression, endeavoring to catch their tone and manner, and using the knowledge of the language already obtained, in conversation with them.

At the commencement of my second year in the study of the language, I would begin to give some attention to the written language. It would not be my object to acquire a thorough knowledge of it, but merely to learn to read Chinese books for the purpose of knowing what is in them, and being able to quote such passages as I might afterwards have occasion to use. I would devote about one fourth of my time for study during the second year, to the written language; and the remaining three fourths to conversation, as during the previous year. The mode in which I would study the written language, I shall have occasion to describe hereafter.

The third year should be spent as the second, except that I would give a little more attention to the written language, and perhaps even spend half my time upon it. At the end of the third year, I should probably be able to speak with ease and tolerable correctness on most common topics, and to understand the ordinary conversation of the Chinese. I might then feel that it was time to apply the knowledge gained to its proper object. I would continue to study the language, both spoken and written, as time and opportunity would allow.

During these three years, I would be on the lookout for such words and phrases as I expected to have occasion to use in my future intercourse with the people. As soon as I began to read, I would copy, or have my teacher copy, passages which I might have occasion to quote, in a book prepared for the purpose; and commit them to memory, with the teacher's assistance to correct my pronunciation.

I would, if practicable, *live among the people* from the beginning; but if this were not possible, I would spend as many hours as I could among them daily. I merely mention this here, but it is a matter of first importance, if one would learn to speak Chinese, that *he live among them*, or at least, spend much time in their company.

2. *To learn the written language.* I would spend the first six months in learning to talk in the way described above, except that I might perhaps look at some characters, or learn how to use a dictionary, by way of diversion. At the end of that time, I should be able to converse with my teacher sufficiently to ask questions respecting the characters which I wished to learn, and understand his answers, and his definitions and explanations of words and phrases. In this way, I shall save myself much of the trouble and vexation

which I and many others have experienced, from the difficulty of understanding what my teacher said.

I would then take up the radicals, and learn them thoroughly, so as to be able to write them, and tell their meaning and their number in the list. One or more of them enters into the composition of every character in the English dictionaries of the language: and some of the native dictionaries are arranged in the order of them, as ours are in the order of our alphabet. Hence it is obviously important to have them entirely at one's command. Some persons would doubtless learn them most profitably by sitting down to them alone and mastering them completely before undertaking anything else; but others would do it better by spending only a part of the day on them, and a part in some other way. It might be a useful relaxation to learn how to find words in the dictionary by means of them.

Being thus prepared by learning to converse with a teacher, and to use the dictionary, I would proceed to try to read. I know of no book that is well adapted to the wants of a beginner, and would therefore spend a part of my time daily in directing my teacher to write down words and phrases which I had previously learned to use in speaking, or such as I wished to learn Another part of the time I would employ in reading such books as there are. I would take

1. Seaou tsze tih kwo, "Little boys' reading lessons." This book speaks of things with which even children are familiar, and employs words which are in common use; a beginner would therefore be less troubled by the difficulties of Chinese idiom, and at the same time learn words more useful to him, than he would find in most other books. I would read this over two or three time pretty carefully.

2. Chang Yuen leäng yew seäng lun, "Dialogues between two friends, Chang and Yuen." These dialogues are written in an easy style, and contain a multitude of phrases which are in constant use among common people. I know of none other that contains so many: and it is chiefly on this account that I would take it up at so early a stage in my study of the language. I would read it over carefully two or three times with my teacher; and in the intervals of study, have him copy it in a blank book, writing the columns at some distance from each other, perhaps no more than two on a page. I would then sit down with my teacher and write the sound of each character on the left side of it, and the definition on the right; if there were cases in which the meaning of each character could not be expressed by any English word, or mark of interrogation, &c., I would connect two or more characters together by brackets, and write down

the best definition I could find for them all. I would go over the book thus prepared, sometimes with my teacher to learn to read, and to understand it as I read; and sometimes alone, to learn the form of the characters, and study their exact meaning, and their order in sentences, i. e. the syntax of the language. To learn their *form* the more readily, I would sometimes cover the line of Chinese characters with a piece of paper, and looking at the sound as expressed on the left side of it, or the definition on the right, try to write the characters. After a little practice, I would spare myself the manual labor of writing them on paper, and only see whether I *could* write them. If I could distinctly recollect the several strokes that compose a character, I should consider it learned, and not take time to write it. If I could not, I would uncover the character, look at it carefully, and then cover it again, and write it two or three times. I would proceed in this way through the whole book; and also commit to memory, thoroughly, many of the most useful phrases it contains. It might seem a slow and tedious work; but it would surely be a profitable one, and if it should occupy many a week, and month, or even a year or more, I would comfort myself with the reflection that I had mastered, or at least become familiar with nearly all the most common words in the language, made a good beginning in learning its idioms, collected many very useful phrases, and also began to study the language in a thorough way, which would be sure to give me a good knowledge of it, if persevered in long enough.

"This last is a consideration of no small importance. Desultory efforts, studying now in one way and now in another, reading a part of one book and then part of another, or even reading books through once or twice:—this mode of study promises little to the student of Chinese. He needs to adopt a thorough method of study at first, and make himself master of some two or three books, before he hastens to read others. He should continue this good habit of study by spending a part of his time in studying other books or select parts of books in the same thorough way for some years. But after mastering two or three, he need not confine himself to the books he would study thus, he may spend a part of his time in reading other books. Those composed by foreigners would generally be found easier than those written by natives, and it might be as well to read a few such.

3. The gospel of John, I would read carefully two or three times. 4. Also, Acts of the Apostles. And 5, the Heäng Heuen, or "Village Sermons."

6. Shing Yu, or "Sacred Edict;" read nearly as the Two Friends

above described, but passing more slightly over some parts. It is in the style of conversation, and will well reward a careful and often repeated study, and many parts of it are worth being committed to memory.

7. Haou Kew, or "The Fortunate Union." This is a popular novel, written in familiar, easy style, and consisting chiefly of simple narrative and conversation; it is at once easy to understand, and rich in those common phrases which the student of the language should, at this stage of his progress, be most anxious to make his own. I would read this work, which consists of four small volumes, several times; and commit to memory some select phrases and sentences.

8. San Kwŏ Che, or "The Three States." I would read some parts of this work, and perhaps look over the whole *once*. As the style is more admired by the Chinese than that of any other work, except the immaculate books of Confucius and his early disciples, I would select such parts as seemed best adapted to my purpose, and make myself quite familiar with them.

9. Santsze King, Sze Shoo, and Woo King, or "The Trimetrical Classic;" "Four Books;" and "Five Classics." These compose the usual course of study pursued by Chinese students. I would select, by a hasty perusal of the original, or by means of a translation, such parts of each of them as seemed most likely to be of use to me, and read them repeatedly and finally commit them to memory. At first my selection would be a very choice one, that I might not impose too heavy a task upon myself at once; but I would add to it afterwards, as time would allow, and passages worth treasuring up should be found.—Perhaps the reader may be interested to know how fast I should expect to progress in this course of study. It would of course depend much upon my freedom from other occupation and the vigor of my health: but on the supposition that I could give my time to it, as entirely as every one expecting to become able to speak and write Chinese well, should do, I might perhaps arrive at the sixth stage of my journey, or in other words, be ready to commence the Sacred Edict, at the end of the second year; and at the eighth, or The Three States, at the end of the third. One's progress, however, would depend very much, in the latter part of the course, upon the quantity selected to be committed to memory.

But there are several things which should be attended to before the student of the language has read all these books, and which could not be conveniently introduced while speaking of the best course of reading to be pursued.

1. After reading "The Two Friends," I would write Chinese, either translating or composing, half an hour or an hour daily.

2. I would take Dyer's list of characters arranged in the order of the frequency of use, and learn at first, three or four and afterwards at least one daily, learn how to write it, and its composition, derivation, and most common definitions.

3. I would review what I had read, very often and carefully, and frequently repeat what I had committed to memory. To make sure of this, it might be expedient to review what was read the previous day, as the first work of every morning, and review the lessons of every week on Saturday, and for every month during its last week.

4. I would look as I might have opportunity, at all the grammars, dictionaries, &c., that came in my way. I say *look* at them; for I do not think there is, or can be, any grammar of the language worthy of being studied, as we study those of western languages. But it is well to know what has been attempted by way of preparing helps for the acquisition of the language; and sometimes a useful hint may be found in them; and it is therefore best to examine them, so as to know what they contain. Prémare's Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ is the only work I would *study*. I would begin to read this, when I had studied the language about two years, and read it carefully, marking the more important parts, which I would review at my leisure. I would not make the reading of this my principal study for a single day, but rather take it up as a relaxation, and to give variety to my mode of study.

I cannot willingly lay down my pen, without expressing my fervent hope that we shall soon be furnished with a very valuable aid to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of Chinese, in the list of "primitives," promised by your correspondent, Mr. Lay, in the Repository of September last. I had commenced a similar collection, but on learning that he was engaged in that work, and perceiving that his method of doing it was better than my own, I laid it aside, and am waiting for a copy of his list. If this article should meet his eye, he may be assured that more than one student of the language feels the need of what he has promised, and is waiting anxiously for its completion. If a manuscript copy were sent to several of those who are studying the language, they might suggest alterations, which would make it much more perfect, and more useful when printed.

[Our Correspondent has done well in writing down his remarks and suggestions, for the guidance of others, in the study of this language. This article ought to have appeared some months ago, but having been mislaid it

has been unintentionally delayed till now. We quite agree with Philo in reprobating, "*desultory efforts*, studying now in one way, and now in another, reading a part of one book, and then a part of another." Nothing can be worse than such a course for a beginner. In the outline plan proposed, we think he has marked off far too much work for any tyro; nor should we recommend, as he does, the *study* of any books written by foreigners. We never think of learning Latin or French by studying foreign books. Their place should be supplied by collections of common and easy phrases and sentences from native authors. Helps of this kind, in the shape of chrestomathys, or easy lessons, are much needed; and perhaps Philo would do well to employ some of his leisure hours in the preparation of such. From him and from others we shall be glad to receive other remarks on the study of the Chinese language. By the by, we suspect Philo will erelong change his opinions respecting the grammar, or wǎn fǎ, of the Chinese language.]

ART. III. *Instance of revenging the death of a father by a daughter.* From the works of LUHCHOW.

CONFUCIUS says in the Book of Rites, "the murderer of a father should not be suffered to live under the same heavens." The moral essayist, Luhchow of Fuhkeën, extends this also to women; for he says, "regarding the man who kills a father, if there are no brothers to avenge his death upon the murderer, and only daughters, still he must not be suffered to live." He illustrates this by three or four instances, one of which is here given. This principle of avenging a murder by the nearest of kin is like the law among the Jews, as recorded in the 19th chapter of Deuteronomy, but without any of the mitigating circumstances there given. Some of the tribes of North American Indians have the same law at the present day. The custom has fallen into disuse among the Chinese of the present age, in consequence of the stricter execution of the laws, thus preventing the necessity of having recourse to private retribution.

"In the district of Yuchang in Keängse lived Tseäy Seaougo, who at eight years of age lost her mother. She afterwards married to Twan of the district Leïhyang, and with her father and husband usually lived in the same vessel, in which they carried on a small trade from one place to another. When she was fourteen years old, both her father and husband were attacked and murdered by pirates; and Seaougo herself was also wounded by them and thrown overboard, but her life was saved by the people of another boat. She soon after entered the convent of Meaouko, and became a nun. In a

dream, her father appeared to her and said, 'the man who killed me, is —

車 中 猿 門 柬 草

carriage midst monkey, door select plants.'

She dreamed again, and her husband appeared to her, who said, 'the man who killed me, is —

禾 中 走 一 日 夫

grain middle pass, one day husband.'

"On awaking, she could not explain their meaning, and was continually writing and sending them abroad to find some wise enough to solve them; but for several years, her endeavors were unavailing. At last in the eighth year of the reign of Yuenho (A. D. 814), Le Tso, a man of some rank, who had formerly been a district magistrate in Keängse, anchored his barge at Keënneë, and put up at the Wakwan monastery. The priests introduced this subject, and informed him fully concerning it. As Le was leaning against the railing, writing in the air with his finger, he suddenly ordered one of the waiting-boys in the house to run and call Seaougo; to whom, when she came, he said, 'The man who killed your father was 申蘭 Shin Lan; he who killed your husband was 申春 Shin Chun. I thus explain it. That which is in the middle of 車 *chay* is 申 *shin;* and in the twelve horary characters, does not 申 *shin* correspond to 猿 *yuen* or 猴 *how*, a monkey? Put 門 *mun* below 草 *tsaou* (or contracted 艹), and put 柬 *keen* within 門 *mun*, and you have the character 蘭 *lan*. The three characters 禾 中 走 *ho chung tsow*, grain middle pass, means passing through a field,* and thus you again have 申 *shin;* add one stroke above 夫 *foo*, and 日 *yih* below it, and you have 春 *chun*. Thus their names are shown to be 申蘭 Shin Lan, and 申春 Shin Chun.' Seaougo, weeping bitterly, thanked him for the explanation; and, secretly writing the four characters in her dress, swore to find the two robbers in order to revenge their villainy. She accordingly dressed herself in male apparel, and hired herself out as a servant in the place where she before lived; and after a year, she came to the city of Tsinyang, and saw there an advertisement for a servant. She went to the house, and inquired for the master, who was no other

* The character for field 田 *teen* is similar to 申 *shin*, except in the middle stroke which is much longer; this is what is meant by "passing through a field."

than Shin Lan: this somewhat embarrassed her, but she betrayed no emotion. Here she became very much beloved by Shin Lan and all his household, taking the entire charge of the money and valuables which were received and disbursed, so that there was nothing which was not under her care. Whenever she saw the clothes and other articles of her father, she could not refrain from secretly weeping.

"Now Shin Lan and Shin Chun were clansmen; and the latter's house was on the north side of the river in the village of Pĭhshŭh, and constant communication was secretly kept up between them. One day, Shin Chun brought a large carp, with wine and delicacies to Lan's house, and in the evening, a large party of thieves came to carouse and drink. After the visitors had gone, Chun, who was very drunk, went to sleep in the inner bedroom, and Lan threw himself down to sleep in the hall, with a sheet over his head. Seaougo stealthily locked up Chun within his apartment; she then, with a large knife first cut off the head of Lan, and then crying with a loud voice alarmed the neighbors, who rushing in, aided her in securing Chun. They also seized the goods and money stored up in the house, amounting to several tens of thousands; and she also secretly handed in to government the names of their accomplices, amounting to several tens of persons, who were all arrested and executed. At the same time, his excellency Chang, the prefect of Tsinyang, publicly praised her for this filial act, after which she reëntered the nunnery for life." W

ART. IV. *Remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language; particles generic and euphonic: formation of nouns; easy flow of expression; in the use of verbs; &c.* By ANGLO-SINICUS.

[This article we copy from the Periodical Miscellany and Juvenile Instructor, volume I, pages 154, 181, 205, 229, and 278, where it appeared in five successive papers. In bringing it together into one article, a few slight changes have been made, which the author will readily excuse. The second volume of the Instructor contains some excellent philological observations on select Chinese particles: see pages, 53, 82, 102, 126, 151, and 206.]

IT has often been said that "the Chinese language has no grammar:" if by this is meant that the different parts of speech are not distin-

guished by inflections, as in most other languages, the observation is so far correct: but yet all the parts of speech are capable of being definitely expressed, either by the use of auxiliaries, or by the position which each occupies in the sentence: and there is a certain grammatical construction of sentences, to violate which is to violate the syntax of the language. The unique feature of the language seems to be, that the same word may often be a noun, a verb, an adverb, &c., without the slightest change in the formation of that identical word: so that a word, taken abstractedly, cannot be said to be a noun, a verb, &c.; but place it in a connected form, and its meaning becomes as definite as words in any other language.

Take for instance the word 之 *che*, meaning him, her, it, them, 's: this is the most common character in the language. Often it comes between two words which are evidently nouns; thus, *the civil war 's* [che] *cause was this;* where the position of the *che* determinately fixes its meaning to the sign of the possessive case: and if the two nouns changed places, the *'s* would exactly form the *in regimine* of the Hebrew. If this particle follows a word which is manifestly a verb, its meaning is fixed to be that of a pronoun: but whether masculine, feminine, or neuter, singular or plural, must appear from the subject-matter of discourse. These two leading ideas of the word have some modifications, which it is not necessary here to notice particularly: they illustrate the assertion made above, that although many words taken abstractedly are indefinite, they become definite by their location. The very same assertion is true of our own language to a small extent: the word *light* in one position in a sentence would be a noun, in another a verb, in another an adjective; and that which is *occasional* in English is *common* in Chinese.

So also with respect to number: take the words *sheep, deer, scissars,* &c.; considered abstractedly, they may either mean one item or several; and the context is to determine which. These words in English are exceptions to general rules; but yet when used, they present no difficulty or hesitation in determining the number, whether singular or plural. It may be the general subject-matter of discourse, the introduction of a numeral, an article, or an adjective either singular or plural, which determines the number: still, we contend that the number is readily ascertained; and that which is the exception in English, becomes the general rule in Chinese.

Verbs admit of similar remarks. The verb *to read* is present, past, or future, according to the context. *I read the book you lent me: it is well written:* here the word *read* is determined to be in the

past time, by an observation which could only have been made subsequent to the act of reading. *You read too fast:* here the time is either past or present. *Will you read the book?* this is evidently future. In all three cases, the identical word *read* suffers no change. This word, however, is an exception to a general rule, but the exception in one language may become the rule in another.

It follows then that the grammatical construction of the Chinese language, however unique *en masse*, has its analogy even in the languages of Europe; and the difficulty of assigning to each word its place among the parts of speech, is not so great as a stranger to the language might suppose.

There are however in the Chinese language, hundreds and even thousands of words which have but one specific idea: though there may be idiomatic exceptions. Thus in our own language, we should call the word *man* a noun; and yet in the case of this word, there is an idiomatic exception; for we use the phrase *to man a ship*, where it is used as a verb. This exception does not induce hesitation in determining the word *man* to be a noun, for we may read scores of volumes without meeting with this idiom: and it is only in this idiom that it takes this verbal form.

Having made these preliminary observations, we proceed to notice more particularly the mode of forming several of the parts of speech, at least so far as bears upon our main position, viz., that although the construction of the language is unique, it is quite definite. And to begin with nouns. A vast multitude of nouns are made by what we shall call *formatives:* i. e. by adjoining to the word containing the radical idea, either (1.) particles having a certain generic sense, (2.) or euphonic particles. Under the first head we will notice several classes.

1. By the addition of 氣 *ke*, denoting (i.) The mental constitution; as,

angry	ke	denotes	anger
righteous	ke	denotes	rectitude
brave	ke	denotes	valor
patient	ke	denotes	patience
malicious	ke	denotes	resentment

(ii.) Celestial phenomena or appearances; as,

heaven	ke	denotes	weather
casting forth beams	ke	denotes	luminous appearance

2. By the aiddition of 色 *sih.* (i.) Relating to the appearance or aspect of a person or thing: as,

grave	sih	denotes	gravity
moon	sih	denotes	phases of the moon
heaven	sih	denotes	appearance of the heavens
countenance	sih	denotes	personal aspect

(ii.) Formative of nouns having a bad sense; as

weary	sih	denotes	weariness
wine	sih	denotes	drunkenness
fear	sih	denotes	fright
beast	sih	denotes	bestiality

3. By the addition of 夫 *foo*, corresponding to the word *man*, added to the English nouns; as,

village	foo	denotes	village-man, or villager
wood	foo	denotes	wood-man
bear	foo	denotes	bearing-man or porter
ferry	foo	denotes	ferry-man
hundred	foo	denotes	hundred-man, or centurion
horse	foo	denotes	horse-man, or hostler
kill	foo	denotes	killing-man, or butcher

4. By the addition of 者 *chay* corresponding to the syllable *er* in English nouns: as,

heal	chay	denotes	heal-er, or physician
attend	chay	denotes	attend-er, or attendant
cast-lots	chay	denotes	diviner
look	chay	denotes	astronomer
pry	chay	denotes	pry-er, or spy

5. By the addition of 匠 *tseäng* denoting a mechanic: as,

varnish	tseäng	denotes	painter
gold	tseäng	denotes	goldsmith
iron	tseäng	denotes	ironmonger
wood	tseäng	denotes	carpenter
stone	tseäng	denotes	stoneman
tin	tseäng	denotes	pewterer
brass	tseäng	denotes	brazier
tub	tseäng	donotes	cooper

The particles here particularized are by no means the whole of such as are used as formatives of the nouns of that class described above, but we have adduced the principal of them, and sufficient to answer our purpose. We proceed to notice the nouns made by adjoining euphonic particles. These particles are not to be considered as bringing with them any distinctive idea: but they frequently

throw the preceding word into the substantive form; thus, the particle 子 *tsze*, a child, forms such nouns as the following;

table	tsze	*chisel*	tsze
spear	tsze	*carriage*	tsze
arrow	tsze	*club*	tsze

There are many cases where this word, following another noun, would have its own proper meaning; but there is no difficulty in determining when it is euphonic, and when not so. We will only notice one more of these particles at present, viz. 兒 *urh* a child; thus,

needle	urh	*door*	urh
drop	urh	*deer*	urh
rabbit	urh		

It should, however, be carefully noted, that these euphonic particles abound most in the light authors, and works written in a colloquial style, but they are found occasionally in good classic authors.

Having noticed the formation of nouns, we next offer a few observations upon gender, number, and case. There are four ways of forming gender, particularly worthy of notice; when, 1. The masculine and feminine have each their appropriate words. 2. Particles indicative of gender are prefixed. 3. Particles indicative of gender are affixed. 4. A distinctive particle is affixed to one gender only.

Under the *first* division the following may be given as instances; *hero, heroiné; king, queen; emperor, empress; fung-bird, hwang-bird; ke-animal; lin-animal, &c.*

Under the *second* division, particles indicative of gender are prefixed: as *male*-human-being, *female*-human-being.

Under the *third* division, particles indicative of gender are affixed. as horse-*sire*, horse-*mother*.

Under the *fourth* division, a distinctive particle is affixed to one gender: as king, king-*queen*; emperor, emperor-*queen*.

In the first class of genders, we readily trace the analogy between the Chinese and our own language, and the list might be swelled to a very considerable length. In the third class there is a slight analogy to the Latin and Greek, where the *radix* is retained in each gender, with the termination peculiar to that gender; only in these the termination makes *one word* with the *radix:* whereas in Chinese, the genders of the third class are made by two distinct words, in a certain juxtaposition.

We come next to number, and we notice four ways of forming the plural. 1. By prefixing a numeral to a singular noun. 2. By

affixing plural formatives. 3. By repeating the noun 4. By the scope of the passage.

1. By prefixing a numeral; thus Hwan and Ling, *two*-emperors.

2. By affixing plural formatives; thus man, man-*class* (men); he, he-*sort* (they); officer, officer-*order* (officers); Tartar, Tartar-*tribe* (Tartars).

3. By repeating the noun; thus class, class-*class* (classes); man, man-*man (men);* house, house-*house* (houses).

4. By the scope of the passage; thus, In the starry night he marched his *soldier*. When he was young, he used to play with the little *boy* of the village. That which is most difficult to win, is the *heart* of the multitude. In these expressions, it is easy to see that the words *soldier*, *boy*, and *heart*, must have a plural meaning.

With respect to the cases of Chinese nouns, we have not much to remark: the nominative usually precedes the verb, and the accusative follows; the dative and ablative are made by their appropriate prepositions expressed or understood: the mode of forming the genetive was hinted at on a former page. The vocative, however, requires special notice; and it may not be out of place to remark, that in our Chinese translations of the Scriptures, the proper mode of forming the vocative has (in our humble judgment) been too much overlooked; at least in the historical portions. It is quite oriental to use the third person where we in the west use the second; and this orientalism, so to speak, prevails commonly in Chinese historical and many other books; thus,

Let my dear child come and pay his respects to this gentleman, for, *My dear child,* come and pay your respects to this gentleman.

Mr. C——. said, how does *this villain* dare to rail at me? for, Mr C——. said, *you villian* how do you dare to rail at me?

And, where is *my friend* going? for, *friend,* where are you going?

In completing a vocative period, it is very common with Chinese writers to introduce such words as *to request*, *to hope*, *to expect &c.*, thus,

I *request* master to help me:
I *hope* master will help me:
I *expect* master will help me:
} for, master help me.

We cannot think it any breach of fidelity in translating, to substitute the third person for the first and second, where the idiom of the language requires it: to retain the western idiom frequently causes an obscurity which the translator would wish to avoid. Nothing is gained, much is lost by retaining it; nothing is lost, much is gained by substituting the eastern idiom in its place

We shall introduce our remarks on Chinese verbs by an observation which is deserving of very particular notice; viz., in Chinese composition, special regard is to be had to what is called the 順讀 *shun tŭh*, or *easy flow of expression.* Herein is the peculiar defect of many of the books written for enlightening the Chinese mind on the subject of Christianity; the natives say of them, *moo shun tuh*, the language does not flow easily. Knowing this to be the characteristic fault of the compositions of missionaries to the Chinese, it is a fault which should be especially guarded against. It seems to be for the sake of this *shun tŭh*, at least in a great measure, that so many Chinese words, particularly verbs, are formed by *two* nearly synonymous characters in juxtaposition. We say *nearly*, for in Chinese, as in other languages, the cases are rare, where two characters are *exactly* synonymous. In a vast number of cases, we do not see the necessity of these double verbs, &c., to elucidate the meaning; but upon an ear familiarized to the enunciation of classical Chinese composition, these double words fall with great propriety and harmony, when properly used. And to neglect the use of them, or use them improperly, betrays the author of the composition to be a barbarian.

The formation of verbs may be thus classified. I. Verbs made of two synonymous characters.

1. Where the characters have no apparent relationship to each other, so far as relates to the *form* of the characters; thus,

To transport-remove, 擎移 meaning, to change places;

To observe-look, 觀看 meaning, to look;

To peep-look, 窺看 meaning, to spy;

To look-seek, 看見 meaning, to see;

To search-seek, 尋覓 meaning, to search for;

To impose upon-deceive, 瞞騙 meaning, to deceive;

To distinguish-discriminate, 辯別 meaning, to discriminate;

2. When the characters have a *radical* or *partial* relationship, as respects their form; thus,

To leap-skip, 跳躚 meaning, to skip about; here each character bears the radical idea of the *activity of the foot.*

To roam-wander, 遨遊 meaning, to roam; here each character sustains the inherent idea of *motion from place to place.*

To instruct-teach, 訓誨 meaning, to teach; here the radical idea is *words*, which are the medium of instruction.

Perhaps the distinction between this particular and the last, may

be deemed rather fanciful than important: however, inasmuch as the distinction exists, although possibly by mere casualty, it appears to deserve a passing glance: and it is capable of improvement by those who lay stress upon the use of etymologically analogous words when practicable, in translating the sacred Scriptures.

3. When the same verb is doubled, making a form exactly like the *piel* in Hebrew grammar; thus,

To look-look, 看看 meaning, to look earnestly;

To restrict-restrict, 休休 meaning, to restrict absolutely.

4. When a doubled verb is doubled; thus,

To weep-wee plament-lament, 哭哭啼啼 meaning, to weep and lament most bitterly.

II. Verbs formed of a *generic* and a *specific* character. 1. When the generic precedes: as 打 *ta* to strike, imparting to the expression the simple idea of *action:* thus,

ta make;	*ta* sleep;
ta listen:	*ta* measure;
ta sweep:	*ta* send;
ta dress;	*ta* arrange.

2. When the generic follows: as, 住 *choo* to halt, conveying the idea of *impediment;* thus,

To lock *choo*, signifies to lock fast;
To grasp *choo*, signifies to grasp firmly,
To detain *choo*, signifies to keep a person where he is;
To impede *choo*, signifies to prevent a person going farther;
To embrace *choo*, signifies to hold fast in the arms.

Ke, 起 to arise, conveying the idea of *up, ascending;* thus,

To think *ke*, signifies the arising of thoughts in the mind;
To pluck *ke*, signifies taking something up from the grouud:
To let loose *ke*, signifies to cause smoke to ascend by the application of fire, or to cause noise to ascend in the air.

These examples are sufficient to show the general nature of Chinese verbs; and they illustrate the necessity of paying marked attention to the proper use of the generic words. Improprieties of construction excite the smile of the reader. They do that even in our own language. Suppose a foreigner to use the expression, to listen *fast:* we may catch his meaning, but he should have said to listen *attentively*, or *eagerly:* these are the appropriate words to be used in connection with this particular verb. The same idea is of universal application

We lay the greater stress upon this observation, because these are precisely the improprieties into which Europeans are prone to fall, particularly in translating. We want perhaps to translate the expression *offer sacrifice;* we seek for the Chinese word *to offer*, and the Chinese word for *sacrifice;* and putting them together, we are ready to suppose that these words must needs be as good Chinese, as the others are English. Whereas the Chinese word *to offer* may mean nothing more perhaps, than to present by an inferior to a superior among men: and there is an appropriate word for offering a sacrifice, which signifies *to place a sacrifice in order and to accompany it with devotion to the deity.* We could not but smile if a Chinese, translating one of his own books into English should use the expression, 'they came to the temple and *placed* sacrifices,' instead of *offered;* and yet he would be constantly liable to this kind of mistake, without a thorough knowledge of English; and this is the kind of mistake into which Christian missionaries have fallen in innumerable instances.

We have often thought it would be of great assistance to the Chinese student, if a manual were published, containing a classification of expressions, such as nouns with their appropriate adverbs, &c. In no language probably would such a book be more useful than in Chinese, owing to the great degree of refinement in the language; to the vast number of synonymes and antitheses; and to the fact of the written language being one, but the provincial dialects many. all which circumstances render such a manual extremely desirable. It is remarkable, that in native schools, the children are taught to learn off two antithetic words for every copy they write, which words are usually inserted in the copy. Thus when grown up, they have the antitheses ready for use. We will only add here, that *propriety of diction* and the *shun tŭh* are the subjects which call for the most serious attention, inasmuch as their contraries have been the rocks upon which many a Chinese scholar has split.

Having described the formation of Chinese verbs, we proceed to notice their *construction.* It must however be borne in mind, that the word itself admits of no change expressive of voice, mood, tense, number, or person: but these changes are effected by the use of auxiliaries and particles prefixed or affixed. Perhaps, however, we should not here entirely overlook the small semicircular mark, sometimes placed in one corner of certain characters, indicating the *tone* with which that character is to be read: thus *yih* 易 to change,

when distinguished by this mark as 易 is read *e*, and means easy. This mark serves in some measure as a guide to the reader; inasmuch, if the tonal mark be in one corner, the character is read in one sense; if in another corner, in another sense. But still this mark cannot be considered as an inflection.

The various accidents of voice, mood, tense, number, and person, have each their corresponding particles, and each assumes its proper place in the order of construction. This order, in all its variety of modifications, would be too tedious to describe minutely: a few brief observations will suffice for our present purpose.

Voice. The passive voice is commonly distinguished from the active, by the adjuncts 被 *pe* to receive, and 受 *show* to receive, denoting that some object *is susceptive of a certain agency;* thus, The villain *received* my sword's *cutting in twain:* for, The villain *was cut in twain* by my sword.

Mood. The indicative is the simple form of the verb: the imperative, potential, and subjunctive moods are variations of the simple form, made by imperative, potential, and subjunctive adjuncts. The infinitive is often nothing more than the latter of two verbs, which by its locality assumes this modification.

Tense. The present, past, and future, have likewise their appropriate particles: but that beautiful precision of time, expressed by the Greek inflexions, is altogether inexpressible in Chinese, without considerable circumlocution.

Number and *person.* The verb with its adjuncts is for the most part the same in both numbers, and for each person.

Thus some idea may be formed of the large number of auxiliaries, particles, and adjuncts, required to express what in other languages, at least in part, is expressed by inflection. The substantive verb *to be* is commonly expressed by no fewer that five different words, and it is often very difficult to say why one should be used in preference to another: and yet they may not be used promiscuously. The same may be said of personal pronouns, and many other words. It follows therefore, that there is much perplexity in reducing the construction of a multitude of words and phrases to any definite rules. It would however be extremely useful if a number of the common auxiliaries &c., were illustrated somewhat as follows, by some forty or fifty examples each, accompanied by the character; they would constitute a manual of more real use to the Chinese student, than all the rules which could be deduced from them

Nae 乃

My master *is* a descendant of the house of Tsing
Lewshing *is* my master's brother.
Your father *is* the son of the officer Tseëntang
Tsze-king *was* the pupil of Kaou-ming.
I know that the emperor *is* a very benevolent man.
Tsze-king *is* a man remarkable for his liberality.
This *is* Chow-e's scheme.
He *is* the father of Keaou.
The emperor *is* of the Han dynasty.
The emperor *is* the hero of the age.
Sunkwan *is* a very dutiful child.
This *is* the finest spot under heaven.

Wei 爲

Ask him to let you have the town of Hing *to be* a rendesvouz.
I have a daughter whom I will give you *to be* your wife.
I have promised you to Mr Heën *to be* his wife.
He wishes to take this for [*to be*] a name.
Rather seek him *to be* a son-in-law.
He cut him in [*to be*] two.
I am not able *to be* your ruler.

She 是

Why do you say it *is* only by your strength?
It *is* extremely inconvenient.
He *is* only requesting him to make haste.
It *is* just so.
The town of Hing *is* very dangerously circumstanced.

These sentences are selected from the same Chinese author, and there seems to be an evident peculiarity in the use of each of these substantive verbs, although it must be admitted that the following deductions have their exceptions. 1. The substantive verb *nae* is commonly used in *affirmation*, particularly with respect to description of persons and things. 2. The substantive verb *wei* is usually preceded by another verb, which throws it into the infinitive form. 3. The substantive verb *she* loves adverbs, particularly adverbs of order and of quantity.

How far these deductions might be affected by quotations from other authors, or even by other quotations from the same author, we are not prepared at present to say; our present object is merely to illustrate the idea, that in a language, scarcely susceptible of general

rules, at least in any very great degree, a manual prepared as suggested before would be of vast use to the Chinese student.

It was intended to have offered a few observations on two other subjects connected with the grammatical construction of the language, viz., *corresponding particles and expletives*, but it was found impracticable to illustrate either of these subjects without introducing a large quantity of the native character, owing to the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of transferring the ideas conveyed by these particles into another language. We must therefore content ourselves for the present with a few general remarks. These corresponding particles are different from the antitheses noticed in a former page. Those are mostly *opposites* or *relatives*: these are links, connecting sentences which have some correspondence in sense; which correspondence may be *adversative*, *consecutive*, and sometimes nothing more than *copulative*. For commonly the utmost imaginable confusion prevails in native works with regard to stops. Often, when the reader meets with one of these particles, e understands that it is the first word of a new sentence; and then again after a few characters, when he meets with a particle corresponding to the first, he understands that the pause is on the preceding character: the reader goes on, and perhaps meets with an expletive; he then understands that the complete sentence ends with it. Not indeed that every sentence is thus rounded off, but when these particles do occur, they serve this purpose. Christian books are so regularly pointed, that the aid of these particles is not required for this purpose, but still they are equally necessary to give a proper *turn* to the sentences; and when rightly used they very much assist that easy and harmonious cadence, for which the Chinese language is so remarkable. In addition to which, *a native, in his pauses, would probably be more guided by the particles alluded to*, than by our western refined punctuation. It will hence be readily conceived how necessary it is for the student to give these particles very minute attention; and here again, as before, the student would be immensely assisted by tables, illustrating the manner in which the particles are used by native authors. These corresponding particles remind us most forcibly of the corresponding particles of the Greek language. They are used very much in the same way; but they are more numerous, and sometimes less definable, although conveying a peculiar idea, the loss of which would be readily discovered by a good Chinese scholar.

With respect to the *expletives*, the Chinese themselves account it a considerable attainment to know how to use them aright. And pro-

bably no characters are more misused than these, in Christian books. The idea has often suggested itself, while reading Christian books, that the writer considered it necessary every now and then to round off a sentence with one of these expletives; and for the sake of varying his sentences, sometimes one expletive was used, and sometimes another. The idea may be uncharitable, but possibly its justness may appear to those who are able to appreciate it.

It may be well to observe, that our occasional strictures on the productions of Christian missionaries, in this paper, originate in a desire for their improvement. Those productions have done much good; they are still doing much good; and may God grant that they may yet accomplish a thousand-fold more. But we conceive it is perfectly consistent with such a desire, to point out those errors into which the writers have fallen; not for the sake of finding fault with them, but that others may avoid them; just as the mariner inserts upon his charts such shoals and rocks as he may fall in with; not that he likes to see his charts pourtrayed with dangers, but where they exist, he would have them laid down, in order that whoever consults those charts may be careful to avoid them.

ART. V. *The claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom, exhibited in notes of voyages made in* 1837, *from Canton, in the ship Morrison and brig Himmaleh, under the direction of the owners.* In 2 vols. New York, 1839.

SELDOM, indeed never until within a few years, have citizens of the United States of America engaged, beyond the Ganges, in any other enterprises than commercial. In these they have acted in character befiting alike their early ancestry and their present geographical position, and earned for themselves the reputation of thrifty and honorable merchants. There have been exceptions doubtless; but as a body they may justly claim rank with those of the most enlightened and most favored in modern times. To have gained this equality in China is no small attainment. For many years, this community of foreign merchants has consisted chiefly of men — enlightened, liberal, generous, honorable, in a degree not surpassed by any other in the east. We here speak of the whole body commercial; and we thus

speak because we believe it true, and because we fear, that in the condemnation of the traffic in opium, the character of this community will not be fairly estimated. That traffic has always seemed to us pregnant with evils; and were it possible for us, we would persuade all men to abandon both it and the use of the drug. Seeing what we have seen, we blame ourselves for not having done more to exhibit the evils — commercial, political, and moral — which flow from this noxious thing. It seems to have come into the land like a scourge, a curse; and it is now yielding its fruits — perplexity, vexation, strife, bloody contention, &c. Nor can any man see when or where these things will cease. But of one thing we think there is certainty — the foreign community resident in China will soon be free from this traffic; interest and duty alike require it; and we anticipate that, after existing difficulties are settled (if they are only settled as they ought to be) the foreign community will assume an attitude and character better than ever before. This anticipation is founded in the fact, that there are in this community, and connected with it, men who are ready to contribute largely for support of scientific and philanthropic objects. The donations for these objects, during the last few years, have been very munificent. And it was mainly and almost entirely for purposes like these that the two voyages were undertaken, notes of which compose the volumes now before us.

Having already given our readers copious accounts of those voyages, it is unnecessary now to go into a formal review of these volumes. We notice them, for the two-fold purpose — of recording our opinion of their value, and of recommending the prosecution of other voyages for similar purposes.

The first volume contains "Notes of the voyage of the Morrison, from Canton to Japan, by C. W. King," and two maps;— one exhibiting the whole of Japan, Lewchew, Formosa, the kingdom of Corea, and the maritime provinces of China; the other presents a more extended and particular view of the principal ports visited, namely Yédo and Kagosima. Both seem to have been carefully executed, and to be as accurate as possible from the information extant, for access was had to the best and latest surveys. The introduction to this volume comprises, in seventy-five pages, a succinct account of the intercourse which once subsisted between western nations and the Japanese empire, derived from the works of Charlevoix, Kæmpfer, Titsingh, Raffles, Krusenstern, &c. Then follow notes of — voyage to, and stay at, Napakiang — voyage to, and transactions in, the bay of Yédo — voyage to, and transactions in, the bay of Ka-

gosima—return to China, inferences from the voyage—conclusion—nautical memoranda and tables. The whole is written in an easy, perspicuous, and animated style. A single extract, taken from the conclusion of the book, will show well the style, spirit, and object of the whole.

"Abandoning, then, all reliance on repeated private movements, how stands the case between the *governments* of Japan and the U. States? It stands thus:—The former power confines its subjects to vessels of so bad a model, that every gale must be expected to drive many of them out to sea, where their crews must perish by shipwreck or famine, or meet, on some savage shore, a barbarous death, unless rescued by the interposition of European or American aid. Even if this be their apparently happier lot, what must become of these unfortunate men? Their unnatural government spares not whom the tempest has spared. They dare not return, even by stealth, to their homes. The charity which has rescued them must continue to support them, or throw them again upon the world, to suffer, perhaps, keener and more protracted miseries. What course would the government of the U. States have its citizens, in this remote part of the world, pursue in such a case? Shall they refuse to afford all assistance, or are they authorized to commend the miserable Japanese whom they may rescue, to a place on the pension list? It is not, however, with the harsh operation of the Japanese policy on its shipwrecked subjects, or with the more extensive injury it inflicts on its whole people, by depriving them of the benefits of foreign intercourse, that we are now concerned; our object being to ascertain its bearing on the people and government of the United States. And, in this point of view, I think it not difficult to show its pointed injustice, affording the strongest grounds for national remonstrance which can be conceived to exist. The truth is this:—More than two centuries ago the usurpers of the Japanese throne found, or pretended to find, something alarming or injurious to their dominions in the conduct or purposes of the Spaniards and Portuguese. At that time, the earliest of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were struggling to acquire a footing on the edge of the American wilderness. What had they to do with the malpractices of men of other nations in the opposite hemisphere? Why is the sentence of exclusion, passed upon the Spaniards and Portuguese of 1637, entailed upon us, the descendants of those western colonists, at the distance of two centuries. It is not true that this entail is a measure even of *impartial injustice.* There may have been strong reasons why a mixed feudal and ecclesiastical go-

vernment should resolve to root out Catholicism, and, in order to accomplish this, that it should interdict intercourse with all countries under papal domination. The long abandonment of their right to trade by the English, and still more their close alliance with Portugal, may be supposed to have afforded some ground for their exclusion also from Japan. And had the Dutch been included in the sweeping excision, posterity would have said that it was but a light sentence on the most rapacious of eastern adventurers, and honorable, compared with the assignment of a perpetual annuity of certain people on a limited trade, paid in prison, like a largess to an executioner, in memory of services which shame would bury in oblivion. Even the late rejection of a Russian embassy may be accounted for by a reference to the statements of its historians; or on the ground that Japanese jealousy would rather check than invite the advances of so powerful a neighbor. But that the only flag fired on in the harbors of Japan should be that of the only nation which maintains no church establishment; forms no offensive leagues; holds no foreign colonies; grasps at no Asiatic territory; and whose citizens present themselves, for the first time, at the gates of the capital, unarmed, and with every pledge of peaceful, humane, and generous intentions; that the American flag should be so dealt with without warning; nay, after the promises of protection and under the mask of friendship; is surely *partial* — a distinction that calls for acknowledgment in the name of the country. It may be urged, in opposition to this view of the subject, that we are unable to trace the causes of the hostile act referred to — that the report of disturbances, of incipient revolution in the country, may be true — that provocations may have been offered by American whalers — or that the repulses may have been the work of inferior officers, unauthorized by the supreme government. But if the first objection be true, it is highly important that an American officer be placed in readiness to exert an influence over a rising dynasty before its policy is hardened into rigidity, and while its weakness may incline it to draw support from foreign sources. In the second case, it is surely the duty of the proper department of the American executive to inquire into mal-practices, attended by results so serious as to degrade the national character, and to expose every unfortunate citizen who may be thrown on the Japanese coasts to the fate of Golownin, while it perpetuates the general exclusion. If such depredations have been committed, the aggrieved government will hardly refuse to answer such a call of inquiry when made with a direct view to ample reparation. If the last objection prove the true one, the court of Yédo can

as ill refuse to pass its censure on, as to disown, the late insult to the American flag; or, which is more important, to instruct the commanders of its coast-guard to take the trouble to inquire, what our ships come for, before it treats them as enemies, firing on them without provocation and without inquiry. I will not conceal my fears that the easy repulse of the Morrison will tempt the officers on the coasts of Japan to riddle every American ship which distress or any other cause may carry within the range of their guns; for, be it remembered, that the officer has only to report that he had evidence of hostile designs, and his cruelty and falsehood are sure to be rewarded by imperial favor, if his cupidity has not already been by plunder. If these fears have any foundation, it is further desirable that their grounds should be removed immediately. The people of Japan are now friendly; they boarded us with confidence when permitted, and were pleased with their frank and kind reception. They wept when their shipwrecked countrymen told their tale, and cried out, that the strangers who had come to restore them were angels. But should the canaille of Japan get a taste of American plunder, the friendly might be outnumbered by wreckers and robbers." *pp.* 171, 177.

Mr. King has only performed a bounden duty, we think, in recommending strongly to the consideration of his government at Washington, the propriety of early adopting measures for opening a friendly intercourse with Japan. We will not undertake to prove that the course which he has suggested is the best that could be devised; but that something ought to be done, and that soon, to prevent the recurrence of hostilities, on any and all vessels that may come on her coast, no one can deny. It is not right that a traveler should be repulsed, even from the door of a stranger, *vi et armis*, ere he has come within speaking distance, and had opportunity to make known the object of his visit. And what, in this instance, would be true of an individual, is strictly applicable to nations. There may indeed be danger, if measures are adopted and acted on, of running into extremes; but this danger may be easily avoided. Yet so long as the ships of the United States, and other nations, engage in the fisheries off the coasts of Japan, they will ever be liable to be thrown on those shores. Besides, it is not unlikely, as elsewhere hinted, that "whalers" have already gone intentionally to those shores, and committed outrages, the avenging of which so jeopardized the safety of the Morrison, and drove seven innocent men a second time into exile. Now to prevent the recurrence of such outrages, efficient measures ought speedily to be adopted and acted on.

We will only add here, before laying aside this volume, that those seven Japanese, since their return, have been provided for by foreigners, their fellow-passengers in the Morrison. Two of them have gone to the United States, as common sailors, in that vessel. A third is now in Manila with Mrs. Gutzlaff. Another is with Mr. Gutzlaff; and the other three are with Mr. Williams in Macao. By the aid of two of these men, and other helps, both Mr. Gutzlaff and Mr. Williams are daily prosecuting the study of the Japanese language.

The second volume contains "Notes made during the voyage of the Himmaleh in the Malayan Archipelago; by G. Tradescant Lay, naturalist in Beechey's expedition, and now agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for Eastern Asia." After an appropriate preface, apparently from the pen of the writer of the first volume, the object of the voyage and Mr. Lay's manner of writing are well exhibited in the opening paragraph of his book. He says—

"In laying before the public a few remarks and observations collected by the writer in his voyage, it is merely justice to state at the beginning, that the plan was drawn out, and the cost of the expedition sustained, by the owners of the American brig Himmaleh. Its object was to ascertain whether any opening could be discovered for missionary effort, to set on foot some kind of commercial understanding with Borneo Proper, and at the same time gather all the information we could of a religious, moral, and scientific nature; with the view of calling the attention of Christians on both sides of the Atlantic to this ill-used and most neglected portion of the globe. Impressed with the desirableness of the attempt, the author gladly accepted an invitation, and went on board the Himmaleh as a passenger in the expedition, to see what opportunities might be found for distributing the Scriptures, translating them into new and hitherto untried dialects; and, in a word, of promoting the simple but comprehensive views of the British and Foreign Bible Society. And as the same God who devised the plan of redemption, established the laws of creation, there can be no variance between the doctrines of revelation and the lessons of nature. Hence we thought it would prove neither useless to ourselves, nor unacceptable to the public, if the writer should bestow such attention upon natural researches as spirits, health, and leisure might enable him; especially as several years' experience has rendered such employment easy and familiar. The first part of our undertaking was to do immediate good by dispensing the word of God, and commending it to the hearts of the heathen by deeds of Christian kindness; the second was, to gather up some of

the results, and by them encourage and direct the minds of others. There have of late been many proofs given of a ready mind among the disciples of Chirst, and nothing appears to be necessary but to show in what way this readiness can be turned to the best account. Our voyage is over, and all the little good it was possible to do is finished; and now, in order to complete the second part of our undertaking, at the special request of the projectors of the voyage, I am going to cull, from notes and the records of my memory, such thoughts and pieces of information as may seem best calculated to interest and instruct. I shall not borrow much from my predecessors, and refer to little that did not come within the reach of my own observations. Had it not been for the instance of the respected partners of the house just referred to, I should not have written a book at so early a period, for my head and my heart are filled with prospects of the future; and most travelers defer the pleasure of putting their story in print till they return, where the charms of quietness, and the endearments of family and home, put the mind in the best frame for securing a lucid arrangement in the detail, and a harmonious fluency in the style and diction." *pp.* 1, 3.

We ought to have mentioned, before this, that this volume contains a map, on a moderate scale, of the whole Archipelago, extending on the north so as to include a part of Hainan, and including Timor with a part of New Guinea on the south and east. The map exhibits a variety of statistics, which enhance its value. Whether Mr. Lay's arrangement of the body of his book, into one unbroken succession of paragraphs, is better than the common method of division into chapters with a summary of the contents, we doubt; for ourselves we should much prefer the latter, which makes the reading easier and facilitates references to particular subjects. In the following paragraphs the character and condition of the *Bugis* in general, and of *woman* among them in particular, are, we think, well portrayed.

"Among the Bugis, we have a people who possess a spirit of enterprise, activity, and a love of freedom; qualities, indeed, which from the depravity of human nature, are often instruments of evil; but which under the benign influence of the gospel, become the moral channels through which good flows into the heart, and is from thence spread into the life of a human being. The holy Scriptures would supply a national basis for their literature, yield them the means of education, and sow the seeds of eternal life wherever they met with a true and honest heart, prepared by the grace of God to receive them. Several thousands live near the city of Macassar; but their home is

on the Bay of Boni, where a confederacy exists, which is a curious combination of despotism and liberty. For the hereditary sovereigns of eight states form a council for exercising the functions of government in the Union, and for the purpose of electing one of their number as president, und investing him with the executive department. The love and reverence for a particular family appears among these trustees of freedom; for the choice of president or Asunga is limited to a particular family. Each one of these counsellors appoints his own prime-minister for the regulation of pnblic matters in his own particular state, where his will is law in all questions of a private nature; while all that have a general and federal concernment, cannot be transacted but by and with the consent of the rest of his brother counsellors. Their encomiasts have decorated them with many high moral and intellectual qualities; while others, upon a closer acquaintance, have found them to be nothing but a set of cowardly knaves, who never act an honest part expect when compelled by fear, or allured to it by the prospect of gain. But travelers often deceive themselves, and lay up a stock of disappointment for another day, when they look for things which never spring but under circumstances most favorable for their growth. An unbounded and ever wakeful reference to their own peculiar interest is the moving cause that drives them to act contrary parts; but it is the native weed of the human heart, diverted and modified, but not diminished by either the sober seeming doctrines of Confucius, or the moral romances of Mohammed. The purer morals of the Attic sage, when they flowed down the silver stream of Grecian eloquence, might have charmed this passion into a momentary forgetfulness of itself; but nothing short of divine teaching can at first check, and ultimately exterminate, this cleaving mischief and pest of all sublunary virtue and happiness. It is something that we have not a lazy nation, nor one accused of drunkenness or riot; but an active, bold, and sagacious people, who will, I think, be not like the tree in the desert, which seeth not when good cometh."

"It cost the propagators of the Mohammedan faith more than a century to bring them to embrace the 'faith;' and it is a matter of rejoicing that they did not succeed in making polygamy fashionable, as at Borneo and other places; but the woman continues to be on a parity of condition with her husband, may be elected one of the *orang*, or members of the council, and after her marriage, retains her rights with such general allowance and recognition, that she sometimes governs her own province, while her lord is head of another.

without the slightest interference from that quarter. In my walks and visits from house to house, I saw many intimations of that respect and honor in which females are held among the natives of Celebes, and did not fail to note it as an evidence that sin had not deprived them of everything that was amiable in their character. Besides, I never can divest my mind of the recollection of the many great things which females, in more favored lands, have done towards the furtherance of Bible and missionary objects; and am glad to seize any glimpse of hope that the women in these dark and much neglected places will prove a blessing to their husbands and their children, by being among the first to lay hold on the truth whenever it shall be set before them. When we called upon a Bugis prince in the kampong Waju of Macassar, we found him sitting upon the floor; his leger spread before him and his wife close by his side; who, though her looks were youthful, seemed to be acting the parts of accountant and confidential clerk, and doubtless took an equal share of interest in all the mercantile speculations of her partner. In the South Sea islands, and in those of which we are speaking, it is customary, when two or more persons walk together, for them to follow each other, and if one is more honorable than the rest, he takes the first place; hence my servant, when he wished to know whether I required him to go with me in any of my excursions, would say, "Shall your servant follow?" Now, in Macassar, when I met a company of persons of both sexes coming to town, or returning into the country, the females always walked before, while the males followed as a mark of respect; nor was it an uncommon occurrence to see the females mounted on horseback, while their husbands or male friends performed the humbler duties of groom by leading the animal.

"One evening I fell in with a party of youths, who were very desirous to obtain some of my books; but finding that none could read, I showed some reluctance to part with them. While I was talking with them, the mistress of a little cottage hard by, sent a child to bid one of the number ask me for a book, which he did in a tone that implied his respect for the individual, and his confidence that such a request would not be denied. They all assured me, with one voice, that she could read, of which I had some little proof; for she soon discovered, rather to my surprise, that I had given her only one half of the work, and sent in haste to beg the other. On another occasion, whilst I was straying amongst the shady walks of a distant village, I met with a man who remembered the taking of Macassar by the English, and who endeavored to entertain me with a descrip-

tion of the several actions and skirmishes he had witnessed. When I showed him a book in the Bugis character, his countenance seemed full of delight and admiration; nor did he keep his joy to himself, but after a glance or two called his wife to share in it, with an inimitable tone of tenderness and esteem, evincing that he considered her as the partner of all his joys, as well as of all his sorrows. He then read aloud, for the benefit of the neighbors, who began to cluster around us; but as Bugis was not his native language, he now and then faltered, when his wife set him right; he adopted her corrections with extreme complacency, and at last, when he was so bent upon giving me two little pieces of money in requital for my books that he would not listen to my refusal, the gentle assurances of his companion that they must be treated as presents, went so far with him, that all the money was soon restored to its lodging in the box from which it had been taken." *pp.* 28, 34.

No intelligent reader can carefully perure Mr. Lay's book without pleasure and profit. Great versatility, good taste, and erudition are displayed in its pages; and we sincerely hope that these qualities will be employed in behalf of China. When Mr. Lay left this country, it was his intention to write copiously on several topics of Chinese literature and science; and he took along with him a large collection of native books, to enable him to carry out this purpose. From the volume before us, we should like to quote on several topics; yet two must suffice. The first is the native governments of the Archipelago.

"In all Malay governments, there are certain persons called *mantri*, or privy counsellors, many of whom, if not all, are so constituted by special appointment. These are certain grave and reverend bodies, who visit the palace towards the decline of day, and sit down before the sultan in a thoughtful posture, as if they were musing deeply upon some important question of state. Let us take a sample, to show us how far we may be warranted sometimes in drawing conclusions from appearances only. We may conceive that the subject of one day's consideration is propounded in the following terms: "My lord, I went betimes this morning into the recess at the back of my throne, which is occupied by the white men, where I saw this charming piece of printed cotton as it was suspended by a cord; I forthwith asked whose it was, whereupon the doctor said, 'it belongs to my lord the sultan.' I then demanded 'who gave it to him?' 'The captain gave it to him,' was the reply." No question, of course, arose out of this which might rob any counsellor of a night's rest; still every one was bound to regard it as a circumstance highly curious and interesting. And, to tell the truth, it had more interest

than perhaps the reader was prepared to expect; for he had paid a certain sum of dollars in purchase of the self-same piece of cloth the last thing he did before he retired to rest, which was two or three hours after midnight; a fact which he suppressed for the sake of telling a story, as he had a memory too retentive to forget a matter that so nearly concerned his own interest. The freaks of a man, however, who had done his best to abuse the good gifts of a natural understanding, were chiefly confined to the palace; for the minister had put a hook in his nose, and so kept him from doing the mischief abroad which his folly or his avarice might prompt him to. A levee was an amusing sight; on one hand you might see the minister, in person a small man, sitting with a demure countenance at a most respectful distance, and now and then uttering some expressions in a subdued and plaintive strain. On the other, the sultan, with a proud stare mingled with a wild anxiety, who felt these soft words to be severe strictures upon his behavior, coming, too, from a man who expected that they should not only be felt, but be considered as cautions for regulating his conduct in future. He resembled an animal with one foot in a trap, who would fain change his uneasy position with no less cost than the loss of a limb.

"The minister, to whom we have referred more than once, is the chief executive officer in the state. The distinction between him and the sultan was very concisely made by a brother of the latter in conversation with myself and fellow-traveler one evening. 'The one speaks, and the other acts.' The entire control and management of all public matters are placed in the hands of the latter, who, from the advantage of such a situation, when a man of talent like Muda Hasim, can enact his own pleasure, and so leave the sultan a mere pompous trifle, surrounded, indeed, with the habiliments of war and majesty, but destitute of any real power or authority. We see a large hall of assembly, a throne, and a large gong, with a hide stretched over the end of a hollow tree, which hangs in a shed at the end of a long jetty, that its deep tone may not be broken by conflicting echoes. His liege subjects are at times summoned by the sound of this instrument, in conformity with the Malayan custom; when we may suppose him seated upon his throne, in the midst of his guards, while everything is done to impress them with a sense of his royal magnificence. At other times his counsellors sit at his feet; the chieftains pay frequent visits of respect, and the *orang kaya*, or great men of the realm, who live at a distance, wait upon him from time to time But in the midst of much real respect for his person and office,

and a thousand usages of ceremony observed with the most scrupulous attention, he seems to be only free to do evil; he can harass any part of his people, or put a chief to death, because his own person is sacred; but for any benefit that he might wish to confer upon the general welfare, he is solely dependent upon the wisdom and integrity of his minister. Such, if we reason truly, is a kingly denomination; without a free constitution and a virtuous community, it may do as much mischief as it pleases, but to do good it hath no might." *p.* 172.

The last part of the book is occupied with remarks on meteorology, music, and natural history. From the latter, we make one extract, with which we dismiss the volume. It relates to the *Cassia alata.*

"In all the warmer climates, a collector is sure to find a species of Cassia, should he find nothing else to requite his toils, especially if he is traveling near the sea-shore. In South America, the Indian Archipelago, the peninsula of Malacca, and in China, I have found this observation true; and have reason to believe that it is the case in places where I have not had the pleasure of making the inquiry of an eye-witness. The species are generally recognized by winged leaflets, yellow flowers with irregular stamens, and pods that have always something peculiar and different from the rest. The frequency of their occurrence is apt to make them but lightly esteemed, and the botanist throws a Cassia into his box with as much indifference as if it were a dock or a thistle. And yet there is not, perhaps, a single individual belonging to the old Linnæan genus, Cassia, as retained by Decandolle, which amounts to two hundred and eleven, that is not possessed of some active qualities, and such as might be servicable to man in some of the most common forms of disease. The one before us bids fair to be of the highest importance as a specific for the ringworm, a disease that spreads so much alarm in our families and schools. Whence it is called by the French *dartrier*, or the plant that cures the *dartre*, or ringworm. If the pounded leaves, when applied to the diseased parts, are efficacious in removing such unsightly and painful disorders as the various species of porrigo, it would be worth the gardener's while to have the shrub ever growing in his hot-house or conservatory. The Malays call it *goling-gang*, or *daim kurap*, on account of its being applied to a certain class of cutaneous disorders. At Zamboanga, they call it *capurco*, and say that it is highly useful, when applied in a pounded form, as a remedy for swellings in the abdomen. The governor of that place, it seems, being one of those invalids who exhaust the apothecary's list of remedies long before they get rid of disease, was resolved to try one of the

native medicines, which happened to be the one in question; it was laid upon the abdomen, and had such an effect that the sensation seemed to pass through him. I have not seen it tried, but imagine that its properties are highly diuretic. When it fails in the hand of a native, it may be owing to the fact that he overlooks the constitutional irritation which kindles the malady afresh. It is a handsome shrub, with a spike of large yellow flowers, which display themselves at the top of the foliage. The leaves, compounded of leaflets, disposed in a winged manner, are large, and have a peculiar neatness in their contour. It grows very commonly in Malacca, and in most places in the Indian Archipelago; and is a favorite in the gardens at Singapore. In Mindanao it is very plentiful. Its specific name, *alata*, or winged, was given to it on account of the four edges, or thin expanded corners that decorate the pod" *pp.* 283, 285.

To the Christian philanthropist, to the enterprising merchant, and to the lover of nature, the Indian Archipelago affords an inviting prospect, with a numerous and growing population, where the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms teem with valuable productions. It is probably the greatest and the richest Archipelago in the world. Early this year a gentleman from England, in a small vessel of his own, entered that field as naturalist, for purposes of research. Within the last twelve months, the town of *Victoria* has been founded at or near Port Essington. Others will rise erelong, and like Singapore and Victoria, grow rapidly. In the meantime, as the teachers of divine truth cultivate and improve the mental resources of the people, a new literature will spring up rich, lovely, and charming, like the scenery that adorns those hills and dales, now so seldom visited by civilized men. Under the influences of revealed truth — the truth of God — with the enjoyment of freedom and protection, the improvement of the islanders will surely advance. A few pioneers, some from Europe and some from America, have already taken their positions, and commenced the work of instruction. Those stations, and the numbers who occupy them, will steadily increase from year to year. Voyages, like that which the Himmaleh was '*designed to be*,' and which in part it was, will do much good. With her, fire-arms and opium were the only articles tabued. To the islanders, the good people of Holland owe much; and next to them, the people of the U. States seem called on to act for the benefit of the Malays, Bugis, Dayaks, &c. To the native inhabitants of India the people of Great Britain owe more than they can pay; and seeing this, they encourage the coöperation of all who love their fellow-men Once, and that

not long ago, they forbade their coming. Now they invite them to come, and aid and support them in the diffusion of knowledge and in the promulgation of truth. The press is free; evil, even in high places, is checked; error and superstition are exposed; and millions of the poor and ignorant rejoice in their meliorated condition. So we hope it will soon be throughout all Netherlands India.

ART. VI. *An account of the visit of the French frigate Artemise to the Sandwich Islands.* By J. J. JARVES, esq., resident at Honolulu, Oahu.

[We copy this article from the Hawaiian Spectator, volume second, number three, for July last. We extract only that part of the article, as it stands in the Spectator, which contains official documents with such remarks of Mr. Jarves as are necessary to understand the manner in which the visit was conducted. In regard to the statements made by Mr. J. in these remarks concerning the official proceedings, "it is proper to observe that they were derived from two intelligent natives of rank, present on the occasion to which they refer." Will Louis Philippe next give Taoukwang a treaty of commerce and amity, and demand of him a site for a chapel? Where was the French flag last March and April, while sundry foreigners were shut up in Canton? Was there no Frenchman among them? In Cochinchina and in Tongking, during the last year or two (see page 336), have Frenchmen suffered less than in the Sandwich Islands? The French government is not wont to act with partiality, nor without sufficient evidence and reason to justify its conduct. We doubt whether the charge of *perfidy*, against a certain class of individuals, is just, or can be sustained by impartial evidence. However, the citizens of the United States have no great reason to fear that the French government will do them intentional wrong; and we do not doubt that, in due time, every necessary explanation will be given respecting the late visit. The persons named as "perfidious counsellors," if not guilty, will enjoy for the time being the conscious pleasure of innocence, with the full assurance that no obloquy will blacken their characters, when the whole truth is known to the world.]

THE French frigate Artemise, capt. Laplace commander, arrived at Oahu July 9th, commissioned to settle the difficulties existing between the government of France and the king of the Sandwich Islands. The purport of the visit is best set forth in the subjoined manifesto, as published in the Sandwich Island Gazette, July 13th, 1839, addressed by capt. Laplace in the name of his government to the king of the Sandwich Islands.

"His majesty, the king of the French, having commanded me to come to Honolulu in order to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill treat-

ment to which the French have been victims at the Sandwich Islands. I hasten, first, to employ this last means as the most conformable to the political, noble, and liberal system pursued by France against the powerless, hoping thereby that I shall make the principal chiefs of these islands understand how fatal the conduct which they pursue towards her, will be to their interests, and perhaps cause disasters to them and to their country, should they be obstinate in their perseverance. Misled by perfidious counsellors, deceived by the excessive indulgence which the French government has extended towards them for several years, they are undoubtedly ignorant how potent it is, and that in the world there is not a power which is capable of preventing it from punishing its enemies; otherwise they would have endeavored to merit its favor, or, not to incur its displeasure, as they have done in ill treating the French. They would have faithfully put into execution the treaties, in place of violating them as soon as the fear disappeared, as well as the ships of war which had caused it, whereby bad intentions had been constrained. In fine they will comprehend that to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from this archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.

"It is, without doubt, the formal intention of France that the king of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power which he considers his ally; but she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilized nations. Now, amongst the latter there is not even one which does not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions; and yet, at the Sandwich Islands, the French are not allowed publicly the exercise of theirs, while Protestants enjoy therein the most extensive privileges; for these all favors, for those the most cruel persecutions. Such a state of affairs, being contrary to the laws of nations, insulting to those of Catholics, can no longer continue, and I am sent to put an end to it. Consequently, I demand in the name of my government,

'1st. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the king of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

'2d. That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government at Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

'3d. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries be immediately set at liberty.

'4th. That the king of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of l'Artemise, the sum of twenty thousand dollars as a guaranty of his future conduct toward France, which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

'5th. That the treaty signed by the king of the Sandwich Islands, as well

as the sum above mentioned, be conveyed on board the frigate l Artemuse by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and also, that the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns, which will be returned by the frigate.'

"These are the equitable conditions, at the price of which, the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France. I am induced to hope, that, understanding better how necessary it is for the prosperity of his people and the preservation of his power, he will remain in peace with the whole world, and hasten to subscribe to them, and thus imitate the laudable example which the queen of Tahiti has given in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions; but, if contrary to my expectation, it should be otherwise, and the king and principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, led on by bad counsellors, refuse to sign the treaty which I present, war will immediately commence, and all the devastations, all the calamities, which may be the unhappy but necessary results, will be imputed to themselves alone, and they must also pay the losses which the aggrieved foreigners, in these circumstances, shall have a right to reclaim.

"The 10th July, (9th according to date here) 1839. Capt. of the French frigate l'Artemise. (Signed) C. LAPLACE."

At the same time the following official letter from captain Laplace, also published in the Gazette, was sent to the British consul:—

"Monsieur, le Consul,—Having been sent by my government to put an end to the ill-treatment, to which, under the false pretexts of Catholicity, the French have been subjected for several years in this Archipelago, my intention is to commence hostilities the 13th July, (which is the twelfth of your date) at 12 A. M. against the king of the Sandwich Islands, should he refuse to accede immediately to the just condition of the treaty presented by me, the clause of which I explain in the manifesto, of which I have the honor of sending you a copy. Should this chief, contrary to my expectation, persist in his blindness, or to express myself more plainly, to follow the advice of interested connsellors to deceive himself, I will be constrained in this case, to employ the strong means of force, which I have at my disposition. I consider it my duty to inform you, Monsieur le Consul, that I offer asylum and protection on board the frigate l'Artemise to those of your compatriots, who may apprehend danger, under these circumstances, on the part of the natives, either for their persons or property.

"Receive, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of the very distinguished considerations of your devoted servant; Post captain, commanding the ship l'Artemise." C. LAPLACE.

A similar communication was sent to the American consul, with this addition;

"I do not, however, include in this class, the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and

are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country."

After these communications were sent ashore, the harbor was declared in a state of blockade. A vessel was sent to Maui with dispatches for the king, requesting his appearance; while Haalilio, his secretary, remained on board the frigate as a hostage for his arrival. At the request of her excellency Kekauluohi, the date for commencing hostilities was prolonged to Monday the 15th, on account of his majesty's absence. Much excitement prevailed in the meanwhile, both among natives and foreign residents. Reports having been spread that bands of lawless men from among the lower classes of the natives, were prepared to take advantage of any confusion which might arise, to attack and pillage all exposed property, the foreign residents assembled and organized themselves into a body for mutual defense. What arms could be procured were placed in readiness, and the Seamen's chapel selected for a rendezvous in case of emergency. Owing to the vigorous measures taken by the government to maintain order among its subjects, the town remained perfectly quiet, while every assurance was given to the residents by the island authorities, of their good feeling and willingness to cooperate in any reasonable plan for their protection.

His majesty not having arrived by Saturday the 13th, colonel Kekuanaoa, acting governor of Oahu, delivered the sum demanded on board the Artemise, also the treaty, (according to the manifesto,) signed by the governess, Kekauluohi, and himself, in behalf of their sovereign. In the meantime, the French flag was saluted from the fort by twenty one guns, which were immediately returned. The king arrived at 9 o'clock the next morning, and immediately landed At 11 o'clock, a military mass was celebrated on shore, in a straw house belonging to the king, attended by captain Laplace, escorted by a company of one hundred and fifty men, with fixed bayonets, and martial music. All fears of hostilities having now subsided, the usual courtesies were exchanged with the foreign residents, and on Wednesday, his majesty and suite visited the Artemise, and were received with the customary honors. On the same day the following treaty of commerce and amity was signed between the contracting parties:

"ART. 1st. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the king of the French and the king of the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 2d. The French shall be protected in an effectual manner in their

persons and property by the king of the Sandwich Islands, who shall also grant them an authorization sufficient so as to enable them juridically to prosecute his subjects against whom they will have just reclamations to make.

"ART. 3d. This protection shall be extended to French ships and to their crews and officers. In case of shipwreck, the chief and inhabitants of the various parts of the archipelago shall assist them and protect them from pillage. The indemnities for salvage shall be regulated, in cases of difficulty, by arbiters selected by both parties.

"ART. 4th. No Frenchmen accused of any crime whatever shall be tried, except by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the French consul, and approved of by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 5th. The desertion of sailors belonging to French ships shall be strictly prevented by the local authorities, who shall employ every disposable means to arrest deserters, and the expenses of the capture shall be paid by the captain or owners of the aforesaid ships according to the tariff adopted by the other nations.

"ART. 6th. French merchandises or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and *eaux de vies* (brandy), cannot be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than 5 per cent. *ad valorem*.

"ART. 7th No tonnage or importation duties shall be exacted from French merchants, unless they are paid by the subjects of the nation the most favored in its commerce with the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 8th. The subjects of king Tamehameha III. shall have a right in the French possessions to all the advantages which the French enjoy at the Sandwich Islands, and they shall moreover be considered as belonging to the most favored nation in their commercial relations with France.

"Made and signed by the contracting parties the 17th July, 1839.

(Signed) TAMEHAMEHA III.
C. LAPLACE."

Early in the morning of the 20th the frigate sailed. It is perhaps premature to hazard an opinion upon the final results of this visit, but we cannot close this article without a few remarks upon the exciting occurrences it called forth. We shall not enter into a discussion at present upon the merits or demerits of the American missionaries in the Catholic persecution, or in their alleged connexion with the Sandwich Islands' government. That may be made the subject of future investigation. But we cannot pass over in silence the clause in capt. Laplace's communication to the American consul, excluding Protestant American clergy from all protection in case of hostilities. We complain not that they were refused an asylum on board a French frigate, neither because they were missionaries, but because they were American citizens denounced from *ex parte* evidence, considered as constituting a part of the native population, and selected as the special objects of attack, in what was officially threatened to be a war of

extermination. As such it must meet with unqualified condemnation from all enlightened persons. The Sandwich Islands' missionaries are American citizens, holding passports under the broad seal of the United States, and, having such, are entitled to the protection of their own country, and the friendly courtesies of other governments. A French frigate arrives at Oahu, with orders to declare war if her demands are not complied with. The commander selects a number of American citizens, scattered over the various islands, peaceably pursuing honorable avocations, and holding a large amount of property, belonging to three chartered corporations in the United States, in their hands: charges them with being the authors of the alleged insults to France, and points them and their families out as special objects of vengeance. He would not only let loose the horrors of a savage war upon defenceless women and children, but blacken their memory with obloquy. * * *

Such is a brief analysis of this treaty, which was brought to the king on Tuesday the 16th, at five, o'clock, P. M., and he was told that if it was not signed by breakfast time next morning, *such* a representation should be made to the French government, that they would send a larger force, and take possession of the islands. The king requested time to advise with his chiefs—but the threat was repeated, and he, fearing the consequences which he was led to expect would be the result, signed it; and in affixing his signature to that document, has virtually signed away his power, as a sovereign, to regulate his own affairs. A precedent is now set for any demands, however unjust, if there be sufficient force to back them, but we trust that when all the circumstances of the case are made known, no European power will sanction the like injustice. We have every reason to believe that his majesty is willing to grant all privileges to foreigners, which are consistent with the rights and interests of his own subjects, and how can we, as lovers of our own native lands, condemn such a policy in him, even if it does not meet with the enlightened views of those whose advantages have been greater? If the residence in their country, of the whites prove a real advantage to the natives, the government will not be slow to perceive it, and we can look forward to the establishment of such a liberal policy, as will concentrate the interests of all who reside on the islands. This done, a young and vigorous nation, amalgamated from and friendly to all others, may grow up, with free ports, and preserving a strict neutrality, best preserve that independence of power, which the nations of Europe profess to be anxious to conserve. To effect this, judicious

aid and counsel must be given by this guardian alliance. A few such lessons as the past, will certainly show the value of civilization, though it may fail to convince them of its justice and impartiality. There are men, in whom self-interest or love of country, has an all-powerful influence in blunting their moral perceptions; or to express it in the forcible language of Dr. Channing, "The tie of country is thought to absolve men from the obligations of universal justice and humanity; statesmen and rulers are expected to build up their country at the expense of others; and in the false patriotism of the citizen, they have a security for any outrages, which are sanctioned by success."

The demands, as set forth in the manifesto, were not required as a right, but as a punishment for past offenses, and it is to the credit of France, that it was so expressed. In the light which Louis Philippe viewed the transactions, which called for such an act of power, they were just, though a statement of all the facts, would probably have modified them. Toleration is due from all governments to their subjects, and we rejoice in the event, though we deplore the means by which it was consummated.

After a criminal has endured the punishment prescribed by laws he is considered free, and such all supposed would be the case with this nation. By complying with these "equitable conditions," "the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve the friendship of France." How was the friendship shown? By fresh demands, and renewed threats. There was a bitter sarcasm in the inquiry, his majesty made to captain Laplace—when he asked him "If this was the friendship promised? If he called this peace?" The moral has gone deep into the hearts of the chiefs, but their honors are pledged to the fullfilment of the terms; and fearful will be the penalty, judging from the past, if broken.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Battle at Chuenpe; cannonading at Hongkong; removal of the fleet to Tungkoo; manifesto from the high commissioner, governor, and lt.-governor of Canton stopping the British trade; edicts, &c.; opium traffic in Lombock and Siam.*

MONTH after month the progress of public events here has been from bad to worse. We intended to offer our readers a few remarks, in a separate article, on the prospect and probable consequences of—what now seems almost inevitable—a war between the Chinese and English This we may do perhaps in our next

number. Great damage has been sustained by both parties, and each has on record heavy charges against the other. Demands will be pressed, which will be neither really granted by the one, nor abandoned by the other. And then probably will come a trial of strength. The action on the third instant was caused in this way. The destruction of vessels, and the seizure of persons, were threatened. Those charged with the protection of these vessels and persons requested the withdrawal of the threats. The request was denied; and at the same time twenty-nine armed vessels bore down upon the two frigates. Three junks were sunk (one being blown up), and one was deserted. The action took place off Chuenpe, soon after noon on the 3d instant. On one side there was no loss of life, nor any serious damage sustained; on the other the loss and damage could not have been small.

A few days subsequently, a heavy cannonading was opened by the Chinese on the vessels anchored at Hongkong; this was subsequently to their having been ordered to Tungkoo.

Respecting the removal of the ships, a correspondence has appeared between the superintendent and the British merchants and commanders,—the latter preferring the old anchorage.

A manifesto from their excellencies, commissioner Lin, governor Tang, lieut.-governor E, and the hoppo Yu, has just appeared, dated Nov. 26th, declaring that the trade with the England, from and after the 6th of Dec., 1839, will be stopped for ever—excepting only two ships, viz. the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon.

Several edicts have been made public since our last number went to press; two are subjoined; the others we will endeavor to give next month.

No. 1. Lin, high imperial commissioner, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., &c., and Tang governor of the two Kwang provinces, &c., &c., hereby conjointly issue this proclamation, that all men may know and understand.

Whereas the merchant ships belonging to the English nation which have arrived at Kwangtung in the course of the present year, have not for a long time entered the port; this leading to the people of the said ships involving themselves in very unpleasant consequences: and whereas Elliot has lately petitioned us, requesting us to examine and search each individual ship to see that she has no opium on board, and has offered to give a bond to that effect, specifying therein each ship by name: all this is just as it ought to be. Now, in consequence of this, we, the said commissioner and viceroy, intend granting you a double quantum of kindness and compassion, and will conduct ourselves towards you with clearness and discrimination. Those ships then which feel disposed to grant the bond according to the form and model prescribed, will immediately be permitted to trade as usual; it will be unnecessary to examine and search further; but if they decline to give such bond, then we must take these said ships and bring them up to Shako (or Chuenpe), where they will be duly searched. The following is the process to be observed in the searching. The foreign merchant, to whom the ship and cargo belongs, must take the goods of his ship, and transfer them entirely to a skinned (empty?) vessel (lying alongside); then a weiyuen or specially appointed officer shall take the goods that have been so transferred, and check off and examine them one by one, as they are being repassed from the said skinned ship to the said vessel's empty hold. If any opium be found, then he (or we) shall take the smuggling criminal and put him to death, according to law, and the whole of the said ship's cargo shall be confiscated. If, however, the ship have no opium, then she shall be permitted to carry on trade as before: if the said ship wishes to proceed to Whampoa, then there is no necessity to consult or debate further upon the subject, but if she does not wish to go up to Whampoa, still must she pay the same duties and port-charges as if she had gone there: and whether the said foreigners would prefer taking charge of their own goods (i. e. by proceeding in person to Canton), or whether they would prefer consigning them to the hong merchants to be realized for their account, this is to be left entirely to the option of the said foreign merchants. If the ships will not sign the bond, neither consent to be thus examined and searched, then it is quite evident that such ships have got opium on board, and in such case we shall most assuredly not suffer them to smuggle and sell their drug, but shall limit three days within which every one of them shall be driven forth to go back to their

country. If, after the three days are expired, they still continue to loiter about, then most certainly shall we cause fire-ships to sail among them, and utterly burn these said vessels, thus depriving them of the power to do evil! As regards the time and circumstance of the *search* above alluded to, such search and inspection shall be conducted by officers of government *in their own person*, so that upon no account can there be any stowing away of the plunder (i. e. the forbidden drug), in order to involve innocent persons in the net of the law (i. e. by falsely swearing that they had *found* opium on board, when the searchers *themselves* had put it there, a practice too common in China). Then again, in the case of life and death (the murder of Lin Weihe), we have already clearly examined, and we lay the responsibility upon Elliot alone, that he inquire out [and deliver up] the principal murderer; *this affair has no connections with, or involves no other ship or person.* By our going to work in this way and drawing those clear lines of distinction, we may be said to be even going beyond the bounds of intelligent discrimination itself! So as regards Elliot; what great difficulty can he have in distinguishing between the good and the bad foreign merchants, that these may not be permitted to involve those in the consequences of their guilt! After this all the merchant vessels can come to Canton, no matter whether they have this time signed the bond or not, or been this time searched or not, they must all alike give a bond *in due form.* As regards the form or wording of the bond, the same has already been written out clearly and distinctly in both the foreign and Chinese character, and a copy of the same has been sent to Elliot, that he in his turn send it (to his countrymen), that they may conform thereto accordingly. Any merchant vessel of any country whatever, for every time that she may come to Canton to trade, shall every time grant one such bond: if unwilling to grant a bond, or if the bond be not drawn out in exact conformity with the form given, then such ship will on no account be permitted to trade, and if she offer opposition or procrastinate and delay, then will she be assuredly burned and destroyed! Summing up the whole then, we the imperial commissioner and viceroy, tell you one thousand times, and ten thousand times, that *the opium trade must be cut off for ever:* every day that opium continues to come, every day shall we not rest employing our hands against you; therefore after this, do ye foreigners, take your smuggling of opium ideas, and give them to the winds to all eternity! If ye dare again to scheme after this clandestine traffic, *we shall most certainly put you to death according to the new law,* and what then will your after-repentance avail you? And, moreover, after the issuing of these (distinct) commands, we have got nothing further to say to you! (i. e. we shall give you no more warnings.) A special proclamation! Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, and 3d day. Bocca Tigris, 9th October, 1839. (See Canton Register, Oct. 29th.)

No. 2. Yu, prefect of Nanheung chow, &c., &c., and Tseäng, keunmin foo at Macao, &c., officers of the celestial empire, address this communication, in consequence of an official reply received, commanding to return.

It is on record that we, in concert with the hong merchants, enjoined on the superintendent and all the foreign merchants commands, that bonds should be given in accordance with the prescribed form, and that they should proceed to Whampoa to trade. It appeared afterwards, from the said hong merchants' representation, that the superintendent and the foreign merchants were unwilling to give bonds in accordance with the prescribed form, but were willing to request permits to proceed to Anunghoy, and submit to a removal and thorough search of their cargoes. In conformity with these statements, we transmitted a report, and have this moment received the following reply thereto from the high commissioner.

"When I, the commissioner, upon the 20th of Sept., first issued my commands, I set down in order these three things in the prior place—the surrender of opium, the delivering up of the murderer, and the sending home of the empty store-ships and the depraved foreigners. In all such parts of my commands as related to the entrance of the vessels, I stated, that if they should act obediently in each of the three preceding particulars, it would then not be difficult to determine the granting of favors. Let me ask now, if, at

this moment, these three particulars have indeed been duly arranged! And though it may be said that there is no opium to be surrendered, and that the depraved foreigners and the empty store-ships are being sent home,—how is it that the principal murderer in a most important case of homicide has been set aside as not to be inquired about? If indeed the said foreigners were to give the bonds in accordance with the prescribed form, it might yet be suffered that time should be allowed to arrange that matter. But now, while it is far otherwise, how shall the granting of permits be at once sanctioned!

"Moreover, in my commands of the 9th of Oct., and proclamation of the same date, it was declared, 'that this was a modification beyond the bounds of rule, granted upon the present occasion, in consideration for the protracted delay which all the vessels had suffered: that vessels hereafter arriving would all be required to execute an obligation in accordance with the form prescribed: that if not according to the form, they should upon no terms whatever be admitted to trade.' But from what the foreign merchants now declare, it seems that hereafter also they will be equally unwilling to execute the obligation: that their idea is to continue selling opium. To what end then will searching the cargoes upon the present occasion tend!

"Regarding the crowding back to Macao of the foreign merchants and their families, how can any encroaching be allowed, or indulgence shown, while these matters are yet in confusion? I require you immediately, in concert with the commodore of Heängshan, and my deputed officer Le Suh, to act faithfully in driving them forth, and to urge the Portuguese foreigners to join also in pushing them out of Macao. Their stay must not be suffered.

"The cargo ships which do not give the bonds on this occasion must yet, in accordance with my former commands, be interrogated, whether or not they will give the bond according to the prescribed form upon the next occasion, and they must be required severally to give certificates. Such as will express their willingness to give the bond may on the present occasion be allowed to await search. If they are unwilling, on any after occasion to give the bond, it will be better that they should on this occasion return home, and they shall be required within three days to take their departure; they must not be allowed to stay hesitating, and indulging idle expectations. To such the keunmin foo must not presume to give permits.

"Regarding the murderer in the case of homicide, Elliot must still, as in my former reply, be required to send up for trial the five men detained by him. If he continues to oppose and delay, I must call upon the naval commander-in-chief to proceed, at the head of his war vessels and fire-ships, as also of the land soldiery encamped at all the various points of ingress, that they may aid in seizing the murderous foreigner, making it imperative on them to bring him up for trial and punishment; and at the same time to search for and apprehend all the traitorous Chinese in shelter and concealment on board the various ships. And when they are brought to submission, it will then be time to consider of regulations for their search and admission into the port. I, the commissioner, am sworn on behalf of the celestial empire to remove utterly this root of misery, nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again."

We have also received the following reply from the governor:

"I find that Elliot, having with all the foreigners repaired to Macao, to deliberate, the hong merchants distinctly warned and instructed them, relative to the difficulties attending the removal of the cargoes, and the injury that must result therefrom. The whole tribe of those foreigners cannot be entirely without men of intelligence. How, then is it, that in consequence of Elliot keeping them out they willingly conform to his wishes; and when Daniell, as a bystander, gave them advice, they still held obstinately to their

previous determination! This proceeding of Elliot, holding all in bondage to his single opinion, is most detestable!

"The object of requiring the cargo ships to execute the obligation, and proceed to Whampoa, is to cut off entirely the introduction of opium in them. If they cannot give the bond in accordance with the form, then it needs no words to show that they are craftily scheming to screen themselves for a season: and to this how can any approaches be suffered, by admitting them into Whampoa to trade? Besides, the words, 'the parties immediately executed,' inserted in this form of bond, have reference to such foreigners as may bring opium. If they indeed being none, and execute the obligation in the prescribed form, they are then good foreigners, keepers of the law, and will assuredly not be causelessly involved in trouble. What loss or hurt will they then suffer? With reference to the removal and searching of the cargoes, not only are there the difficulties of transport, which may readily give rise to injury and loss; but also, though on the present occasion a temporary discharge of cargoes be obtained, this is not by any means a good measure for a continued course of trade.

"Of late, from Kwanghae on the west coast, and from Pinghae and Kesih on the east coast, reports have been forwarded of foreign vessels sailing about or lying at anchor. It is manifest that the ships at Hongkong, in consequence of the permission to trade upon their undergoing search, have sent away their opium to be secretly conveyed for sale to the eastward and westward, between which proceeding and the selling it at Hongkong there is no difference. But if, the obligation not being entered into according to the forms prescribed, vessels simply submit to the search, not only in such case will the parties who bring the opium be taken and executed whenever any is found on board of these searched ships, but also, whenever it is by seizure ascertained that opium has been put on board any boats to be sent to the eastern or western coast of China, in quest of a market, it shall be inquired who brought it, and in that event also the very foreigner shall be taken and executed. It will be vain foolishly to expect indulgence or remission, on the pretext of the vessel having previously undergone search. I require that these considerations be severely and strictly impressed, in a clear proclamation."

Having received these commands, and finding that there have been repeated orders from their excellencies placing in succession, in the prior place, these three things — the surrender of the opium, the delivering up of the murderer, and the sending back of the empty store-ships and the depraved foreigners: if, indeed, in each of these three particulars, obedience were paid, then in regard to the cargo vessels, and the proceeding to Whampoa, it would be possible to give consideration, and in a measure to grant favors. But at this time, the newly arrived opium has none of it been delivered, nor has the murderous foreigner been given up, and even as regards the depraved foreigners that are to be expelled, one of them, Stanford yet remains, — of the store-ships, two, the Ruparell and the Jane, still delay to take their departure,— while the three reported as rotten, the Austen, Thistle and Coral, have not yet left Hongkong, to seek for opportunity of being sold and broken up. Thus instance upon instance is given of unwarrantable trifling and delay.

That the merchant vessels, after giving the bond, should get permission to proceed to Whampoa, was ruled, with the view of preventing the introduction in them of opium. It being apprehended that the foreigners entertained fears and anxieties, their excellencies were graciously pleased to issue clear and perspicuous orders, showing that, should opium be discovered, except the taking and executing of the depraved foreigners who imported it, none others

should be involved so that the good and the evil might be distinguished. The commands afterwards issued, allowing search (as a substitute for the bond), was in consequence of the superintendent's representation, that if it were absolutely necessary to execute obligations according to the form prescribed, it would be requisite to wait till the arrival of letters from his sovereign before he could comply. The high officers, feeling indulgent consideration for the ships with cargoes that had so long remained at anchor on the deep sea, and having apprehension that the cargoes might become spoiled or injured by mold, made a modified arrangement, beyond bounds of rule, from motives of compassion towards the foreign merchants. But it now appears that the said superintendent's statement,—that it is requisite to wait for letters from his sovereign before complying,—is not to be believed. For if it be necessary to wait for letters from his sovereign before giving such bonds, how is it that the ship Thomas Coutts has already given the bond, according to the prescribed form, and proceeded to Whampoa? Are not then, the ship-master and shippers on this vessel men of your English nation? It is plain that with regard to this ship Thomas Coutts, the self-confidence that there was no opium brought in her, made the parties upright in their principle, strong in spirits, without fear or anxiety. And as soon as the deputed officers had made search and found that there was no cause to detain or trouble her, the bond was executed; and no sooner did she arrive than she obtained her passport, and was at liberty to proceed to Whampoa. How direct and speedy! How respectable! We imagine, that all the foreign merchants, fully knowing that such would have been the treatment, would have found no difficulty in paying obedience. But Elliot obstinately adhering to his own views, has deceived and stirred up into contumacy and disobedience all the foreign merchants. Yet can there not be wholly wanting among all of them as many as one or two men of intelligence: but only because the substitution of search has been allowed, they hope to scheme clandestinely to transport, and so effect sales of their opium, little thinking that whenever it shall be seized, it will be ascertained what foreigner has brought it, and such foreigner shall be taken and executed. How can he, on the ground that his vessel has undergone seach, be so lucky as to escape from the net of the law? It is clear, that the cargo-ships, if they really are not guilty of having brought opium, may at once execute the bond in the form required, without trouble or impediment to themselves. If guilty of bringing opium and sending it off for sale, though they should not execute the bond, yet when it is otherwise discovered, they will incur heavy punishment. Thus the two expressions, 'ship and cargo confiscated,' and 'the parties immediately excecuted,' have reference specially to depraved foreigners who introduce opium. Such as are really good foreigners, conducting an honorable trade, why should they be over anxious? As compared with the searching, which involves both much waste of time, and also the difficulties of transportation, leading readily to injury and loss, is it not far more speedy and convenient to give the bond in the form required?

As regards the various matters, the arrangement of which is at present commanded, none have yet been rightly arranged. How then can the various foreigners crowd back to Macao; and what is still more improper, some have brought back their families. While we write to the commodore of Heang-shan, and the deputed officer, the sub-prefect, Le, that they may expel them, we also copy the replies of their excellencies, requiring acquaintance with them. As soon as this communication reaches the said superintendent, let him immediately pay obedience to the matter of their excellencies' replies, and speedily deliver up at once the murderous foreigner, let him also send home all of the depraved foreigners and opium store-ships. If the cargo ships will

give the required form of bond in the same manner as Warner's ship has done, they shall then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. Such as are unwilling to give the bond and proceed to Whampoa, are required within three days to start off home. All the foreigners and foreign women are instantly to leave. In none of these particulars, let any idle expectations be indulged, causing procrastination, and so involving seizure and investigation. Let the said superintendent report to us the measures he will take in obedience hereto, that we may report the same for thorough arrangement. Be speedy! Be speedy! A special communication.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, 20th day. (October, 26th, 1839.)

Siam. Private letters from Bangkok informs us that inoculation there has been greatly extended, during the last season; some ten thousand or more, principally in the palace and in the families of the nobles, have been inoculated by Dr. Bradley; for which his "magnificent majesty," has been pleased to present him 240 ticals as a token of his royal regards. From one of the letters, we quote the following on the subject of opium.

"His majesty has lately issued a new edict against the introduction and use of opium in this kingdom, and requested the use of our press to print it. We have printed at his expense, and according to his request, 10,000 copies. The immediate cause of this new edict was the following. Three large boats or proas loaded with opium from Singapore, armed and containing about 30 Chinamen each, were heard to be selling it at out places on the Gulf. The Siamese hearing this sent to take them; the smugglers fired upon the Siamese, who returned the fire, and killed 7 men, and took one of the boats. On investigating the matter, the king found a great number of his subjects were connected in purchasing opium. About the same time a number of junks recently from China had full cargoes of opium. Officers were sent into every town and village to investigate the subject. His majesty issued his edict, in which he offered pardon to those who had opium, on condition they would deliver it up to be burned, and threatened death to all who should hereafter either buy or use it. For nearly two months, his officers have been scouring the country, and numbers have been thrown into prison for endeavoring to secrete the drug. The king seems determined to free the country of this drug, at all hazards. We pity the poor creatures who have been accustomed to use it, but cannot but rejoice at the prospect of the removal of so great an evil. His majesty, however, has permitted a very small quantity to be restored to those who cannot break off the use of it immediately, but gives them to understand, that when it is gone they are to have no more for ever. Two or three ships from Singapore, &c. happening to come up at the time having, as was said, opium were obliged to secrete it and take it back. The opium business is not yet completed; new discoveries are daily made, and for a number of days past, it is said the burning of the precious drug has gone on at a great rate."

Lombock. Over the signature of the resident councillor, T. Church, Singapore 4th September, 1839, the following *governmental notification* has been published for general information. A "true extract of a letter from the chief of Silaparang to the address of the resident councillor.

"This is to inform you, our friend the Resident councillor of Singapore beforehand, so that he need not be startled to find the use of opium forbidden at Silaparang (Lombock) because a deal of trouble and disturbance has been occasioned by that article in this country. If any foreigner brings opium after the beginning of the next European year, whether by prow or ship it will be seized, and he will be fined double the value of the opium. We now earnestly request our friend, the resident councillor, that whenever any person shall be about to bring opium hither, whether by prow or ship, not to permit it, because our decree is established. Written on the 10th day of the month of Radia-al-Akhir, on Saturday, at 3 o'clock P. M. in the year 1255 (1839.)"

(True extract.) (Signed) T. CHURCH. *Resident councillor.*

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ART. I. *The Shoo King, or Book of Records; its character, antiquity, and summary of its contents.* By a Correspondent.

THIS is the most ancient book known amongst the Chinese. Its contents being considered sacred, any efforts of ours, as critics, to praise so elaborate a performance, would be considered as useless, and perhaps only lower the opinion of the learned respecting this famous history. If we were to speak about the style with all its innate beauties, though it has always appeared to us a little too laconic, we should only repeat what others have said long ago. To tell the patient reader, that the great mass of Chinese writers have formed their diction according to its pattern, would convey little knowledge. Yet notwithstanding, being thus forestalled by wiser heads than our own, we have had for many years a very strong desire of reviewing this work, and introducing barbarians into the ancient lore of the Chinese. For this we have also our reasons, which will appear at the end of the essay, and in the meanwhile we shall only inform the world, that we are ambitious of the honor of an *antiquary*, and to this end we examine, as the story goes, the most ancient book in the world. We shall also try to say something new, to avoid becoming tedious.

The grand object of the Shoo King is to convey a picture of the good olden times, when the number of the wicked was as small as in our days is that of the virtuous. The first question which naturally arises is, how was the book composed? The answer invariably given is, from ancient records, by the prince of literature Confucius.

People of a prying disposition are not satisfied with this summary account, and on investigating the matter, they will find, that the origin of this wonderful work, like all old stories, is enveloped in a good deal of obscurity. For the discrepancies and unconnected parts, the learned give credit to that mischievous burner of books Che hwangte, who completely swept away all ancient lore, so as to leave only one copy of the Shoo King hidden in a wall, whilst an old gray-headed scholar repeated the whole by heart. From these two sources, this precious relic was again restored to the world.

Now if Kung-tsze really copied from ancient records, we should have felt obliged, if he had indicated the names; if from bamboo slips, on which the books were then written, he might have hinted it; if on the contrary, he transmitted this history to the world from tradition, an honest avowal would have settled the matter. In the absence of all this information, we have the liberty of guessing, and do not scruple to tell the reader, that the sage filled many a page with his own thoughts, whilst he ascribes the same with great humility to old Yaou and Shun. This may pass as a pious fraud, of which there is so much in this world; this, however, being admitted, we ought no longer to think of reading of the times of Abraham, but transport ourselves to the fifth century before Christ, when the sage flourished. What, however, becomes then of the history contained in this book? To this we reply, that it is not at all improbable, that the names of many princes or chiefs, that lived in the times of yore were not entirely forgotten, and that whatever was transmitted by tradition, though erroneous in many respects, might still have been retained, as the only account preserved amongst the nation.

Some general remarks may here be in their place. A great deal of vanity induced the first Chinese writers to refer to antiquity as the source from whence their opinions flowed. History, therefore, could not possibly be the recital of events which had passed only a few centuries ago, but had to be led back to ages of which the memory had long been buried in oblivion. The first who gave the example was Confucius, and from his compilations all that the Chinese possess of ancient history is derived He dwells in this book diffusely upon the first reigns of his heroes Yaou and Shun, does not mention even the names of all the princes of the Heä dynasty, and then again launches forward in the praise of Woo wang and Wan wang, who overthrew the reigning family and established the Shang line of princes. Then again we must be satisfied with short notices, until the Chow rulers engage his eloquence, and finishes witl Ping

wang, a ruler of that family, 770 B. C. These annals, therefore, comprise a period of about 1435 years, not including Yaou and Shun, and impartiality will assign to them as much credibility as it gives to all other histories, wtih records events 500 years before our era. The Chinese monarchy is not older than the Persian, unless the existence of small principalities, and the reign of some enterprizing chiefs deserves that name. We cannot compare the Shoo King to anything better than to the fragments from whence Herodotus derived his history of Asia. The greater part of the work is in dialogue, and every subject is treated with so much brevity, that a hunded questions arise spontaneously, which though faithfully answered by the commentators, still leave much to desire. Being, however, the only work of this description, it is sacred to every true son of Han, and he would much easier be led to doubt the existence of the sun, than the veracity of the Shoo King, and we therefore must carefully hide our scepticism for fear of giving offense. As we, however, write for the edification of barbarians, we may be allowed to add something more.

To have carried history to such remote antiquity might have satisfied every moderate speculator. Just suppose a historian of the present day, writing the history of the United States, and beginning with a sachem, something similar to Yaou and Shun, setting up and destroying dynasties, until the time when the first intruders from Europe arrived in the distant west. Would you call this a faithful history of America, that so many names méntioned were actually borne by some chiefs some centuries ago? But no more of this. Szema Tseën, the first professed historian of China, goes still further, though he lived as late as a century before our era, and commences with Hwang te, the yellow emperor, that lived long before Yaou, about the time of Lamech, and the declining age of Adam. His commentator, Szema Ching, considered it necessary to improve upon such an excellent pattern, and therefore recedes some centuries, and commences with Fuhhe. Upon this, Lew Taouyuen, a writer of the middle ages, improves, and tells the world, that history ought to commence 2,227,000 years before Confucius with Pwankoo. Another, supported by the priests of Taou, very modestly asserts, that the above scholar must be in the wrong, because 96,961,740 years had already elapsed, when the sage made his appearance in the world. Having thus given a fair specimen of the antiquity of this monarchy, we leave the reader to judge for himself, satisfied ourselves that its existence cannot be placed before the great empires of western Asia.

This matter being thus satisfactorily settled to our own mind, we proceed to tell the reader, that in writing this essay we intended to give him a general idea of its contents, and shall not therefore be slow in quoting the most striking passages. Here we only remark, that the work is divided into four books; the firs contains the history of Yaou and Shun, the second that of Heä, the third of Shang, and the fourth of Chow, until Ping wang. The book opens in the following manner.

"It is said, if an examination be instituted about the ancient emperor Yaou, you will confess, that his merits were vast, that he was respectful, clever, decorous, prudent, perfectly at his ease, truly courteous and striving to be humble, and that the lustre of his merits spread everywhere to the utmost extent. Being, therefore, celebrated and eminent for his virtues, he thereby promoted the relationship between the various families; and these living in harmony, the peace of the nation was confirmed. Whilst the people exhibited these qualities, all countries were kept in good understanding. The black haired people thus reformed, they lived in mutual good understanding. He also ordered He and Ho to pay regard to the glorious heavens, and to make astronomical calculations respecting the sun, moon, and stars, in order to report to the people regarding the seasons."

This specimen may satisfy the most scrupulous anti-sinologue, that Yaou was a gentleman as accomplished as Lewis XIV., and that he moreover was a reformer, an honor for which few kings are anxious. But one of his most meritorious actions was, that he pacified the world, not like Napoleon who waged war merely for the love of peace, but like a man who knew what he was about, by making families harmonize, and transferring the same benefit to the nation, and from thence upon all countries. Had he lived in our enlightened times, he might have done the honorable Company a great service, by thus influencing their Nípálese, Burman, and Persian majesties, who are not overfond of quietness.

What honor does the wise Yaou confer upon astronomy? From this early notice of this science, we really conclude, that the ancient Chinese were no whit behind the Chaldeans and Egyptians, likely for the same reasons. Yet we believe that the correctness of these calculations, of which we have in the Shoo King an instance, and in the Chun Tsew, a chronological work of Confucius, a series of eclipses, cannot be valued higher than those of the above nations. Yet notwithstanding the royal patronage, these scholars occasionally neglected their duty. For this they were severely reprehended, but during a subsequent reign got so exasperated on account of the censure passed upon them, that they rose in open rebellion. They appear to

have been popular leaders, whom a great many of the nation favored. The emperor, therefore, had to march an army of 20,000 men in order to quell the insubordination of two astronomers. The year, according to the regulation of these worthies, was to consist of 366 days, the whole to be divided into four seasons, and an intercalary month to be inserted, in order to equalize the four parts of the year. This being satisfactorily arranged, Yaou held council with his grandees, in order to choose proper persons for the various employments of government. Above all he wished to have an able man intrusted with the repair of the ravages occasioned by the deluge. Though the opinions at first differed, as is always the case, even in a king's council, yet Yaou declared in favor of Shun. Here we shall again resume our extracts.

"It is said, that in examining into the life of the ancient emperor Shun, one perceives that he was very illustrious and resembled the emperor Yaou. His deep penetration, courteousness, cleverness, affability, respectful behavior, solidity of charactor, and exalted virtue, raised his fame and caused the decree which put him on the throne."

His first measure, during the life of the celebrated Yaou, was to offer sacrifices to the supreme emperor, the mountains, hills, and rivers. The worship bestowed upon these natural objects of veneration followed the service of the Supreme Being. When, however, the nation became more refined, and their taste as well as manners vitiated, polytheism, with all its absurdities, found favor with the Chinese, as well as with the most polished nations of the west. Even the most intelligent Chinese worthies are not free from an imputation of having practiced idolatry. After the performance of this important duty, he sat down and compiled a criminal code, the principles of which remain the same until this day. When the death of his venerable compeer made him sole arbiter of the empire, he became at once legislator, as well as the executor of the law. To banish vice from the country, he exiled disorderly persons, and whilst administering a severe punishment, he at the same time gave the poor barbarians, amongst whom the civilized culprits were living, an opportunity to improve in their manners by the force of example. He then completely regulated his government upon a new footing; not however to his own ideas, but after a mature consultation with his counsellors, and then made regular tours to inspect the officers, in order to ascertain how far they performed their duty. Amongst other institutions, he created an office for the promotion of music, in which he himself was an adept. The air he invented charmed the very

beasts of the forest, and it may safely be inferred, that it also enchanted his subjects. His successor Yu was nominated by himself and the ministers of the cabinet. From hence it appears, that the Chinese monarchy was at first elective, a prerogative now bestowed upon the monarch alone, who without consulting his ministers, as did his venerable patterns, makes choice of a successor after the pleasure of his own heart.

The chapter bearing the name of Yu is full of salutary maxims, of which we shall quote a few.

"Yih, one of the ministers said, take heed, be careful and you will escape much pain. Do not offend against the laws, do not give yourself up to amusement, do not become a votary of pleasure. When conferring an office upon a worthy man, do not retract your word. Never hesitate to remove depraved people. Plans of a doubtful nature, do not execute, and whatsoever you resolve upon, will prove prosperous. If you wish to be popular, do not act in defiance of the wishes of the nation, and follow your own desires. By not being negligent and indifferent in the performance of your duty, you will induce barbarians from all quarters to come to you. Yu said, consider that virtue is the basis of a good government, and that it is the duty of the administration to provide for the wants of the people, that they may have water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and corn sufficient for their use. Preserve their morals, and provide richly for their wants. These are nine points, the observance of which constitutes the merits of a prince. Let these nine objects be recorded in popular songs. Influence them by bestowing suitable praise, instruct them with authority; exhort them by these nine ditties, and you will thus preserve the nation."

A great deal is contained in these sayings, and if one or other of the princes would take the trouble of following them, he would soon discover, that Yu and his minister were practically acquainted with the art of governing. One rule requires our peculiar attention, viz. to convey this sage advice into popular songs, and thus make the nation at large acquainted with the spirit that actuates government. The collection of the She King or Book of Odes is a sufficient proof of the fondness with which the ancient Chinese embodied their thoughts in short stanzas, that were sung by every body. They were also accustomed to pass praise or blame upon the administration, and in fact to give full vent to their feelings by singing. It was not at all extraordinary, that ministers and princes drew a conclusion from the songs that were in vogue, upon the public opinion regarding their measures. Trivial as it might appear, it has frequently given rise to the most important events, and guided the principal actors in taking a resolution. Now Yu was perfectly aware that if he could make his

government so popular as to render it the burden of a song, he would have a strong hold upon the affections of the people, and hence he was so very anxious to have these ditties properly composed.

If the maxims contained in this book were not uttered by Yu himself, they do great honor to the composer, for they contain the purest morality mixed with much good sense. Yu appears here in the most amiable light, and always asks the opinions of his ministers, before he ventures to show his own sagacity. So much was he beloved by the nation, that when he wished to surrender the government of the empire, like his two predecessors, to the most worthy of his ministers, his son and heir was considered, by the general assent of the nation, as voted to be emperor.

Having been employed in dividing the country, after having drained the marshes occasioned by the deluge, he investigated the soil, accurately examined into the productions, and drew up accordingly a catalogue of the tribute, which was to be paid by the respective districts. Upon this geographical account all similar descriptions compiled by the natives have been founded, and how imperfect soever, it gives one a tolerable idea of the celestial empire in ancient times. A map has been accordingly drawn, it is rude and imperfect, but perhaps the first delineation of a country, as Yu's are the first original statistical tabbs ever presented to the world. Princes, however, appear to have been in all ages of the same mind, and when they give themselves a great trouble about their country, it is with the view of benefiting themselves. Thus also in this case. The accuracy of the description claimed an equal accuracy in the discharge of tribute. In the enumeration of these articles, we find many curious articles; amongst others, precious stones and pearls, which proves, that the people, who lived immediately after the deluge, were very rich.

The reign of his son opened with a declaration of war against a rebel. He called together his vassals, and then declared, that heaven had resolved upon the destruction of the unnatural rebel. The language is strong and powerful, but we are not told whether the exploits corresponded with the bravado. There is, however, something very remarkable in the wars of the ancient Chinese, which may deserve imitation. Whenever two armies came in contact, the two commanders-in-chief challenged one another to single combat, whilst the remainder of the army quietly awaited the issue. When one had fallen another would take his place and fight on. The battle was thus frequently decided without much loss of life, for the party that

had lost most of its champions retired in confusion. Now this is a very gentle mode of settling disputes and saves many innocent beings, who would never have thought of drawing a sword for mutual destruction, and may therefore be safely recommended. There is some hint in the text, which shows, that this mode of fighting must have been in vogue at that time.

His successor was not aware, that the power of virtue impressed upon the minds of the people by his grandfather Yu was evanescent. Having spent one hundred days in hunting, one of his vassals took possession of the imperial territory. His five brothers therefore followed their mother to the place of the exiled monarch, and each of them repeated in his presence a song of Yu, in which this wise statesman had described the ruin of a prince. These stanzas are very sensible, and deserve to be written in letters of gold in every royal cabinet. We are not informed, however, what was the effect; a circumstance which more and more inclines us to think, that the Shoo King is a collection of excellent maxims, which have been conveniently arranged under the different reigns.

No other remarkable circumstances occur, except the revolt of the two astronomers above noticed. The eclipse here spoken off, upon which the antiquity of Chinese history turns as on a pivot, places, according to the calculations of modern astronomers, the first year of Chungkang 2155 years B. C. We shall not dwell upon a subject upon which so much has been already written, but only remark here, that if no other reasons can be brought forward, the authenticity rests upon a foundation of sand. Considering, that the calculations themselves do not agree, that the notice is very slight, and that the Chinese would never have laid so much stress upon the matter, if foreigners had not seized upon this circumstance to blazon the fact to the world.

All the latter reigns, from Tseäng 2146, until Keě Kwei 1767 B. C., are not mentioned in the Shoo King, and how other historians could have made up this gap, we are unable to tell, there being no other authentic document extant. The third part of this work commences with the declaration of Chingtang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, against the last wicked prince of the Heä family. These few lines belong to the most pathetic in sentiment, as well as in expression.

"Listen, all come hither and hear my words; how can I a little child dare create trouble; but since the dynasty of Heä has committed many crimes, heaven has issued a decree for its extirpation. All of you say,

our prince has no compassion upon us; we therefore leave our harvest, in order to punish the Heä dynasty. I therefore only listen to your words; the Heä family is guilty, but I fear the Most High, and dare not but act justly. Help me, a single man, to execute the punishment of heaven, and I shall richly reward you for this. Remain faithful to me, and I shall not break my word. If you, however, come not up to your oath, I shall kill you and your families without mercy."

Though the hero proved successful in his endeavors, and completely overcame the race of Heä, he still found some twinges of conscience, which disturbed the quiet possession of the throne. For this purpose, he held long and edifying conversations with his minister, and whilst explaining his views listened to his advice. He was a extraordinary man, who strictly personified the ancient emperors. There is, however, nothing so extraordinary as his righting the barbarians by invading their country. If he turned to the north, those to the south would complain, that he was so long in coming to assault their country. This was surely waging war for the benefit of the world, and it would be well, if the heroes of the present time would imitate Chingtang.

His grandson, however, was by no means equal to the task of ruling an empire, and the minister of state, in whose charge he was, therefore, endeavored to give him salutary instructions, and as he neglected to receive them, he was imprisoned, until he gave the most speaking proofs of his sincerity. These sage counsels fill no less than three chapters, not including the foregoing ones, which are entirely the gift of the minister. If the maxims laid down here can be put into practice, a government will possess considerable strength, and obtain a firm hold upon the love of the people. Like many other theories this also has to be tried, and its excellency be determined by the practicability of the execution. As they, however, stand in the book, we must not refuse the meed of praise due to every enterprise of rendering a nation happy.

From Wuhting, 1720 B. C. to Yangkea, 1408, not the slighest hint is given in the Shoo King, and we must consider these fourteen emperors as mere nonentities, whose names are inserted in other histories of a less ancient date to parade before the reader.

The thread of discourse is again resumed with Pwan kăng. This ruler suggested to his loving subjects the idea of removing the capital, and as they were not willing to comply with his commands, he adduced the will of heaven, as the great cause which had prevailed upon him to adopt this step. But as this did not seem to be a sufficient

reason for this stubborn race, he quoted old custom, and it then appeared that his ancestors had five times changed their abode, and why should he not do the same! As none deigned a reply, it is very probable, that they followed his directions. Being, however, once in a mood of imparting admonition, he went on to talk with the magistrates about their duties, and also assured the people that he was quite independent of every body. His colony having arrived at the new court, he immediately broached his lessons of wisdom.

"The Most High has given lustre to the grandsire of our family; he will grant protection to the empire. I shall, therefore, co-operate with my faithful subjects to preserve the life of my people, and to establish once for all my abode in this city. Instead of heaping up riches, endeavor to prove meritorious, and thus to lay a foundation for the peace of the nation."

Two of his successors seem to have spoken nothing worth recording. Wooting, about 1324 B. C., began to make good the silence of his predecessors, by a greater share of loquacity. In order to prepare himself for his discourses he kept silence for no less than three years, mourning the death of his parent. When finally the ministers grew quite impatient, and urged him to open his mouth, he waited until he was directed in a dream to choose a worthy minister from amongst the people. He having safely arrived at court, the emperor said unto him, "Be unto me what a whetstone is to metal, an oar when passing a large river, and a shower of rain during great drought." With this celebrated man he entertained himself, and the chapter is full of rational talk. The great object of these counsels was to make of this prince another Yaou or Shun, and if there was one single personage in the empire suffering, or one city not enjoying happiness, he would consider himself guilty of having caused all this misery. This is taking too much upon one's self; but all the emperors in China have repeatedly in theory borne the crimes of the nation, and derived great fame for their conscientiousness.

From these delightful dialogues we are on a sudden called to the announcement of the approaching ruin of the Shang dynasty. A faithful minister had witnessed the vices of the court, and uttered his bitter complaints. But the warning voice was raised too late, the hearts of the people were alienated, and the champion of the rights of the people had already approached to expel by main force the monster that sat on the Chinese throne. We are thus arrived at the last book of the Shoo King, the dialogues held by the princes of Chow. Woo wang, the founder of this illustrious house, used the same reasons to prove to the world, that the Shang dynasty must

cease to reign, as Chingtang before him had done regarding the preceding one. His first charge, is too great severity and cruelty towards the people. The last scion of this devoted race dared to involve whole families in the crimes of individuals, and had moreover conferred hereditary office upon several magistrates, a thing in diametrical opposition to the constitution of the celestial empire. He was more lavish in his expenditure, and above all neglected to serve the Most High,—an unpardonable crime in those days. Taking therefore the whole into consideration, Woo resolved to put an end to these abuses, and at an assembly of the commonalty, he declared that heaven had ordered his father, and subsequently himself, to maintain the rights of the people; and he added,

"Mark, heaven protects the nation, and appoints men to become its princes and teachers; but these are only the ministers of the Most High 上帝 to promote everywhere tranquillity, and to distinguish the guilty from the guiltless. Can I then prove disobedient to his will? The measure of the crimes of the house of Shang is full, heaven's decree for their extirpation is past, and should I myself not act in obedience thereto, I should become their accomplice."

A great deal of this apparent piety is obliterated in the following pages, where the hero tells us, that he was going to sacrifice to the Most High and to the earth. 'Only assist me,' he added, 'and heaven will accord the wishes of the people, and I shall be enabled to establish everlasting tranquillity throughout the four seas,—do not on any account lose this opportunity.' This was then H. M's. maiden speech before all the lords and gentlemen assembled. The government of China seems to have been, in ancient times, a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. We hear our new king next lecturing the soldiers, who had flocked to his standards, upon that important chapter, virtue. There are few addresses of Napoleon to his army equal to these two. They most strongly prove, that the leader knew what soldiers are, and how perfectly he understood to work upon their passions. With these valiant hosts, he marched forward, and when arriving in sight of the imperial army, the soldiers of that division turned their arms against each other. Having annihilated themselves, Woo wang took possession of the empire, and with great wisdom divided the kingdom amongst wise and approved ministers, and so effectually swayed the empire, that all the wounds inflicted during the last misrule were soon healed, and the nation began again to revive, 1045 B. C. This detail is the only historical part which we have yet found in the Shoo King. Confucius, who lived under this

dynasty, was naturally anxious to add as much lustre to its grandsire, as his writings could prove, and he is, therefore, in this instance more diffuse. His administration was supported by a wise and powerful minister, who was thoroughly persuaded of the divine right of kings, and therefore did not fail to inculcate this important lesson upon his royal master. In other respects, he teaches him thoroughly the art of king, how a ruler ought to feel the pulse of the nation, to observe prognostics, and also consult the stars. Virtue and vice greatly influence the order of the universe; rain, dew, dearth, and plenty, may thus be procured by a prince for the nation over whom he rules, and the only requisite is to be virtuous. Some strangers had made a present of a dog to the new sovereign; a circumstance that produced a whole chapter of remonstrance against the introduction of foreign commodities. Do not make much of these things, the counsellor said, and the foreigners themselves will come to offer them at an advantageous price. Now this was quite so as it is still to-day.

Amidst his manifold labors, however, Woo wang fell sick. The consternation was general, and none was so much touched as a near relation of the monarch. What was now to be done? In this great extremity, the ministers remembered, that there was a mysterious casket, in which the lot of dynasties was contained. This they therefore opened, and having found, that the whole had a favorable issue, all were consoled and confidence as well as general joy restored. The prince who thus inquired after his fate, made a vow that he was quite ready to die for such an excellent prince. This devotion seems to have had the most happy effect, and the cure was effected with wonderful speed. For all this, however, he was accused of the blackest crimes. When the punishment was announced, heaven declared in favor of the innocent, a dreadful tempest arose, and the calamity was not assuaged before the sovereign himself had made a public declaration in favor of his meritorious minister.

Hitherto we have only had the axioms of statesmen, but Ching wang, 1115 B. C., himself becomes orator. Some of the descendants of the Shang dynasty had endeavored to assert their right to the throne, and he was therefore anxious to engage the loyalty of his good officers to resist the usurpation. The antagonist of the emperor was speedily put down, and the monarch acted most generously by bestowing a principality upon the fallen rebel, but he gave him also many good lessons, how to establish an excellent government. Another long chapter of admonition, addressed to a prince by Woo wang, follows. For all those who wish to rule, the perusal may be of ex-

tensive use; Fenelon could not have written more edifyingly when he was instructing his royal pupil. As perhaps none of my readers, however, are called to govern a nation, we will not insert these remarks, and now go over to a chapter containing the maxims against the introduction of *liquor*.

During the latter end of the Shang dynasty, when dissoluteness and libertinism generally gained the upper hand, a kind of *distilled liquor* had been invented in the capital. When therefore a relation of Woo wang received the control of this district, the king deemed it necessary to give him very strict directions respecting this liquor. This beverage, he said, ought only to be used at sacrifices; in consequence of its being drunk to excess, whole kingdoms have been subverted. Men who work hard, and strictly perform their duty, ought to be treated with indulgence. Others who are apprehended when intoxicated ought to be taken up. Do not, however, punish, but instruct them. If they profit by your exhortation, reward them; if they turn a deaf ear to your admonition, condemn them to death, without mercy or reprieve. To this, other salutary advice is added; and a variety of directions for promoting agriculture and every branch of industry, the whole well worth reading. In all these papers, mercy is always recommended in preference to justice.

In the arrangement of some chapters, chronological order has been much neglected, and it is on that account that some speeches, which were delivered in a preceding reign, are put before others of a much later date. That which is generally known under the name of Lo-kaou is an address of a minister at the coronation of Ching wang, the successor of Woo wang. There is much frankness in this harangue; the prince is told some very severe truths, and he is directed to study the welfare of the people, as the first and most necessary of all the duties. No British corporation could possibly have presented a better congratulatory paper to the young queen, than this veteran statesman. Whilst he, however, gives his admonition in the words of command, he professes the most devotional regard towards his young master, and prostrates himself before H. M., and promising to render himself and all the people virtuous. This was certainly a noble undertaking.

During the reign of Ching wang, there lived one of the wisest men, a very celebrated statesman called Chow kung. He considered it a most important object to instruct the monarch, and moreover to civilize the nation. To effect the first, he held long speeches, and compiled a code of rites, full of the most amusing remarks. The first

have been faithfully preserved in the Shoo King, and though they contain nothing new, they only confirm, that all the politicians of China thought about the art of governing in the same manner. His praise is very high, and he ranks amongst the worthies who are worshiped to the present day in the imperial pantheon. Exasperated against the previous rulers, and bound by the ties of consanguinity to the emperor, he exerted himself much to insure the loyalty of the new subjects. They were at first reluctant to obey their new master, but Chow kung's affability, joined to an earnest desire of conferring benefits upon the nation, conciliated their goodwill. He was, however, not content with merely giving his advice to the people, but most effectually dissuaded the king from giving himself up to pleasure, and cited the example of the unfortunate princes of Shang, who fell victims to their follies, whilst others by their virtues prolonged their lives and confirmed their rule. When one of the ancient ministers wished to leave the court, of which he constituted the principal ornament, Chow kung did his utmost to retain him. His persuasion was powerful and effectual, and has on that account been preserved in the Shoo King.

Notwithstanding, however, the constant care bestowed upon the government, the people were still dissatisfied, and Ching wang therefore told them, once for all, if they would not attend to kind words, he would exercise the power intrusted to him by heaven, and punish them severely for their disobedience and mutinous disposition. In order to effect this purpose, a new code of laws was issued, and a number of remarks published by the ministers to prove the excellency of this measure. A new list of officers was drawn up, and every department received its proper administrator. All this was effected by the wisdom of Chow kung, a man who is said to have been versed in all the sciences of the age, and that he was particularly well acquainted with astronomy. On his death, another worthy man was nominated in his stead, and a whole chapter of the Shoo King contains the instructions about his proceedings.

Ching wang, after a reign of thirty-seven years, fell suddenly ill. His pains increasing every day, he saw his end approaching, and having called all the grandees round his bed, he gave them his last advice. He puts the most favorable construction upon his reign, and advises his son and heir to treat foreigners with indulgence, to instruct those who are near his person, and to maintain peace throughout the world. After his death, he was buried with great ceremony, which has been faithfully described in the Shoo King.

Kang wang, the young successor, immediately delivered a speech to the grandees and vassals assembled at court, and showed the necessity of conforming to the ancient statutes, whilst he himself promised to imitate his predecessors. Unlike all other young rulers, he retained the old minister, who during four successive reigns had held the helm of the state. He was at that time more than 120 years of age, but still possessed sufficient perception to understand an eulogy which the young monarch addressed to him. The Chinese emperors are very fond of old ministers: witness Taoukwang's cabinet, where you may see hoary heads of eighty. Though this gives a very venerable aspect to the councils of princes, we doubt whether any decrepit old man is able to endure the fatigues, and whether the said apparent ministers have not favorites who perform their duties in their stead.

The remaining part of the Shoo King contains a repetition of Woo wang's sage maxims. All the princes of this line were anxious to embody the principles of their grandsire, and therefore have his name constantly in their mouths. They are at the same time very loud in deploring the degeneracy of the age, and look back with great delight to centuries past, when all the world was actuated by virtuous principles. Amongst the celebrated princes of Chow, Muh wang holds a very conspicuous place. When he was 100 years of age, he announced to the world, that he was going to issue a penal code, the result of much experience. To render, however, the new ordinances more important, the monarch cites the example of venerable Yaou, who was shocked by the inhuman punishments inflicted by one of his contemporaries. Mercy ought thus to be the basis of the penal code. No man who cannot be fully convicted of his crime ought to be punished. In most cases redemption money may be received from the culprit. The execution of the law ought not to be hampered by judical difficulties, and the sophism of attorneys. The hints laid down in these regulations are at present the foundation of Chinese legislation, and the traces may be found throughout the Ta Tsing Leuh Le. So much is the nation wedded to antiquity.

The thread of history is henceforth lost, 946–770 B. C., until the reign of Ping wang. This prince was sorely pressed by some barbarian tribes, and therefore invoked the aid of one of his relations, who had been appointed a hereditary vassal by one of his ancestors. This address concludes the historical part of the Shoo King; the remaining two chapters refer to two tributary princes, who in time of danger promulgated some wise regulations. With the conclusion of the work, the chronology of history may be said to become more

certain, for Confucius continued purposely in the Chun Tsew the order. It is rather extraordinary, that the Greeks, only six years earlier, should have commenced reckoning their Olympiads, and that at the same time the kingdoms of western Asia should have assumed a different form. From hence, may be dated the existence of large empires, with the Egyptian and Assyrian at their head, and the authenticity of history in general.

Having thus finished giving a general view of the contents of this book, we beseech the reader to admire, with us, the Shoo King. The translation of Gaubil, though it very much embellishes the sense, is tolerably correct, and we therefore recommend it to the uninitiated in Chinese lore. As for all sinologues, we frankly confess, that those who have not read the Shoo King ought in common justice to set to work immediately, in order to make themselves acquainted with the quintessence of Chinese literature. Whatever may be the faults of composition, and there are very glaring, yet the book contains a vast variety of original ideas and principles, which to the very end of the existence of human society will continue to constitute the basis of good government. Whilst perusing this performance, the reader will feel that he treads upon the domains of remote ages, and that whatever meets his eye bears the stamp of primeval simplicity. It is a great pity, that all the wisdom which the ancients have condescended to bequeath to posterity is contained in speeches, and not exemplified by actions. We here observe, what Christian historians have often proved, that polytheism was not the offspring of the immediate age after the flood, but that it was gradually introduced to expel the knowledge of the true God with whom all the posterity of Noah was conversant. He is repeatedly named in this work, and always with the deepest reverence, and if anything were still wanting to prove, that Shangte conveys in ancient lore the idea of the Supreme Being, one has merely to consult the Shoo King, to set the question at rest. How there ever could have been men, who dared to assert, that the Chinese had no name for God, we never were able to discover.

Here we bid farewell to our old friend, and if the reader is angry, that we have kept his attention so long fixed upon these remote ages, we promise to bring before him next time, a book of the most recent date. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we consider it an unpardonable crime, that in reviewing Chinese literature, we did not commence with the Shoo King, for it was no doubt the first book compiled in that language. This may serve as an excuse, and be put on record

ART. II. *Remarks on the works of Charles Ritter; the Pocket Library, edited by J. H. Jäck royal librarian at Bamberg; the Chinese, by J. F. Davis; and China, its state and prospects by W. H. Medhurst: published in the Christian Review for March*, 1839. Boston, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln.

THE author of these remarks,—if by any means he should find himself in the Chinese empire alone, without any other guide than the article before us,—could not without some delay and much difficulty ascertain into what country he had come. By the time this were done, perchance he might perceive that there may be *one* other source of error besides those alluded to in his opening paragraphs: also he might discover that the foreign residents at Canton and its vicinity, notwithstanding "the infelicity of their position," have the means of learning something of China "as a whole," not excepting even "the interior and western parts." This he now questions, affects to deny, and endeavors to disprove — with what success, will appear in the sequel. "What are you going to do!" some reader may be ready to exclaim. "A more clever review — one exhibiting more research, more accuracy, more solid matter-of-fact, and withal one every way better fitted for the great mass of common readers — I have never seen. The erudite and accomplished editor, who is the author of the review, has done his country good service, and himself much honor, in the timely publication of this very able article. It is really a most admirable paper, comprising in less than thirty pages a more complete view of China than can anywhere else be found." Well let us see now how the matter-of-fact is, and if we can, let us find out the true state of the case. By the bye, it is proper here to remark — lest some one should suspect we may have "a pique against the author," that we have no acquaintance with him: it is not with him, but with his article we have to deal; and the article is a good one — only excepting its errors as to facts. And here we take the liberty to repeat, — applying to himself, what he says of foreigners at Canton and its vicinity: "These errors have arisen not so much from the fault of the writers [the writer], as from the infelicity of their [his] position." Whether these words of his are true or not, this application of them is fair; because if the residents at Canton are to be excused for their errors, on account of "the infelicity of their position," much more ought they to

be pardoned, for like offenses, who are the very antipodes of the celestials, have never gazed on the "unparalleled beauties" of the flowery land, nor come within its "wonderful influence."

Presuming that our readers are not entirely unacquainted with the principal authors — ancient and modern, continental and English,— who have written about China, we now proceed to examine some of the facts advanced in the article before us.

"The modern French and Russian schools of Chinese literature, under such men as Rémusat, Klaproth, Humboldt, and Schmid, have a depth, variety, and completeness, to be found nowhere else, and have thrown a flood of new light upon China, not afforded by the incidental and insulated labors of their predecessors. p. 119 * * * Those who are acquainted with the facts well know, that no Englishman in the east has made attainments in this study equal to those of Rémusat and Klaproth. p. 121. * * * He who has learned all that Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde can teach him, will find little that is new in the recent books on China; . . . [And] . . . it is but too evident, that even in such men as Davis and Medhurst, there is an ignorance of nearly all the new light that has been cast upon Chinese geography and history, by the living oriental scholars of continental Europe."

All this, and more in the same strain, ought to be modified. In some respects Rémusat and Klaproth were unrivaled in their day; in others, not. But for the "incidental and insulated labors" of Prémare, the works of his successor might have lacked somewhat of their depth, variety, and completeness. Witness the grammar of Rémusat. Nor are the translations of that eminent scholar always so exact as we could wish they were. As a specimen, we introduce, with the text, his translation of the introductory lines to the second chapter of the *Yŭh Keaou Le*, or, "*Les Deux Cousines.*"

任 再 強 甘 從 若 只 憑
他 莫 得 心 無 有 合 君
才 鑿 圓 合 淑 佳 人 傳
與 空 時 處 女 人 間 語
色 施 觚 錦 愛 懷 媚 寄
相 妄 不 湌 金 吉 野 登
圖 想 觚 錦 夫 士 狐 徒

Note. These lines are to be read in the Chinese manner, commencing with the column on the right, at the top: the sounds of the same, arranged in European order, are given on the top of the next page: the orthography is that of Morrison's Dictionary.

Ping keun chuen yu, ke tăng too,
—Chih hŏ jin keën, mei yay hoo—
Jŏ yew kea jin, hwae keih sze,
Tsung woo shŭh neu ngae kin foo;
Kan sin hŏ choo, kin teën kin;
Keäng tih yuen she, koo puh koo;
Tsae mŏ tsŏ kung, she wang seäng,
Jin ta tsae yu sih seäng too.

Croyez-en les rapports d'un père, le jeune homme ira à tout;
Mais au moindre examen, le vide de sa tête se montrera.
Une belle peut distinguer qu'un homme de mérite,
Jamais une fille vertueuse ne fut touchée des biens de la fortune.
Un brillant tissu se joint volontiers à une riche étoffe,
La violence seule peut associer la perfection et les défauts.
La dissimulation n'obtient pas de succès constant.
Ne comptez jamais que sur le mérite et les agréments réels.

We leave the reviewer to consort this translation with the text in the best way he can devise; in the meantime we venture, with all due deference to continental sinologues, to subjoin another,—and the reader will please choose for himself.

The rake, gentle reader, I trust you to tell,
—For none but *he* smirks with the wild wanton belle—
That a *lady* would choose to consort with a *man*,
And never could fancy a *gold* gentleman;
That the union of *hearts*, adds beauty to beauty,
But a match is no match, if *enforced* as a duty;
Never chizel the heavens, in fruitless endeavor.
Let the noble and fair, *freely* wed with each other.

A somewhat difficult stanza this, taken at random, solely for the purpose of comparing it with the translation of Rémusat. We suspect that other parts of the work would betray similar ignorance of the allusions and figures found in the original text. As we have read only a single chapter of this book, the French translator may be supposed to have some advantage over us, since he must have carefully and repeatedly perused the whole. In the original, this passage is highly poetical and figurative. The word *keun* here means the honorable, i. e. the gentle reader; *tăng too* is a double surname, and forms a kind of patronymic, like Belial, and is used here in a sense identical with that word, for worthless fellows, sons of dissipation; it stands as the correlative of *yay le*, wild foxes, vel *puellæ procaces*. *Kinfoo* denotes one who has gold but no sense, a hollow miser, or gilded fop; it is the opposite of *keih sze* the happy man, the perfect gentleman, the genuine scholar. The two phrases *kin*

teën kin embroidery added to embroidery, and *koo puh koo* square not square, are used figuratively in senses that cannot be mistaken. *Tsŏ kung* is likewise a figurative expression, denoting that which is as useless as the drilling into the firmament, or the beating of the air.

And who are those *living authors* who have thrown such a flood of "new light" upon Chinese geography and history? Besides M. Julien, and two or three other savans, we know of none on the continent of Europe, who possess any very accurate knowledge even of the language of the Chinese; and without intending any reflection on those sinologues, we affirm that there are "Englishmen in the east," who have made attainments in this study equal — not to say superior — to those of Rémusat and Klaproth, or any other foreigners now living. If little that is new can be found in the recent books on China, it is not because the works of Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde are free from errors, or have told the half that is known of this country. And because Davis and Medhurst had little occasion to speak of the geography and history of the Chinese, it does not follow that they were ignorant on these subjects. Further, if the information contained in the article before us must be regarded as a fair specimen of the works of Ritter and others on the continent, it will be easy to show that our reviewer has misjudged, both with regard to the depth of their researches, and the amount of "new light" which they have thrown on China. A few specimens we will here notice. Following Ritter, professor of geography in the university of Berlin since 1820 he says —

"Except at Canton, which is approached by water, there are but three ways of access to China — that on the north from Asiatic Russia, through the wall, to Peking; that on the north-west, from central Asia, through the narrow passage between the mountains of Tibet, and the great desert of Tartary; and that from Burmah, on the south-west, into the province of Yunnan." *p.* 122.

In this manner many pages are filled — with remarks not indeed absolutely and altogether false or erroneous, yet so framed that they cannot but convey very inaccurate information. By saying, "except at Canton," and so forth, the idea is given that, along this whole coast, there are no other places of access to the country, and that there is no way of passing the boundaries of the empire, on the north, west, and south, except at the three points named above — "China Opened" notwithstanding. At one time, China seems to embrace the whole possessions of the reigning dynasty; at another its limits are restricted, and China seems like some castle, walled up to heaven,

and hermetically sealed all round, except at only three or four small vent-holes. On three sides it is hemmed in by "impassable mountains;" and on the other it is made inaccessible by the "tornadoes of the Yellow Sea." Of course, though the Chinese have an ocean on one of their borders, they are "*not a seafaring people*," and have "*never acquired the cosmopolitan character of a commercial nation*," forsooth, because they have never been in Europe. And how do the embassadors from Siam and Tongking get to the capital, when they do not pass by the way of Canton nor through Burmah?

After giving us "these details," and others like these — having especially "consulted the wants of the English reader," he says "it would be interesting to hear at length the general remarks and philosophical reflections of this prince of geographers; but we must content ourselves with the following summary, condensed from his work." That we may not misrepresent Ritter, our readers must bear with us, while we quote two or three entire paragraphs, from this condensed summary.

"The great ocean current, which finds an outlet among the Ladrones, beats directly against the coast of China, producing a tide that flows more than 500 miles up the Keäng. This maritime part of China is filled with bays, lakes, streams, canals, and marshes; and the periodical succession of dry land and water by the tides, produces an effect upon the soil and its millions of inhabitants, to be observed in no other country on the globe. The relation between the coast and the ocean is highly characteristic of China, having no parallel in the northern hemisphere; and even that of Brazil, in the southern, has only a distant resemblance. The natural inland communication of this part of China is so much improved by art, that no part of the world can be compared to it. Such facilities for intercourse have a wonderful influence upon its myriads of inhabitants, by resisting the tendencies to individuality which exist in unconnected provinces. The action and reaction of mind upon mind, brought thus in contact, give a great uniformity of character to the whole population. Nearly all the rivers of China come in parallel lines from the mountains in the west. But the canals run north and south, cutting these rivers at right angles. The smaller streams supply the canals, and the larger serve as drains to carry off the superfluous water. The whole coast, from Peking to the mountains near Hang chow, is traversed by the imperial canal, which is like the trunk of a great tree sending out innumerable branches. Such a canal in Europe would connect the Baltic with the Adriatic, and this with the Euxine. In magnitude, this compares only with the great wall, and far surpasses it in utility. Only in a country, where despotism controls the labors of millions, would it be possible to construct either; and only in a country of so uniform a water level could such a gigantic canal be formed without a single interruption. It winds its crooked

course around elevations, and, with a considerable current, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, makes its majestic way sometimes through large bodies of standing water, often above towns and villages, and occasionally through mountains." *p.* 132. * * *

"One fourth of China lies constantly under water, or is so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Over this whole territory there are annual inundations, as on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges. All this would take place by means of the great rivers coming from Tibet, even though not a drop of rain were to fall here, and though no swelling tide were to rush in from the opposite direction. The building of dams, repairing damages of floods, opening or completing canals, are recorded as among the great events of history. In the imperial geography, the descriptions of canals in the several provinces, constitute one of the principal chapters; and, in treating of Shense, which is least provided with them, 350 pages of this work are occupied in describing them. No mandarin can make any pretensions to learning, who is not perfectly acquainted with those of his province, and the governor of the province must know their history, their measurement, and all the mathematical reckoning for dams, sluices, and branch canals. With all the details of this branch of knowledge, the imperial ministers are as familiarly acquainted as our professors of botany and conchology are with the details of their science. But the influence of the hydrographic system of China is still greater on the modes of life among the industrious classes. Of those productions which depend on this system of irrigation, we will mention that of rice alone, the staple article of food for three hundred millions of inhabitants, and which grows only on the coast south of the Hwang ho. It yields regularly two harvests in a year, the one in May, the other in October. Not only all the other parts of China, but the Manchows, and even the Mongols of the barren Gobi, as far back as to Siberia, are all dependent on the rice crops. The great army of the emperor, as well as the army of civil officers, in that complicated government, from the highest to the lowest, receive half their pay in rice. All the taxes of the nation are paid in rice; and hence the number of revenue vessels. Rice-dealing is thus the basis of Chinese trade; and the Delta, where this article is grown, is the centre of business, and the seat of the densest population. Whenever the rice crops fail, millions die of famine. The inhabitants are not all so fortunate as to have land to stand upon; many must be content to lead a kind of nomadic life, on the water; for in such extensive lowlands, a large part is necessarily in a middle state between land and water. Many lakes, and marshes, and channels, as in Shantung and Keängnan, are covered with dwellings, as much as the land. All the waters of China are free, no tax whatever being paid for fisheries, and the peculiar culture of this floating soil. Whole tribes of fishermen, in floating villages, without country and without home, wander about from place to place, like the fish of the sea, or the fowls of the air. Their vessels are connected into large floats; in the rear are small artificial gardens; and thus the back yards of these sailing farmers are covered with vegetable products, and are alive with ducks and swine. *pp.* 133–34.

All this summary may be true of some undiscovered regions in the moon, but it is very far from being true when applied to China. The canal, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, making its way above towns and villages! How gigantic! How majestic! And there is *the* imperial geography, and all the mandarins studying the history, and taking the *mathematical* measurement of all the dams and sluices and branches of the canals. And then, too, one fourth of the whole country is continually under water, or so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Millions dying of famine, whenever the rice crops fail; and whole villages with their gardens, are seen floating about like fish in the sea, and fowls in the air! How interesting! How philosophical! Truly this is *new light*, with a witness.

It is much easier to make assertions than it is to prove them. One would require a small volume, if he should take up one by one each paragraph of the article before us, and separate what is false and erroneous from what is true, and adduce the evidence that might be deemed necessary to overthrow the one, and to establish the other. Of the very many passages which we marked as being erroneous, we will notice only one more in the first part of the article. It is the following.

"According to the treaty of 1689, between China and Russia, the boundary between them was to be passed only by triennial caravans, and any attempt to enter China during the intervals, was to be regarded as an aggression. As a party of Russian traders once crossed the line, and ventured to form a settlement on the Amour, a hundred and fifty miles beyond the boundary, they were captured by the Chinese, and carried to Peking. This at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital, in which the Russian religion and Russian schools are tolerated. The Chinese emperor allows the colony to have six clergymen and four teachers, to be succeeded by others once in every ten years. The Russian government takes advantage of this arrangement, suggested by Chinese jealousy, and sends, every ten years, a new set of men, to study Chinese and Mongolian literature, and after their ten years of service have expired at Pekin, to return to Russia, as professors of Asiatic literature! This is one of the reasons, that so much Chinese literature comes to us by the way of Petersburg." *p.* 125.

On first reading this passage we supposed we had really got some new light. But having been very often in conversation with a native gentleman, for many years well acquainted with the Russian mission in Peking, and never having heard from him a word about a Russian colony, or Russian schools — excepting *four* ecclesiastical and *six* lay members — we were led to doubt the existence of such colony and schools. We had not quite forgotten Gerbillon's visit to

Nipchú, and his account of Albazin. Upon further reflection, we recollected to have seen, somewhere in Timkowski's book, a notice of the remnant of a colony. The principal information we found on opening that work is contained in the following paragraphs.

"On the 14th of June, 1728, a treaty of peace was concluded between count Vladislawitsch, Russian embassador extraordinary, and the ministers of China. The fifth article is in the following terms:—'The Russians shall henceforth occupy at Peking the kouan or court which they now inhabit. According to the desire of the Russian embassador, a church shall be built with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who now resides there, and the three others who are expected, shall live in the kouan above mentioned. These three priests shall be attached to the same church, and receive the same provisions as the present priest. The Russians shall be permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion. Four young students, and two of a more advanced age, acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages, shall also be received into this house, the ambassador wishing to leave them at Peking, to learn the language of the country They shall be maintained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies.'—According to this treaty, the Russian mission, composed of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, fixed its abode at Peking; the first do duty alternately in the convent of Candlemas, and the church of the Assumption, situated in the same quarter of the city, and originally inhabited by the Russians, whom the Chinese government caused to be removed hither in 1685, after the destruction of Albazin, a Russian fortress, which had been built on the banks of the Amour. The lay members are young men, who are obliged to study the Mantchoo and Chinese languages, and to acquire an accurate knowledge of China. They all reside in the kouan, a vast building, part of which, known by the name of the court of the embassy, is kept in repair by the Chinese government, and the other, containing the convent, by Russia." Vol. I. *pp.* 1-2.

December 21st [1820]. Benjamin the deacon, the assistant of the archimandrite, went with the deacon Seraphim, member of the mission, to take possession of the church of the Assumption, and to visit some small houses belonging to the Russian government, situated in the north-eastern part of Peking. These were habitations assigned to the Albazin Cossacks, a hundred and thirty years since, when they were removed to this capital from the banks of Amour." Vol. I. *p.* 367.

"According to the treaty concluded between Russia and China, the only one which the latter has made with a European state, the correspondence was to be carried on at the same time in Russian, Mantchoo, and Latin. A special school was established at Peking, subordinate of the tribunal of Nuy Ko, to teach the Russian language to twenty young Mantchoos of the first families." * * *

"The Russians, who were brought from Albazin to Peking, taught the

Mantchoos the first element of the Russian language. In the sequel, several members of the Russian mission, with the consent of the Chinese government, were appointed to this office, for which they received considerable remuneration. The Chinese government on several occasions has expressed a desire that the Russians residing at Peking should contribute to instruct the Mantchoos. The special school, however, has made but little progress, as is evident from the translations made by the Mantchoos, from their language into the Russian; we perceive in the very first lines that the simplest rules of grammar are not observed. We were told that Youngdoung Dordzi, vang of Oürga at the time of the Russian embassy to China in 1805, had asked for translators, who had studied in the school of the Russian language at Peking. He expected to find in them able and trusty interpreters, without being obliged to apply to the Russians. The first interview proved that he was mistaken. The Mantchoo interpreters candidly confessed that they did not understand a word of what the Russians said." Vol. I. *pp.* 268-70.

"April 12th [1821]. In the morning, all the mission went in procession to the church of the Assumption, this ceremony was a little deranged by a heavy rain, which continued till noon. Mass was read by the archimandrite Peter, in a full assembly of the clergy, after which prayers were put up to implore the blessing of Heaven on the emperor, and the imperial family. The Chinese who were in the church appeared much edified by our divine service, and by the fervor with which the faithful subjects of the white Czar prayed for him beyond the great wall. None of the Albazins, even those who were baptized, were present at the ceremony, except Alexis who was their chief, and belonged to the Russian company, which is incorporated in the imperial guard. Alexis pointed out to us in this church, a picture of our Saviour in prison, seated and wearing the crown of thorns, which was brought from Albazin by his ancestors. The picture is pretty well painted, but in the style of that time, and become dark by the effects of age. The church was in such a ruinous state that it seemed ready to fall." Vol. II. *p.* 104.

"It was built about the time of the arrival of the Albazins, with the materials of a pagan temple which formerly stood in this square. One of the small houses close to the church is inhabited by a married Mantchoo, who is one of the emperor's guards. He pays the rent of a thousand tchoki, or tseën, about eight francs a month; and is obliged to guard the church. Before the house there is a deep ditch, which during the rainy season is filled with water, and as there is no outlet, it becomes a large stagnant pool. In general, this quarter of Peking is very poor, though it contains the palace of a prince, which is situated to the southwest of our church. The descendants of the Albazins live at present in the western part of the city, which is assigned to the division of Mantchoo troops to which they belong. They have lost all attachment to their former countrymen, the Russians. There are twenty-two among them who have been baptized; but they are so connected with the Mantchoos by marriages, and by their dependence as subjects, that it is very difficult to distinguish them. They speak Chinese; they dress like the

Mantchoos, and live entirely in the same manner as the soldiers of that nation— poor, idle, and attached to the superstitions of Schamanism." See Vol. II. *p.* 45.

Such are the Russian schools and colony and *teachers* in Peking, Timkowski himself being witness. Our reviewer seems to be in error, when he says six clergymen and four teachers; and Timkowski contradicts the words of the treaty when he says six ecclesiastics. The native gentleman, above alluded to, who has some knowledge of Latin, says the title of the principal is "vicarius episcopus;" and the name of the incumbent, when he left the capital about two years ago, he wrote "Menjamine," probably the deacon Benjamin, noticed in Timkowski's journal; for our informant said he was on his second term, having arrived in Peking near the close of Keäking's reign; that his associates were called "clerks, vel clerici," one of whom was a physician; and that of the students, two study Chinese, two Mantchou, and two Mongolian. He said further, that two of the Russians were good Latin scholars, and that the "episcopus" spoke the Chinese fluently. How "this arrangement" was "suggested by Chinese jealousy," we cannot divine; but why the Chinese should avail themselves of the Russians in their capital to study the language of their neighbors is very plain. This charge of jealousy seems uncalled for, and this "deeper shade" need not have entered into his picture here,— though it might elsewhere and for other reasons. The reviewer says, "observers at Canton and Macao have been treated with so much indignity and have suffered so much odium among that part of the Chinese with whom they have had intercourse, as to cause them to charge *their* picture of China with far deeper shades," than the Jesuits. This is one source of error with observers at Canton and Macao. "Another kindred error is, that of having intercourse with *intriguing* mandarins,— a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals,— and of applying epithets that are descriptive only of them, to the whole nation." And he adds, "there is no more resemblance nor sympathy, between the *artificial* and *fraudulent* mandarins, and the plain, simple and honest-hearted people, than there is between the nobility and the common people of Europe." Thus the observers here on the spot have some apology, in the indignity and odium they have suffered, for giving darker shades to their picture; but why is the writer on the other side of the globe so lavish of the epithets, jealousy, intriguing, artificial, fraudulent,—than which none can be of a darker hue? Why, if they are not true? And are the nobility of Europe as bad as the officers of the celestial empire? And

how are the "mandarins" a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals? And what intercourse have foreigners with them?

Moreover our reviewer intimates that "much Chinese *literature* comes to us by way of Petersburg." Except Timkowski's works, and a little volume by Father Hyacinth, we have not had the good fortune to receive anything from that quarter of a more recent date than the travels of E. Ysbrants Ides, who "set out from Moscow in 1692, on some important affairs to the great bogdaichan, or sovereign of the famous kingdom of Katai." We like to have forgotten Bell's Journal, who visited Peking in 1720. The English translator of Timkowski's book says, that so far as he was able to ascertain, none of the members of those successive missions, "have ever published anything on the subject of China, even in the Russian language." A journal, kept by Lawrence Lange, who accompanied the mission to Peking in 1727, was published by Pallas in his Nordische Beiträge. So says Lloyd. And he adds: "If any valuable information has really been gathered by the members of those missions, it seems the Russian government, if it has not prevented, has at least done nothing to promote the publication of it." In the Peking gazettes we have seen occasional notices of the Russian school; and about two years ago, a professorship for the study of the Chinese language in the university of Kasan was founded by the emperor of Russia.

There is one more point deserving notice in the paragraph under review. It is quite true that a treaty was formed between the governments of China and Russia in 1689. This treaty will form a part of our next article. Our reviewer clearly intimates, though he does not expressly so state, that subsequently to this date, 1689, a party of Russians was carried to Peking; and "this at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital." Timkowski says they were removed thither in 1685, prior to the formation of the treaty. Who is right in this matter, the reader is left to judge.

Respecting the last half of the article, we have but little to say. The commendation of 'Jäck's charming Pocket Library of Travels,' is all well enough, for aught we know. The work contains a condensed summary of some of the principal narratives of foreign travelers in China from Carpini to the present time. But little room is reserved for noticing "the valuable works of Davis and Medhurst;" and "although neither of them is perfect," yet he does not hesitate "to give them the preference over anything we have seen in English." Such is the testimony of our reviewer and therein we will not presume to question the correctness of his judgment. Of Mr. Davis's

volumes he remarks, "In no other book of equal size can we learn so much respecting the civil and social condition of China. Here is no gaping at tales of wonder and prodigies; no European complacency and prejudice." This, too, is very just commendation; but then he adds:

"There is one thing, however, which seems not to be in keeping with his general character; and that is, the exposure of many disgraceful acts of European merchants and masters of vessels, in which the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French, and the Americans act a conspicuous part, while the *English* appear to be no sharers in this game! We cannot, —such is the spirit of the book,— believe that is the effect of national vanity, or odium; but we set it down to the fact of his delicate official and personal relations." *See Review p.* 144.

The fact here affirmed escaped our notice in reading Mr. Davis' volumes. Our impression was strong that he was not chargeable with the partiality here imputed to him. To end our doubts, we determined to examine his book again. The first place we opened to, gave us the "singular instance of successful daring" by captain M'Clary, master of a country-ship from Bengal, in 1781, "*who certainly was little better than a pirate.*" Vol. I. p. 68. At the next place we opened we read: "With some it may be a question how far the system of exclusion, practiced by the Chinese government, justifies such means [direct violation of the laws of the country] in order to defeat it; but there can be none whatever with regard to those deeds of violence on the part of individuals, who have themselves attempted no other justification than the extent of the provocation. Among these instances may be mentioned, the shooting of Chinese from the smuggling ships near Lintin, in 1831 and 1833, and the notorious case of an English subject, who, by his own confession in the papers, actually *set fire to a mandarin's house.*" Vol. I. p. 126. Here we close the book, and must leave it with the reviewer to reconcile his own remarks with those of Mr. Davis in the manner he best can. It has been our sole endeavor to correct some of the reviewer's errors, and to show that if foreigners in China are more ignorant of this country than others are on the continent of Europe, it must be attributed to some other cause beside the infelicity of their position; and if we have erred in so doing we wait to be corrected.

We cannot close this article without expressing our deep regret that so little correct information respecting the Chinese empire exists in England and in the United States of America. If ever we have been disposed to smile at the writings of the Jesuits, or at the phi-

losophical reflections of Ritter, De Pauw, Montucci, &c., *that* smile was not *affected*. We confess, that when we see articles like that before us,— written evidently with the best possible intentions,— replete with error, and calculated to communicate and perpetuate the same, we ought to grieve rather than laugh. Foreign works on China are certainly very imperfect and incomplete, though they are somewhat numerous and voluminous. "Now what the English and American public greatly need, and as yet do not possess, is some thorough work which shall bring all these materials together; and by supplying deficiencies, adjusting differences and correcting mistakes, present a clear digest of the whole." In this opinion of the reviewer, we entirely concur; and he may perhaps be pleased to learn that the materials for such a work are being collected; whether it will ever be completed in the "masterly manner" of Ritter, remains to be seen. *Some* of the Jesuits wrote admirably, and they certainly possessed superior advantages for so doing. We complain not of them; and of our reviewer we complain chiefly, because he does not distinguish between the good and the bad writers on the continent, and because he misrepresents the position of the residents in China. The reviewer ought, we think, to have been somewhat reserved and guarded in leveling his artillery against the residents at Canton and its vicinity — of whom he knew nothing, or if he did he must have been aware that their advantages as "observers" are comparable to those on the continent of Europe. For gaining a knowledge of the United States, would Yédo or Myako, be a more *felicitous* position than New York or Philadelphia? Would a philosopher of Han, who had never traveled among barbarians, be in a better *position* to give a correct account of Europe, than any other Chinese who may have had the "misfortune" to reside twenty years at "Bamberg" or in Berlin?

True it is that our limits here have been narrow, and our disadvantages many; still the position for observation is not quite so miserable as the reviewer represents — if he will allow us to be competent judges in this matter. Nor has the odium and indignity received by the *fanqui* rendered them utterly unable to distinguish black from white, "blessing" from "cursing." And we hope, he will not take it ill, if we attempt to lighten a little the deeper shades of *his* picture. Excepting special occasions of "quarantine," such as were experienced last March and during lord Napier's stay in Canton, when "the poor foreigners were kept as close and safe as fish in a tank," residents here have, we venture to say, occupied a better position and

enjoyed better advantages for acquiring a correct knowledge of the Chinese—their language, literature, manners, customs, laws, history, geography, &c.,—than any other foreigners in the world, excepting perhaps those in Peking, but not those on the continent of Europe. The reviewer ought not to imagine, like the Chinese youth, that merchants here never read a page all their lives long. There have been in China, if we mistake not, students and fellows of Cambridge and other colleges both from Old England and New. Mr. Davis, during a residence of some twenty years in this country, enjoyed almost every facility he could well desire for gaining information. By the liberality of his honorable masters, the princes of Leadenhall, he was not only excused for a time from the regular routine of his commercial duties (if we have been correctly informed), but was furnished with the best means Europe could afford for the prosecution of his studies. Chinese books, to almost any extent he might name, were within his reach. He might too, if he pleased, occasionally meet with gentlemen from almost all the provinces of the empire, and daily read the gazettes. Nor was Mr. Davis wholly ignorant of the interior, having been once at Peking, and traveled thence to Canton; and both in this neighborhood and at Macao, he might, if disposed, in their shops, and bazars, and fields, visit tens of thousands of the *people*, a class of individuals, as "extraordinary and altogether as unique," for aught we could ever discover, as the "intriguing mandarins." The advantages which Mr. Davis enjoyed, others have, and many again, enjoy. *Able* teachers have ever been here the greatest desiderata; for those employed have usually been poor fellows. Rémusat has somewhere, in the preface to his grammar, if we rightly remember, alluded to, what he no doubt often and severely felt, the infelicity of *their* position, who have had to study the Chinese, without the constant assistance of living native teachers. Chinese seensăng they have sometimes had, but probably no way superior to those here employed. We must conclude, therefore,—all our disadvantages, our contracted sphere of observation, and the reviewer notwithstanding,—that the infelicity of our position and the sources of our errors, with regard to China, great as they may be, are not greater than they experience, who have had the good fortune to be nurtured in the modern French and German and Russian schools on the continent of Europe.

ART. III. *Hostilities between Russia and China; embassadors and plenipotentiaries appointed; conferences and negotiations: treaty of perpetual peace and union concluded and ratified, September 7th, 1689, being the 28th year, 7th month of the reign of Kanghe.*

THE particulars of these hostilities are very briefly detailed by Gerbillon, whose authority we here follow, as given in Du Halde. "The Russians having by degrees advanced to the very frontiers of China, built the fort of Albazin, called by the Tartars and Chinese Yaksa, at the confluence of a rivulet of that name with the great river which the Tartars call Saghalian úla, and the Chinese Yalong keäng. The emperor of China's troops took and razed the fort; but the Russians having rebuilt it the following year, they were again besieged, and being apprehensive of the consequences of the war, desired the emperor to end it amicably, and to appoint a place for holding a treaty." The offer was accepted, and on the 30th of May 1688, the embassadors left Peking. On the 22d of July, a dispatch was received from the emperor, who, in consequence of the war between the Eleuths and Kalkas, ordered his people to return, and at the same time to write to the Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, stating to them the reason of their return, inviting them either to come to the frontiers of his empire, or to propose some other method for holding the conferences. The next day three officers, with thirty attendants, were dispatched to the Russians with the following letter.

"The inhabitants of the Russian frontiers entered the countries of Yaksa and Nipchu, beloning to the emperor our master, and committed several outrages, plundering, robbing, and ill treating our hunters; they possessed themselves of the country of Hegumniuma, and other districts; upon which several representations were made to the Russian court, to which no answer being returned, the emperor, our master, in the year 1686, sent some of his people to the Russian officers commanding in those parts, to propose an amicable accommodation. But Alexis, governor of Yaksa, without regarding the occasion of the quarrel, immediately took arms, contrary to all manner of right and reason, which obliged one of the generals of the emperor's forces to lay siege to Yaksa, of which he made himself master by capitulation. However, his imperial majesty, persuading himself that the great dukes of Russia would not approve of the governor's conduct, gave orders for treating the Russians according to their quality; so that though there were above 1000 soldiers in Yaksa when it was taken, not one of them received the least ill usuage; on the contrary,

those who had no horses, arms, or provisions, were supplied with them, and were sent back with a declaration that our emperor, far from delighting in hostilities, was desirous of living in peace with his neighbors. Alexis was surprised at his imperial majesty's clemency, and testified his gratitude with tears. Notwithstanding this, the next autumn he returned to the dismantled fortress, repaired it, then waylaid our hunters, and took from them a great number of skins; nay more, he invaded the country of Kumari, and laid an ambuscade for forty of our subjects, sent to survey those parts, whom he attacked, and carried off one called Kevutey: this obliged our generals to besiege Yaksa a second time, purely with design to seize the ungrateful and perfidious Alexis, in order to convict and punish him. The place being reduced to the last extremity, you sent Nicephorus, with several others, to let us know you were willing to treat of peace. Hereupon his imperial majesty was so good as to forbid shedding the blood of your soldiers, and immediately sent Ivan, the interpreter of Nicephorus, with others of his attendants, accompanied with some of his own officers, who had orders to ride night and day, that the siege of Yaksa might be raised while we waited for your arrival. This year you sent another officer, called Stephen, to know the place of treaty. Our emperor, considering your long and troublesome journey from a far distant country, and praising the pious intentions of the czars, ordered us to repair forthwith to the river that runs through the territory of Selengha, where you are at present, and to do all that in us lies to second the favorable dispositions of your masters. In consequence of these orders, having come a great way into the country of Kalka, we found the Kalkas at war with the Eluths; and as we undertook this journey solely to meet you, we came with a slender guard, pursuant to the request of the sieur Stephen, your envoy. But if we should proceed with so small a force to the place where the seat of war is, one of the contending parties may shelter themselves under our protection, in which it will be no easy matter for us to determine how to act; besides, as we have no orders from the emperor our master, with respect to the differences betwixt those two powers, it will not be proper for us to interfere of our own accord. On this account we have taken a resolution of returning to our own frontiers, where we shall stop, and in the meantime have sent you this express to acquaint you therewith, that if you have any propositions to make, or resolution to take in this behalf, you may send it us in writing. But if the road between us be at present impracticable, appoint the time and place of meeting, for we wait for your answer."

The embassadors immediately returned, as commanded. On the 9th of September the officers came back with an answer from the Russian plenipotentiaries, who earnestly besought the Chinese to appoint the time and place of meeting, and promised to send deputies with letters immediately, in order to make known and to learn each other's intentions. The embassadors soon after received instructions to join the emperor, then on one of his western excursions: not long

afterwards, in December, they returned with his majesty to Peking. On the 23d of May following, an envoy arrived from the chief Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, bringing a letter to the emperor's ministers containing in substance:

"That his majesty was desired to name a place of treaty upon the frontiers; that he would send his deputies thither, and appoint the time of meeting, that those of their part might repair thither with a train equal to that of the Chinese deputies. He likewise demanded that the conferences might be managed according to the customs observed on such occasions, and concluded with desiring a positive answer as soon as possible."

This envoy—by Gerbillon judged "to be either an Englishman or a Dutchman, for he had nothing of the Russian pronunciation, and understood the European characters,"—was accompanied by about seventy persons. In answer, the embassadors were directed to say that, his majesty had been pleased to name Nipchú as the place of conference, and the 13th of June as the time for them to leave his capital, and that they should hasten forward with all possible speed, and would have no greater train than was just necessary for the safety of their persons.

According to the previous arrangements, on the 13th of June the embassy again left the capital, and traveled direct to Nipchú, situated in latitude 51° 49′, about due north from Peking. On the 27th of July, a messenger, who had been sent forward by the Chinese to announce their approach to the governor of Nipchú, returned to their camp, with a favorable report of kind reception, but stating that the Russian plenipotentiaries had not arrived at that place. On the 29th, a deputy came from the governor to meet and compliment the embassadors, who on the 31st came in sight of Nipchú. On their near approach to this place, they met many of their countrymen—some were officers appointed by the emperor to act as deputies at the conferences; others, "considerable mandarins," came to meet and congratulate the embassadors; and others were once officers but now exiles, in the condition of private soldiers, employed in laborious duties, poorly dressed, and in a melancholy mood, most of them with white or gray beards. On arriving over against Nipchú, they found a large assemblage of officers, soldiers, and servants, some had come in barks, and others by land—the whole might amount to nine or ten thousand men, three or four thousand camels, "and at least fifteen thousand horses." The governor of Nipchú was surprised at the arrival of so many troops, and had also to complain "because they acted as if they came not to treat of peace but to make war;" on

the other hand, he extolled the civility of those who had come from the embassadors to announce their approach. Lest these irregular proceedings might cause the Russian plenipotentiaries to keep at a distance from Nipchú, or at least to conceal their arrival till they were better informed of the number and design of the Chinese troops, the embassadors sent notice to their commanders to remove farther from the fortress, so as not to give the Russians any cause of complaint. The commanding officer of the Chinese troops, "posted himself in a very agreeable place, over against the fortress of Nipchú, which is admirably well situated at the bottom of a great bay, formed by the meeting of two rivers, the Saghalian and the Nipchu, which gives name to the place. To the east of the fortress, but beyond cannon-shot, are mountains of a moderate height; to the west very pleasant little hills, diversified with woods and arable lands; to the north a large open country bounds the sight; and to the south lies the great bay, near three quarters of a mile wide."

August 1st, the Chinese embassadors, in order to hasten the Russians, sent them a letter, the purport of which, says Gerbillon, was no more than this:

"That having made all possible expedition according to their request, they were surprised to hear no certain tidings of their arrival; that if they did not hasten their coming, they should find themselves obliged to cross the river in order to encamp in a more spacious and convenient place than that they were in, where they wanted room, and should soon want forage." They added, "that they had foreborne to cross the river, to avoid giving them any cause to suspect their good intentions to conclude a peace."

The next day a messenger from the Russian plenipotentiaries came to the Chinese, and answered "very sedately" to all their complaints and inquiries; and afterwards complained, on account of his masters, that two of their people had been killed, and inquired whether they came to make war, &c. "He insisted much that the conferences should be held with an equal number of men on each side, observing at the same time that the plenipotentiaries of the czars were accompanied with no more than five hundred soldiers, and that no more were to follow, because they came only with pacific views." On the 7th, another messenger came, who said the plenipotentiaries would not arrive in less than nine days, being obliged to wait for their retinue. On the 10th, a messenger arrived from the principal of the Russian plenipotentiaries, with an answer to the embassadors' letter of the 1st. Of this letter Gerbillon says:

"It began with a compliment on their uneasiness at his delay, which he

excused by signifying that his messenger at Peking had informed him they would not arrive so soon, and that in the letter which themselves had written to him from Peking, they intimate that they would not be at the place of conference before August; that for this reason he had used less expedition, to avoid the fatigue of the journey; that, however, he would now hasten to remove their uneasiness, and provide forage for their cattle; that it was not the custom in any part of the world, for those who enter the territories of another to treat of peace, to advance to a fortress; wherefore he intimated to them to remove to some distance from the place, and let him encamp there, since it was but reasonable that he should be nearest the fortress; adding, that a little farther off they might find forage. After this, he promised, by the grace of God, if nothing intervened to obstruct a perpetual peace in regular conferences, to arrive at Nipchu by the 21st of August."

A regular campaign was now opened, and both parties zealously entered on a long war of words — contemptible and despicable in itself, but highly characteristic of these great men and great nations as well as of some others.. We hope such scenes are not again to be enacted here. It is time the term *good-faith* were fully understood, and duly regarded. The answer received by the embassadors on the 10th was not very pleasing, and they resolved at once to send messengers to hasten the Russians: for this purpose three officers were dispatched on the 12th. Three days afterwards, the governor informed the Chinese that the plenipotentiaries would arrive in a day or two more. The officers dispatched on the 12th returned on the 16th, well satisfied with their reception by the plenipotentiaries. At length, on the 18th, the chief plenipotentiary made his appearance; the next day was wholly taken up with messages respecting the time, place, and manner of holding the conferences. On the 20th, the preliminaries were so far settled, that it was agreed — says Gerbillon:

"That the first conference should be held on the 22d; that our embassadors should pass the river with forty mandarins, and 760 soldiers, 500 of whom should be drawn up on the bank before our barks, at equal distance from the place of conference and the fortress; that the other 260 men should attend the embassadors to the place of conference, and post themselves at a certain distance behind; that the Russian plenipotentiary should have an equal number of guards and attendants, and posted in the same manner; that the 260 soldiers on both sides should carry no arms but swords, and to avoid treachery, our people should search the Russians, and the Russians them, for hidden weapons; that we should post a guard of ten men over our barks, that there might be an equality in everything; that the embassadors should meet under their tents, which should be placed one beside the other, as if the two were but one; and that they should set in the tents one over against another, without any superiority on either side."

The next day the camp-marshals surveyed the ground: and at break of day, on the 22d, eight hundred Chinese soldiers with their officers passed the river. But, says our chronicler:

"When everything was ready to begin the conferences, an accident fell out which was near breaking all our measures. The Russian plenipotentiary had only consented that 500 soldiers should remain on board the barks, but being informed that they were posted on the bank, and nearer the place of conference than had been agreed upon, he sent to demand the reason of this alteration. Our embassadors, who had never treated of peace with any other nation, fearing to trust the Russians too far, were willing to secure themselves against any surprize; for being entire strangers to the law of nations, they did not know that the character of an embassador rendered his person sacred, and secured him from the insults of his greatest enemies. Hereupon they intreated us to go to the Russian plenipotentiaries, and obtain leave for their soldiers to remain upon the bank; which they granted, after we had laid before them the case of our embassadors, representing that it was necessary to yield to their want of experience, unless they were for breaking off the negociation even before it was begun. However, the plenipotentiaries would oblige them to promise that no more soldiers should land, or be drawn up in arms. After all, we had some difficulty to prevail on our embassadors to cross the river, on account of the jealousies raised in them, particularly by the general of the emperor's troops in Eastern Tartary, who had often been deceived by the Russians when he had any affair to transact with them. But we alleged so many reasons, that at last they were persuaded to pass the river, and enter into conference."

We need not stop here to describe the state in which the high plenipotentiaries of the czars, and the embassadors extraordinary of the son of heaven, now moved to their respective stations. The persons who engaged in the conferences, and the manner in which the first was opened, we give in Gerbillon's own words.

"This plenipotentiary had for his colleagues the governor of Nipchu, who presided also over all the country of the czars on this side, and another officer of the chancery, who had the title of chancellor of the embassy. The chief embassador was Theodore Alexievicz Golowin, grand-master of the pantry to the czars, lieutenant-general of Branxi, and son of the governor-general of Siberia, Samoyeda, and all the country subject to Russia from Tobolskoy to the eastern sea. He was magnificently dressed, wearing over a gold brocade vest, a cloak or cassock of the same, lined with sable, the finest and blackest I ever saw, which at Peking would yield 1000 crowns. He was a short corpulent man, but of a good presence and easy carriage. His tent was neatly fitted up, and set off with Turkey carpets. Before him was a table with two Persian carpets, one of which was of silk and gold; on this table were his papers, his ink-stand, and a very neat watch. Our embassadors met under a plain linen tent, and seated themselves on a great

bench, that had no ornament but a cushion, which the Tartars, who sit on the ground, after the fashion of the eastern people, always carry with them. Of the Russians, none sat but the three already mentioned; the two first in chairs of state, and the last on a bench; all the rest stood behind their principals. On our side, excepting the seven tajin who had the title of embassadors, and a vote in council, none sat but four camp-marshals, P. Pereyra and myself. We two were seated at the side of the embassadors, in the space between them and the Russian plenipotentiaries, to whom they sat opposite; the marshals had seats behind the embassadors, and all the other officers and mandarins stood. As soon as every body had taken his place, which was done with the greatest equality (for both parties alighted, sat down, and complimented one another at the same instant), a gentleman of the Russian embassy, a Pole, who had studied philosophy and theology at Cracow, opened their commission by word of mouth, in Latin, which language was familiar to him. After which our embassadors were desired to produce theirs, and begin the conferences: but they excused themselves, being willing that the Russians should first explain themselves. At length, after a great deal of ceremony on both sides, about yielding the honor and advantage of speaking first, the Russian plenipotentiary asked our embassadors, if they had full power to treat of peace and the limits, offering at the same time to show his own, written in form of letters-patent; but our embassadors declined to see them, and took his word. It was agreed not to mention what had passed, or any affairs of lesser consequence, till they had settled the bounds between the two empires, which was the main point."

Both parties commenced with exorbitant demands, requiring much more than they could or did (expect to) obtain. It was almost night when both declined making other proposals, and it was agreed to begin a "fresh conference" in the same order the next day. Then, "the embassadors shook hands, made their mutual compliments, and separated," and so ended the negotiation of the first day — having advanced, like the courser of Soo Yewpĭh, in the story of Les Deux Cousines, two steps backward.

The second day's conference ended more coldly than the first; and the Chinese embassadors sent to pack up their tents, "*as if* they intended to have no farther conferences." The three following days, were spent as uselessly as the two preceding; and on the 27th it was resolved by the Chinese, that their troops should pass the river and "form a blockade about Nipchú," and also "cut down the corn about Yaksa." Against these proceedings, the Russians protested, and some counter orders were issued, but too late. During this parley, on the 28th, the Chinese troops began to appear beyond the river on the mountains above Nipchú, and soon advanced in sight of that place, the embassadors themselves passing the river at the same time.

An open rupture seemed now almost inevitable, Gerbillon's agency apparently prevented such an issue. Having at length agreed respecting the principal lines of demarkation, terms of the treaty came under discussion on the 29th. Thus matters stood on the 1st of September, when a new difficulty arose respecting the boundary near the Udi. The Chinese now plainly saw that by seeking for more than they had orders to demand, they were in danger of breaking off the negotiations, and concluding nothing. The Russians protested — both parties reiterating their strong desire for peace, to conclude which, they said nothing should be wanting on their part. On the 6th, drafts of the treaty were written out and the manner of its being signed, sealed, and sworn to, agreed upon, by an interpreter on one side, and Gerbillon on the other, both acting by the authority of their masters.

The following is a copy of the treaty: of it, Gerbillon says, "in our embassador's copy, the emperor of China was named before the great dukes of Russia, and our embassadors before their plenipotentiaries: but the Russians in theirs, set their great dukes first, and themselves before our embassadors; in the rest they agreed verbatim."

"By order of the most great emperor, we, Song Hotu, colonel of the life-guard, counsellor of state, and grandee of the palace; Tong Quekang, grandee of the palace, kong of the first rank, commander of an imperial standard, and the emperor's uncle; Lang Tan, and Lang Tarcha, commanders of imperial standards; Sapso, commander of the forces on the Saghalian ula, and governor-general of the neighboring countries; Mala, great ensign of an imperial standard, and Wenta, second president of the tribunal for foreign and other affairs: being assembled near the town of Nipchu, in the 28th year of Kanghe, and in the 7th moon, with the great embassadors plenipotentiary, Theodore-Alexioviez Golowin, Okolnitz, lieutenant of Branki, and his colleagues, in order to repress the insolence of certain rovers, who passing beyond the bounds of their lands to hunt, robbed, murdered, and committed other outrages; as also for settling the bounds between the two empires of China and Russia, and in short, to establish an everlasting peace and good understanding, have mutually agreed to the following articles.

"1. The river named Kerbechi, which is next to the river Shorna, called in Tartarian, Urwon, and falls into the Saghalian, shall serve for bounds to both empires: and that long chain of mountains which is below the source of the said river Kerbechi, and extends as far as the eastern sea, shall serve also as bounds to both empires; insomuch that all the rivers and banks, great or small, which rise on the southern side of those mountains, and fall into the Saghalian, with all the lands and countries from the top of the said mountains southward, shall belong to the empire of China; and all the lands, countries, rivers, and brooks, which are on the other side of the other mountains extending northward, shall remain to the empire of Russia; with this

restriction nevertheless, that all the country lying between the said chain of mountains and the river Udi shall continue undecided, till the embassadors of both powers on their return home shall have gotten proper information and instructions to treat of this article; after which the affair shall be decided either by embassadors or letters. Moreover, the river Ergone, which falls also into the Saghalian ula, shall serve for bounds to the two empires; so that all the lands and countries lying to the south thereof shall appertain to the emperor of China, and whatever lies to the north of it shall remain to the empire of Russia. All the houses and dwellings, which are at present to the south of the said Ergone at the mouth of the river Meritken, shall be removed to the north side of the Ergone.

"2. The fortress built by the Russians in the place called Yaksa, shall be entirely demolished, and all those subjects of the empire of Russia, now dwelling in the said fortress, shall be transported with all their effects upon the lands appertaining to the crown of Russia. The hunters of the respective empires may not, upon any account whatever, pass beyond the bounds settled as above. That in case one or two ordinary persons should happen to make excursions beyond the limits, either to hunt, steal, or plunder, they shall be immediately seized and brought before the governors and officers established on the frontiers of both empires; and the said governors, after being informed of the nature of the crime, shall punish them according to their deserts. That if people, assembled to the number of ten or fifteen, shall go armed to hunt or pillage on the land beyond their limits, or shall kill any subject belonging to either crown, the emperors of both empires shall be informed thereof, and those found guilty of the crime shall be put to death: but no excess whatever, committed by private persons, shall kindle a war, much less shall blood be shed by violent means.

"3. Everything that has passed hitherto, of what nature soever it may be, shall be buried in everlasting oblivion.

"4. From the day that this perpetual peace between both empires shall be sworn to, neither side shall receive any fugitive or deserter: but if any subject of either empire shall fly into the territories of the other, he shall be immediately secured and sent back.

"5. All the subjects of the crown of Russia, who are at present in the empire of China, and all those belonging to the crown of China, who are in the empire of Russia, shall remain as they are.

"6. Regard being had to the present treaty of peace and mutual union between the two crowns, all persons of what condition soever they be, may go and come reciprocally, with full liberty, from the territories subject to either empire into those of the other, provided they have passports by which it appears that they come with permission; and they shall be suffered to buy and sell whatever they think fit, and carry on a mutual trade.

"7. All the differences that have arisen relating to the frontiers of both crowns being thus terminated, and a sincere peace and eternal union being settled between the two nations, there will be no longer any ground for un-

easiness, provided the abovementioned articles of the present treaty, which shall be reduced to writing, be punctually observed.

"8. The chief embassadors of the respective crowns shall reciprocally give each other two copies of the aforesaid treaty, sealed with their seals. Lastly, this present treaty, with all its articles, shall be engraven in the Tartarian, Chinese, Russian, and Latin languages, upon stone, which shall be placed at the bounds settled between the two empires, there to remain as a perpetual monument of the good understanding that ought to subsist between them."

Here we must close our extracts. Those who wish for more complete details on this subject, will find them in the journal from which we quote. At the present moment, this short notice of a treaty formed, signed, and sworn to, by Chinese and Russian ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiary, will we trust, be acceptable to all our readers. And the Chinese, who always like a precedent for what they do, have here a good one, given them by their greatest emperor. The place where the treaty was sworn to was a tent set up near the town of Nipchú. Thither the high officers repaired,— the Chinese escorted by more than fifteen hundred horse, the Russians by three hundred foot soldiers, with colors flying and the music of kettle-drums, trumpets, bagpipes, &c. The Russians alighted first, and to do the honors of their country, advanced a few steps to meet the Chinese, and invited them to enter the tent first. The plenipotentiaries and embassadors took their seats opposite each other, on benches covered with Turkey carpets, with only a table between them. Gerbillon and the Russian interpreter were also seated at the upper end of the table — all the rest of the retinue, great and small, standing up. The treaty was now read aloud. This being done, each party signed and sealed the two copies that were to be delivered to the other; viz. by the Chinese, one in Tartarian, and a second in Latin; by the Russians, one in their own language, and another in Latin. However, only the two Latin copies, were sealed with the seals of both nations. After this, the high contracting parties, "rising altogether, and holding each the copies of the treaty of peace, swore, in the name of their masters, to observe them faithfully, taking Almighty God, the sovereign Lord of all things, to witness the sincerity of their intentions." The exchanges of copies were now made, and the parties embraced each other — trumpets, drums, fifes, and hautboys, sounding all the while. The next day there was an interchange of presents, &c.; and on the 9th, two days after the ratification of the treaty, the Chinese set off for Peking.

ART. IV. *Premium of one hundred pounds sterling, for an essay on the opium trade; conditions on which it will be awarded; the period for receiving essays extended to January,* 1841.

THE original conditions, on which this premium was to be awarded, were stated in our fifth volume, page 572. Those conditions were somewhat modified by the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London, as noticed in our seventh volume, page 174. Several manuscripts came before that committee prior to the 25th of March, 1839, and were placed in the hands of arbiters, who separately gave their opinions respecting them in writing. Whereupon the committee concluded, they had not sufficient reason for awarding the prize to either of the competitors. Accordingly the manuscripts were returned, and the period for new essays has been extended to January, 1841. In this arrangement the committee have acted discreetly. Lord Brougham and those sitting with him on this subject, in general committee, will no doubt take all proper care that the prize be duly awarded. There has been hitherto such a lack of information, and such a want of interest, regarding affairs in China, that it were hardly to be expected essays would be forthcoming worthy of the prize, within the time first named by the committee. We are glad, therefore, another period is afforded. Had the subject been discussed many years ago, and been more extensively and accurately understood, much of the distress and perplexity which has recently been felt in this and other parts of China — especially here during the past year — would doubtless have been avoided. The use of the drug, and the traffic in it, have increased with most extraordinary rapidity, and have led to — or at least hastened on — events of the most fearful nature, and no man living can foretell where and in what these will terminate. The subject can no longer fail to command attention. The present crisis has brought it under the consideration of the British parliament, and thrust it on the notice of the whole civilized world. Public opinion will soon be formed respecting it — for in it all are concerned, the merchant, the statesman, and the philanthropist.

The essays, it will be recollected, consisting of not less than 40 or more than 100 octavo pages, addressed to Thomas Coates esq., secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London, must be sent post paid, or be delivered to him in such a manner as

to be free from any charge. It will be borne in mind also, that the object of the essay is to show the effects of that trade 'on the commercial, political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, pointing out the course they ought to pursue with regard to it.' Each competitor is at liberty to treat the subject in the manner he judges best. An important part of the essay doubtless will consists of details, showing as accurately as possible what the traffic is — and for this the best sources of information, to which we can refer, are the several periodicals published in China, Calcutta and Bombay, and parliamentary papers.

ART. V. *Edicts from the local authorities,— the high imperial commissioner Lin, the governor and lieutenant governor of Canton, the admiral, commander-in-chief of the maritime forces of the province, &c., addressed to foreigners.*

THE following translations of edicts, (Nos. 1, 2, 3,) of which we have not been able to procure the originals, we copy from the Register and Press. Refering to public matters of importance they deserve to be put on record.

No. 1.

Kwan, admiral of the Canton station, and leader of the maritime forces of the province, hereby issues the following proclamation that all may know and understand. I have just received a communication from their excellencies the high commissioner, Lin, and the viceroy of Canton, Tăng, to the following effect:

"The English superintendent Elliot, after having delivered the opium, petitioned us, begging for permission to load his ships at Macao, to which petition we at the time gave our flat denial. The conduct of the said superintendent from that time has been outrageous and unreasonable in the extreme: he has not caused the empty opium ships to get under weigh; he has not caused the depraved foreigners expelled by imperial authority to return to their country; (some of his people) having beat to death one of our native people, he obstinately refuses to give up the foreign murderer; the merchant vessels lately arrived, he has so arranged that he will not permit them to enter the port, but allows them to sell the new drug on our seas as before; and our edicts, which have been from time to time

transmitted to him, he has stubbornly refused to receive; he has even gone such lengths as in his own person to lead on foreign ships against our cruizers, specially placed for the defense of Kowlung, raising thereby disturbance, and taking advantage of our absence to fire off his guns, thus wounding our mandarins and soldiers! Our valiant troops however returned their fire with a noise like a thunderbolt, upon which the foreigners, routed and dispersed returned again to Tseënshatsuy where they cast anchor. And although on the 7th day of the 8th moon (14th September of 1839) he (Elliot) went himself to Macao, and begged of the Portuguese governor to present a note from him to the keunmin foo (or mandarin of Caza Branca), in which he said that "all he desired was peace and quietness" yet we find that he merely commission ed him to deliver so many unmeaning words, and that there is not the slightest proof of his sincerity or submission! On the 9th day of the said month, he departed from Macao and returned again to Hongkong, and on the 10th day came a foreign vessel stealthily standing in for Kowlung, prying and spying about her, by which we can sufficiently see that he still cherishes foolish and presumptuous thoughts, and has no sense of fear or repentance in his heart. Now our mandarins and troops for sea and land service, being all assembled ready for action at the Bocca Tigris, we therefore address this communication to you, the admiral, that you draw up your fleet and army, and appoint a day when you will attack and subdue them. You must not permit them to loiter about at Tseënshatsuy, forcing off their opium, and deluging the central, flowery land with their poison!—and other words to that effect."

This having been duly received, I find that I, the admiral, rule over the whole of these seas, and my especial duty is to sweep them clean of the depraved and reprobate. Since then I have received the button of a leader of the army, I ought forthwith to appoint a day for the great gathering of my troops; but I, the said admiral, am descended from a family that dates as far back as the Han dynasty (2,000 years ago): the line of my forefathers sprang from Hotung. My ancestor was the deified emperor Kwan footze (commonly called the Mars of China); splendid and luminous was his fame! bright and dazzling the place of his imperial abode! The godlike warrior's ardent wish was to practice benevolence and virtue! his mind was grand and powerful as the winds and clouds; his heart genial and refulgent as the sun by day or the moon by night! Now I, the said admiral fly like an arrow to recompense the goodness of my country, and tremblingly received the admonitions of my great ancestor: I

deal not in deceits and frauds, nor do I covet the bloody laurels of the butcher! Remembering that Elliot alone is the head and front of the offense (or ringleader in crime), and that probably the bulk of the foreigners have been intimidated or urged on by him, were I suddenly to bring my forces and commence the slaughter, I really fear that the gems and the common stones would be burnt up together. Therefore it is that I again issue this proclamation, which proceeds from my very heart and bowels, that it be promulgated abroad everywhere. Oh, ye foreigners! if you belong to those opium ships which have already delivered up their opium, or if you are among the number of those who have been banished the country by imperial command, ye must instantly proceed to the wide ocean, and spreading your sails get ye far hence! As regards the newly arrived merchantmen, which are lying anchored here in clusters like bees, in swarms like ants, do ye try and reflect for a little, at a time like this, and under circumstances such as these, how can you continue to carry on your clandestine trade, aiming after unlawful gains by forcing into consumption your forbidden drug! As for you, who are honorable merchants and follow after a lawful calling, still more ought ye not to go near to or herd with the others, lest that ye along with them encounter the same blazing torch! But ye ought instantly to shun such company, and behold, I, the admiral, entertain for you a mother's heart! The words I speak are true as if spoken by the lips of Budha himself! If indeed Elliot can yet repent and awake to a sense of the error of his ways, let him not object to come before me, confess his sins and beg for mercy, in which case I myself will imtercede for him! But if he still persists in remaining obstinately doltish as before, indulging in foolish expectations and perverse opposition, then considering the good fortune and grandeur of our celestial empire, united with, or depending upon, all the gods of heaven, just as in the case of the robber Lintsing, when the lightning struck him at dead of night, or in the case of the rebel chief Changkihurh (i. e. the prince Jehangir), when the banners waved and (the earth) was covered with iron weapons, so still supproted by the spiritual protection of my holy ancestor will (in your case) a terrible display of our majesty be made! We have often enjoyed his divine patronage! Thus then the very gods and spirits cannot interfere in your behalf. Oh, ye foreigners! do ye all of you lend an attentive ear to these my words! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 8th moon, and 16th day. Bocca Tigris, 23d September, 1839. *Canton Press*, 12th October.

No. 2.

Leäng, principal magistrate of Singan district, and Lae, commandant of the Tapang military station, hereby conjointly issue this public notice, that all men may know and understand.

Whereas the English superintendent, Elliot, has handed us up a card, the contents of which are as follows: "Elliot respectfully writes this to state, that he, the foreign superintendent, is just now desirous of peace and quietness, and having already informed the high officers of government (of the same) by petition, has now received their edict in reply and hopes at an early date to arrange matters all right and proper. Only at this present moment there are people who go about spreading all manner of false reports, causing the hearts of men to fear and doubt, therefore it is that the said superintendent now respectfully requests you to issue some proclamation that may have the effect of soothing and pacifying them, &c., &c."

At the same time we, the district magistrate and commandant, duly petitioned the imperial commissioner and viceroy, and in course received their reply, commanding us to issue such said clear and distinct proclamation, and words to that effect; and for that reason, we, the said district magistrate and commandant, now proclaim to the men of all foreign ships that they may thoroughly know and understand:—the fire-ships were got ready, because that your foreign ships placed themselves in opposition to the laws, and scheming after the sale of their opium as of old, we had no resource but to destroy these said foreign vessels, in order to do away with a great source of evil. If the said foreigners, however, are willing of themselves to leave off the opium traffic, and give the bond according to the form or model required, and take their ships and cause them all to enter the port, and deliver up the murderer (of Lin Weihe) and duly submit to these and other points (touched upon in the commissioner's edict), the high officers then will surely look upon them with increased compassion; how can they possibly feel disposed to consume the gems with the common stones! Oh then, all ye foreigners! Do ye forthwith conform to the form of the bond, and duly sign and seal, that ye will henceforth never more dare to smuggle opium. Ye newly arrived ships with legitimate cargo, do ye immediately enter the port. Ye depraved foreigners and empty opium store-ships, do ye instantly return to your country, and let the murderer (of Lin Weihe) be forthwith produced, and there certainly will be no further cause for anxiety. But if ye dare again to delay and procrastinate, involving yourselves in error, if ye dare further to smuggle and sport with

the laws of the land, then the evils that will follow after, are what ye cannot fathom. If your lot be happiness or if it be woe, it will only be you who have brought the one or other upon yourselves. The high officers of the celestial dynasty have not yet made up their minds; therefore, oh ye foreigners, do ye all tremble and obey! Do not oppose. A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, 6th day. Given at Koonyung (near Hongkong), Oct. 12th, 1839. *Ibid.*

No. 3.

Yu, &c., and Tsëang, &c., officers of the celestial empire, send this communication to the English superintendent Elliot, for his perusal and full information. Upon the 25th instant we received from the high imperial commissioner to our address forwarding copies of two memoranda from the said superintendent, and of two communications sent to him. The following is the reply:

"The memorandum which Elliot before sent to the said joint prefects, was to cause all the ships to give obligations, with his own bond added thereto, after which search should be submitted to, but it wanted the words 'the parties immediately executed.' I, the commissioner, with the governor, treated them with sincerity of purpose, and promised that if they would indeed subscribe the bond in the form prescribed they should not need to undergo search. This was a mean of leading them into a direct and speedy road, to bind them by the force of good faith and justice. But the foreigners not knowing good from bad, cast aside the easy to take up the difficult; and went so far as to make the pretext of sailors carrying it to preserve for themselves ground whereon to smuggle. For this reason, it became the more necessary to be in the very highest degree close and strict. It became requisite that one or two should be brought to execution before the rest could be cautioned. How could they be suffered, before the fixing of regulations, at once to hurry forward to request permits. I would ask you what cause there could be to put yourselves in a hurry for these foreigners, when, after having been held back by Elliot, and not permitted to enter the port for more than half a year, till the main part of their goods must have suffered from mould, and still they have not yet learned to dread the fire, but seek to—so perverse and deceitful are they—encroach upon our defensive guard. Besides the requesting of permits has reference to the ships entering the port. On this occasion are the ships indeed, after the removal and search, to enter the port; and do all the foreign merchants and Elliot consider of returning all of a sudden? From first to

last you officers have made no inquiry on these points—how great your remissness.

"I find that the goods at Hongkong have of late been secretly committed to the Americans, to be conveyed by them into port, to an amount, I know not how great. It being requisite to search, the Americans must first be hindered from carrying the goods in for them, as I have said in my reply to another address. Besides this, the items to be introduced into a series of regulations are not few. How then can hastiness and confusion be suffered?

"I, the commissioner, reckoned that to search a vessel thoroughly would required five days; so that taking 40 as the number of vessels, two hundred days would necessarily elapse before the whole search could be completed. Before its completion, the English foreigners, whether families or others, cannot be permitted to return to Macao, and their supplies must still be with strictness cut off. What further need then can be said of compradors and servants? But if the bonds be given in accordance with the form prescribed, then everything, without exception, may be as usual. Thus, Warner's vessel, having been the first to enter the port, and the cargo merchant Daniell, having been first in obtaining a permit to proceed to Canton, an established form is here, and what is the difficulty in acting in conformity, and obedience. Furthermore, I, the commissioner, having in two former replies to addresses, gone over each particular with distinctness, how is it my words are set aside as if unheard? I require of you immediately to report in answer hereto, and in compliance with my former reply to drive forth with severity the English foreigners who have successively returned to Macao. If the bond be not settled, there can by no means be any indulgence allowed."

We further received an official reply from the high imperial commissioner to a joint representation made by us of the American shipmaster, Fokwang, having purchased an empty Indian store-ship, in order to convey cargo to Whampoa, to trade. The following is the tenor of the reply:—

"The Indian store-ship Mermaid having come to Kwangtung for the warehousing of opium has remained so long as six years. Having in this spring delivered up the opium on board, she should have been immediately driven back to her country. But she has been delayed here, at pleasure, until now. It was difficult to insure that during this time there have been no clandestine sales of opium made by her; and had she been fallen in with by the naval war vessels, she must have been burnt as was the Virginia, for a warning of punishment.

The ship having now been sold to others, it is still needful to ascertain if the goods on board are of a legitimate nature, before determining regarding her. From this representation it appears that the American foreign merchant who has purchased his vessel, Delano, has also purchased cotton and other cargo from the country ship [Charles Grant,] Pitcairn, and has requested a passport to proceed to Whampoa. I, the commissioner, having carefully investigated the circumstances, find them attended with much precipitancy and confusion: and it is difficult to sanction them.

"Now, after the delivery of the opium, this year, it was required of all the cargo-ships of every nation that they should execute bonds according to the new law, distinctly setting down that if any brought opium the men should immediately be executed, and the ships and cargo confiscated to government.' Afterwards, the American ships having been the first to enter the port, on the 11th of June, at which time the particulars of the new law had not been promulgated, the terms used in their bond were somewhat confused and indistinct; and all the vessels sucessively arriving the same continued onward without alteration. But now the new law has already been received, wherein it is said that, any foreigners bringing opium to the inner land shall be immediately executed, the principals by decapitation. the accomplices by strangulation; and the ship and cargo shall be wholly confiscated to government;' all must, therefore, insert in their obligations the form prescribed. At present there are the Indian ship-master, Warner, and cargo-owner Daniell, who have distinctly written it in the form prescribed, and proceeded to Whampoa to trade. Herein may be perceived the unsuspicious and clear mind wherewith they conduct an honorable traffic, and therefore they have been treated with a redoubled degree of kindness. I would ask, seeing that the Indians (country vessels) have given the bond after the prescribed form, how a just equality can be maintained, if the Americans should not give it in the same form? All American ships hereafter arriving shall be required to give the bond in this form, ere they shall be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. And still more will it be impossible to allow this ship to enter the port, if the bond be not written in the prescribed form, seeing that she has been a country store-ship now empty, and that her cargo is cotton taken from on board a country ship. Moreover, the superintendent Elliot having now requested that the country cargo-ships may be searched by officers, it becomes necessary that distinct limitations should be set thereto. If American ships import for the country ships their

cargoes, it is the more necessary that the bond should be given in the form prescribed, ere they receive permission to go to Whampoa. And if not so, they must remain among the number of the country ships, and undergo search: the Americans shall not be allowed to import for them. Thus perfect truth may be obtained herein and the general accord be freely given.

"Besides addressing the naval commander-in-chief, that he may send war-vessels from Shakeŏ to intercept the ship 'Mermaid,' and to require her to give the bond as prescribed, before she be allowed to proceed to Whampoa; besides also writing to the governor and to the superintendent of customs that they examine into the matter—I likewise require that commands be enjoined on the English and American superintendents, foreign merchants, and the hong merchants, Howqua and the others, that one and all may pay obedience, without opposition."

Having received this, we,—besides giving orders severally to all the American merchants and to the hong merchants, that they may one and all pay obedience,—proceed at the same to communicate the same for information. On this communication reaching the said superintendent, it will be his imperative duty to pay implicit obedience to the matter of his excellency's reply. For all the cargo ships there are it must be required to subscribe bonds, in the same form as Warner has done for his ship. They will then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa; and all other matters, without exception, may also be arranged as usual. As compared with the removal and search, how much more speedy and straightforward! They must not be allowed secretly to commit their cargoes to Americans to import for them. If the giving of bonds be not settled, then the English foreigners, who have successively returned to Macao, must with all speed be required, one and all, to leave it, nor be allowed in the least degree to linger, so as to involve seizure and investigation. In all these things be there no opposition. Be speedy! Be speedy! A special communication. (Oct. 26th, 1839) *Canton Register.*

No. 4.

Lin high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the provinces Nganhwuy, Keängse and Keängsoo, Tăng a director of the Board of War and governor of the two provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse; E a director of the Board of War, and lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung; and Yu chief superintendent of the maritime customs of Canton, &c.; issue this manifesto.

On the 20th instant, we received an imperial order, to wit: "If

duly prepared bonds, which are true and can be depended upon; are given for the ships, then the existing evils will gradually be removed; but if bonds are not so given, and there are further changes and vacillations, then it will be right to instruct by martial terrors, and to close the trade forever, that the stupid and wayward may be warned, and made to fear and tremble."

Now we find that during the 8th month, the sub-prefect (or keun-min foo) of Macao transmitted to us a statement from Elliot, requesting that bonds might be given for trading. We, the commissioner and governor, confiding in this proposition, without suspicion, laid the subject before the emperor by a memorial; and we have cause for gratitude, that his august majesty, the emperor, early acquainted with the dispositions of foreigners, foresaw that they would hardly avoid changes and vacillations. And now the said foreigners have again dared to become obstinate and disobedient, refusing to give the bond. This is truly change, vacillation, inconstancy,—which cannot evade the all-pervading glance of his majesty. It is right, therefore, that we, in obedience to the imperial will, put an end to the trade. The ships of all other nations, and also Warner's and Towns' two ships, which have all conformed to the terms of the bond, are those of merchants pursuing a legal and honorable trade, and will be allowed as formerly to pursue their commerce. But to all besides these, from and after the first of the eleventh month, (the 6th proximo(the port will be closed. Thus, acting in conformity to the imperial will, we have reported to the throne, that the trade with the English nation be stopped forever.

Wherefore we issue this manifesto; according to the tenor thereof, be it known to all the custom-house and other officers, hong-merchants, linguists, pilots, with the foreigners of all other nations, that from and after the period of closing the port above named, all trade with the English and Indian ships is forbidden. But besides these, the ships of all other nations, whose merchants give the duly prepared bonds, will be allowed a free trade. Thus admonition will be given, and a distinction made between the good and bad. Nor will any clandestine connection with the said English foreigners be allowed, by which the goods of their ships, or their ships under false names, may be admitted. Any transactions of this kind, when found out, will be visited with a like extinction of trade.

This is done in obedience to the imperial edict, in order to cut off forever the source of the opium, and to warn foreigners against change and vacillation. View it not as a common matter, but rather tremble and obey, without opposition. A special edict.

N. B. The above is a translation of the manifesto, alluded to on page 389 of the Repository for November. The original, printed in large characters, in numerous copies, stamped with the seals of the high officers by whom it is issued, was posted up in the streets of Macao on Wednesday evening, Nov. 27th. Manuscript copies of it were in circulation on the 24th; those copies, however, were only in the name of the commissioner and governor. The above is dated Nov. 25th.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: comprising a succinct recapitulation of the principal incidents, especially connected with foreigners, during the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.*

January 1*st*, the trade of the port of Canton, by command of the local government, was re-opened to foreigners.

It was reported, that the party opposed to the admission of opium on payment of duty, had gained the entire ascendant in the imperial councils; that three princes had been punished for opium-smoking; that Heu Naetse had been dismissed from the public service; and that memorials, from all the provincial governments, had been laid before the cabinet, the general council, the imperial house, and Board of Punishments, for final consideration.

A proclamation to the people was published by the acting magistrate of Nanhae, against the use of opium, with a recipe for curing the habit of smoking the drug.

3d. Lin Tsihseu, governor of Hookwang, was appointed by the emperor, to repair to Canton, in order to stop the traffic in opium.

3d. and 7th. Public meetings of foreign residents were held for the formation of a Seamen's Friend Association.

7th. An edict was issued by the magistrate of Nanhae, by order of the governor, admonishing all smokers, at once to break off the 'vile habit.'

Native houses in Canton were searched for opium and apparatus for smoking it. Gates were erected in the streets to impede the policemen in order to search their *persons* for opium before they searched the houses.

10th. An edict was issued by the governor, against ships bringing opium to Whampoa, and declaring that if they did so they would be sent back to their own country. Another edict came out from the governor, commanding the hong merchants to secure sundry vessels then at Whampoa.

14th. The cohong paid the first dividend, of four per cent., on the debts of Kingqua, to the foreign creditors of that hong.

16th. A new form of bond was proposed by the hong merchants to the Chamber of Commerce, to prevent the smuggling of opium and sycee.

22d. Several European passage boats were licensed to run between Canton and Macao, for the purpose of conveying letters and passengers.

23d. A dispatch was received by the governor from the Board of War, giving conveyance to an imperial edict, of the 3d, respecting the new commissioner.

A proclamation was addressed to foreigners by the governor and lieut.-governor, giving notice of the approach of a special commissioner, and urging the *immediate removal* of all the opium and store-ships from the Chinese waters, threatening a stoppage of the trade in case of non-compliance.

27th. A regulation that the debts of one hong merchant to foreigners shall not exceed a hundred thousand taels, was ordered, by the local authorities, to be engraven on stone, and kept in everlasting remembrance.

February 1st. All the back doors of the foreign factories were ordered to be blocked up.

4th. Rules and regulations were promulgated by the British chief superintendent for the establishment of a maritime police in the Chinese waters.

A document was published "on the best mode of arresting the opium plague," written by Chow Teëntseŏ, superintendent of the transport of grain.

A dividend of three per cent. was paid on Hingtae's debts, making the total hitherto paid amount to seven per cent.

3d. The schooner Attaran, captain Jackson, was lost near the island Nanpang, a few miles westward of Macao, with 130 chests of opium.

16th. A coroner's inquest was held, by the magistrate of Nanhae, at the Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton, respecting the death of a Chinese.

26th. A Chinese, accused of trafficing in opium, was strangled in front of the foreign factories. All the foreign flags thereupon ceased to be hoisted.

28th. A request was made by the British merchants to their superintendents of trade, to detain H. M. sloop Larne, in the Chinese waters.

March 7th. The British chief superintendent required all British owned passage boats, not having licenses, immediately to proceed outside of the Bogue, and not return within the same.

10th. Lin Tsihseu, the imperial commissioner, made his entrance into Canton, and took up his residence in one of the collegiate halls.

11th. A European boat, belonging to the St. Vincent at Whampoa, on her way from Canton to the ship, was run down by a Chinese lighter, and nine of the crew lost.

18th. Two edicts were issued by the commissioner — one to the hong merchants, and the other to the foreigners: the latter requiring, 'every particle of the opium in the store-ships' to be delivered up to government, and bonds given that they will never again bring any more on penalty of death, and promising in case of compliance a remission of the past and the continuance of commerce. The term of three days was given for a reply.

19th. By an edict from the hoppo, addressed to the hong merchants, all foreigners were forbidden to go to Macao.

One of the licensed passage-boats, the Snipe, was stopped at the Bogue on a charge of smuggling, and brought back to Canton. She was afterwards broken up.

21st. All communication with Whampoa was stopped, and troops assembled on the river and in the suburbs near the factories. The Chamber of Commerce assembled, and 1037 chests were tendered for surrender.

22d. Mr. L. Dent was invited to go to the city-gates to meet the commissioner. By circular from captain Elliot at Macao, all British ships were ordered to rendezvous at Hongkong and put themselves in a posture of defense immediately.

23d. The hong merchants appeared early this morning, two of them with chains on their necks, urging Mr. Dent to go into the city. Messrs. Inglis, Slade, Thom, and Fearon, went in his stead. Another circular was issued by captain Elliot, at Macao, enjoining all British subjects to make immediate preparations for removing with their property from Canton.

24th. At sunset, captain Elliot arrived in Canton, and immediately hoisted the British flag, and conducted Mr. Dent to his own consular hall, at which place he summoned a public meeting. All natives were withdrawn. Provisions stopped; and a triple cordon of boats placed in front of the factories. Captain Elliot demanded passports.

25th. The foreign merchants pledged themselves "not to deal in opium nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire."

26th. A new proclamation was issued by the commissioner, urging four reasons for the immediate surrender of the opium.

By order of the government of Macao, all the opium in the settlement was sent on board ship.

27th. Captain Elliot required the surrender to him of all British owned opium in China, holding himself, in behalf of his government, responsible for the same; 20,283 chests were surrendered.

28th. An edict was addressed to all the foreign consuls requiring them to make a surrender of opium—as captain Elliot had done.

April 3d. Arrangements for the delivery of the opium at Chuenpe having been agreed upon, Mr. Johnston, accompanied by Mr. Thom, started for Macao, affording an opportunity for sending letters 'outside.'

7th. Mr. Johnston arrived at Macao, and embarked in the cutter, Louisa, for the Bogue. The illicit traffic renewed.

9th. Meeting of merchants and officers at the consoo house continued till near midnight, discoursing about the bond, and 'nothing but the bond.'

10th. The commissioner and governor proceeded to the Bogue to witness in person the delivery of the drug. The hoppo preceded them.

12th. A communication of this date, from Mr. Johnston at Chuenpe, announced the delivery of 650 chests.

15th. A notice was issued inviting sealed tenders for a British clipper, to bear dispatches to the home government.

19th. An order was promulgated by the prefect of Canton, for the return to the factories of servants and compradors.

Special and earnest commands were given, by edict from the high officers, for the immediate presentation to them of the bond, in order to evince "on the part of every one a mind respectfully submissive."

20th. Half of the opium was delivered, but the passage boats were not allowed to run,—the stipulation for this notwithstanding. Deliveries stopped.

May 4th. An order promulgated for the passage boats to run, and for the resumption of trade. Sixteen individuals named, were not to leave Canton until further notice.

5th. This afternoon the triple cordon before the factories was broken up, and a part of the guards removed.

6th. The European boats, with about fifty passengers, left Canton for Whampoa and Macao.

8th. An edict was published from the provincial government and commissioner, addressed to the British superintendent and foreign consuls, allowing them their request that, at the head of the people and vessels of their several countries they might return home: adding, "after you have thus returned, you will not be allowed to come again: let there be no turning backwards and forwards, no inconstancy."

14th. An edict was issued by the local authorities, commanding all the streets leading into the square, (except Old China street) to be closed up, and the shopmen in them to remove.

19th. Public notice was given, by captain Elliot, to prevent British subjects, vessels, and any other property, from entering the port.

About this time a new regulation was promulgated, requiring that all vessels should be measured before entering the port; officers in consequence went on board the fleet of ships in Macao Roads, and measured them.

21st. At 2 o'clock this morning, the delivery of the 20,283 chests was completed, and the whole stored at Chunhow, near a creek east of the Bogue.

22d. In a public notice from captain Elliot, he recapitulated the items of complaint against the commissioner, and repeated his injunction against the introduction of property, and cautioned all British subjects against continuing their residence in Canton beyond the period of his own stay.

23d. An order was issued by the commissioner requiring ten of the sixteen proscribed persons to give bonds that they would never again return to China. Some had given bonds previously.

A memorial dated this day was addressed by the British merchants to lord Palmerston, respecting the recent acts of the Chinese government.

Commissioner Lin appointed to the governorship of the Leang Keang, i. e. the three provinces of Keangse, Keangsoo, and Nganhwuy.

23d. P. W. Snow esq. the American consul left for Macao in the inside passage.

24th. At about 5 o'clock P. M. captain Elliot, accompanied by a number of the British merchants left Canton.

27th. U. S. A. frigate Columbia, George C. Read esq. captain, arrived from Singapore. She was soon after joined by the sloop-of-war John Adams, Thomas Wyman esq. captain, from Manila.

29th. A mandate was received from the emperor ordering the whole 20,291 chests (eight additional having been surrendered by one of the merchants outside) of opium to be destroyed, so that all the inhabitants of the coasts and foreigners in Canton might see it and be admonished.

Her Britannic majesty's sloop-of-war Larne, capt. Blake, sailed from Macao for the Indian station.

30th. The clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, sailed from Macao with dispatches for the home government.

June 1st. The number of foreign residents in Canton reduced to about five and twenty, among them a few English and Parsees, British subjects.

5th. The commissioner and governor issued orders for all vessels to enter the port, or immediately to return to their own countries.

11th. An American ship entered the Bogue, and others soon followed, all yielding to the bond.

12th. At a meeting of British merchants in Macao, the preparing to send British ships and property to Canton was viewed with regret.

14th The local officers issued an edict for the purpose of hastening the entrance of all the ships within the Bogue.

16th. The Ann Jane, the last of the British ships in port, passed out of the Bogue, heavily laden with cargo for England.

17th. Mr. King and others, in the ship Morrison, capain Benson, visited Chunbow to witness the process of destroying the opium.

21st. Captain Elliot published a manifesto declaring against the conduct of the commissioner in endeavoring to induce British subjects to disregard his (captain Elliot's) lawful injunctions.

23d. New port regulations were issued by the hoppo. A form of bond finally agreed upon, and signed by Americans bringing ships to Whampoa. Chinese officers seized and detained on board ship at Hongkong. Rumors of renewed operations outside in the traffic of opium.

27th. The terraces on the top of all the foreign factories owned by the hong merchants were taken down by order of the magistrates, lest, as it was said, the foreigners should overlook the city.

July 7th. Commissioner Lin, governor Tăng, and the other high provincial officers, visited the foreign factories.

An affray occurred at Hongkong, in which a native, named Lin Weihe, lost his life.

10th and 15th. Correspondence between the British chief superintendent and merchants respecting a scale of demurrage.

26th. Rules and regulations promulgated, which were to be observed in the court of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of British subjects in China, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast.

August 3d. A meeting of British merchants was held in Macao for the purpose of organizing a British chamber of commerce. A provisional chamber only was formed.

5th. Captain Elliot issued a public notice for the first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction.

6th. The U. S. A. frigate Columbia, commodore Read, and the sloop-of-war John Adams, captain Wyman, sailed for the Sandwich Islands.

12th. The first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction held at Hongkong.

15th. All supplies, for British subjects in China, interdicted by the commissioner and governor.

17th. A meeting of British subjects convened by captain Elliot to concert measures for their personal safety.

18th. The orders for interdicting food were repeated; and all servants and compradors, in the English houses and families, left their employers.

21st. Captain Elliot gave notice that, unwilling to compromise the safety of the Portuguese, the commission would embark that evening.

23d. Mr. Snow, the American consul, embarked this afternoon in a chop boat for Canton.

24th. An attack was made on the British schooner, the Black Joke, and several of the people killed and others wounded.

25th. At a committee meeting of British subjects held this day, it was resolved that all should leave Macao next day.

26th. The embarkation took place in the afternoon, and all British subjects left Macao — excepting two or three invalids, and one gentleman known and recognized as Prussian consul.

Chinese troops were quarted at Tseëushan; and large numbers, probably more than one third, of the native population left Macao.

30th. H. B. M. ship-of-war Volage, H. Smith esq. captain, arrived and anchored off Macao, and soon after proceeded to Hongkong. The Hyacinth arrived some days subsequently.

31st. A proclamation was issued by the Chinese, calling on the people to arm themselves, and to resist parties of English landing on their coasts.

September 3d. The commissioner, and governor of Canton, visited Macao, and were escorted from the Barrier by Portuguese troops.

4th. An encounter took place at Kowlung between English armed boats on one side, and Chinese junks and a fort on the other.

6th. An edict was published by the commissioner, animadverting on the affair of the 4th, and the noncompliance in the surrender of the murderer, &c., and authorizing the Chinese to seize and kill any English on shore.

8th. The hoppo of Canton entered Macao this morning, and left it again on the morning of the 8th, with public honors. Trade between Canton and Macao was resumed soon after his visit.

10th. Mr. Bridgman, at the request of the commissioner, went to Chunhow, and returned on the 12th.

11th. Notice was given by captain Smith, of the Volage, of his intention to blockade the river and port of Canton, after six days.

12th. Early this morning a Spanish ship, the Bilbaino from Manila, was burnt by Chinese officers in the Typa. The mate was seized and carried prisoner to Canton, and subjected to the punishment of wearing the cangue.

14th. An edict was published by the Portuguese senate ordering an armed vessel to cruize in the Roads and Typa, and prohibiting all vessels from entering the Typa with cargoes of opium after the 1st of October.

16th. The blockade was not carried into effect — a boat, supposed to have been cut off, having returned, and negotiations having been opened.

24th. An interview took place between captain Elliot and the subprefect of Macao, having reference to an amicable arrangement for trade.

October 9th. The commissioner, by proclamation, declared that so long as opium continued to come he would continue to act against it.

12th. The British vessel *Sunda*, captain Alexander Greig was wrecked on Hainan, the cargo, all the passengers, and several of the crew, were lost.

15th. Public notice was given by captain Elliot that he had, the preceding day, accepted conditions from the commissioner and governor, involving the opening of the British trade outside the port of Canton.

The English ship Thomas Coutts, captain Warner, entered the port after having signed a new bond, henceforth to be required instead of the old one.

20th. Captain Elliot promulgated the conditions, agreed on by himself and the high officers, for conducting the trade outside the Bogue.

22d. Minutes and memoranda of meetings of British and hong merchants, respecting the outside trade, promulgated in Macao.

26th. Captain Elliot gave notice of the commissioner and governor having violated their engagement for the trade outside the port of Canton.

27th. An edict was published complaining of the renewal of the opium trade on the east and west coasts, and threatening to take the English into custody if they continued obstinate.

28th. Another edict was published declaring that six hundred troops had been stationed at the Barrier, and that all the English should be driven from Macao, and not allowed to return, so long as the ships refused to enter the port, and the murderer was not given up.

November 3*d*. An action took place off Chuenpe, H. B. M. ships Volage and Hyacinth engaged with the H. E. admiral and twenty-nine sail of junks.

On subsequent and successive days there were cannonadings and random shots at Hongkong, and its vicinity. The fleet of merchant vessels removed to Tungkoo. On the expediency of this removal there was a correspondence between the British authorities and the merchants and shipmasters, the latter being unwilling to remove.

20th. Captain Elliot gave information that he had requested the senior officer of H. M. ships to obstruct the further entrance of British vessels to the Bogue, under the present circumstances.

26th. An edict was published by the commissioner, and high provincial officers, declaring that their trade with British vessels, excepting only the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon, on and after the 6th of December would cease. Large shipments of cargo from the British vessels were made by American and other foreign vessels.

December 3*d*. M. J. Senn Van Basel esq., the consul of his Netherlands' majesty left Macao for Batavia.

6th. The hon. E. I. Company's finance committee and their last official servant left China.

8th. A part of the crew of the Portuguese vessel, the *Casador*, recently wrecked on Hainan, returned to Macao, via Canton. The remainder of the crew were soon to follow.

18th. An edict was issued by the commissioner and governor forbidding the introduction of British goods in other foreign vessels.

16th. An address from captain Elliot forwarded to the commissioner asking an undisturbed residence in Macao for British subjects.

26th. Mr. Gribble, a British subject, was captured off Tungkoo, on returning from the Royal Saxon — which vessel entered the Bogue.

29th. The Volage and Hyacinth left Tungkoo, for the Bogue, to inquire respecting Mr. Gribble.

On this brief recapitulation of the events of 1839, we have no space for comment. To the foreign community in China it has been a year of singular interest, marked by extraordinary changes and reverses, and ends with the prospect of open hostilities. That such an issue may be averted, peace and prosperity restored, is our ardent prayer to the God of nations, the ruler of all princes.—For our readers and friends we wish a happy new years.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *The new year; posture of public affairs; prospects and probable consequences of war between the governments of China and Great Britain.*

FROM the past, a brief retrospect of which closed our last number, we now turn to the opening year — anxious to observe and to record, as they transpire, its yet future events. Twelve months ago no one anticipated the remarkable occurrences, which have here rendered memorable the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine. The signs of the times, as all eyes could see, were not as they used to be; and all men were waiting to know what would come to pass. At the commencement of this new year, the posture of affairs is far more unusual than ever before; and the scene is far more complicated. The course of events has been from bad to worse, with a constantly accelerating progression. Instead of light, there has come darkness; instead of order, confusion. Past collisions and reverses seem evidently the precursors of others, more violent and more disastrous. Great interests, strong passions, and long-cherished principles are involved,— interests, passions, and principles, whose innumerable ramifications extend almost all over the world, closely interwoven with the deep and solid foundations of society; and they are drawing into contact two vast empires. Here then let us pause, and endeavor to sketch a distinct outline of public affairs as they now stand, at the opening of the year.

The first object that attracts the attention of the observer is British commerce — by the imperial commissioner and high provincial offi-

cers declared to be closed forever, excepting only with two vessels, the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon, now at Whampoa. The number of British vessels in the Chinese waters without the Bogue is probably between fifty and sixty, most of them having arrived with large cargoes for the regular and lawful trade, and are now rendezvoused at Tungkoo under the protection of her Britannic majesty ships, the Volage and Hyacinth. A very few British subjects are at Whampoa and Canton, others are in Macao, while the larger number are afloat at Tungkoo. All other foreign commerce remains as before — excepting the imposition of the new bonds, and the many inconveniencies occasioned by the interruption of the British trade.

In Canton no foreign flag now floats over the factories; and Mr. Snow, we believe, is the only consul resident in the provincial city. Communications from captain Elliot continue to be received by the commissioner and governor — but only, as hitherto from him and all the foreign consuls and residents, in the form of petition. Some twelve or fifteen ships are at Whampoa, and some fifty and sixty foreigners in Canton.

On the coast the number of vessels engaged in the illegal traffic is probably as great now as at any former period, perhaps it is greater The price of the drug, during the last six months has generally ranged from $700 to $1200 per chest. And, at the present time, it is said that very little opium remains in the market. Full crops of the Malwa and Patna and Benares were gathered in the last year. And from the Indian papers it appears that the Bengal government was about to make advances for another crop! The principal agents of this traffic are no longer resident in China; their vessels, both large and small, are so manned and armed as to be able to put all native craft at defiance. Moreover, not a few of the native smugglers are arming themselves with muskets and powder and ball, supplied to them by foreigners, in order to defend themselves against the officers of their own government. From the foreign vessels the native boats now take the drug in small parcels, and often under cover of night. And the traffic seems to be as vigorously prosecuted as ever, and with as much safety and profit. The position of the agency has been changed, but the extent of the business has suffered little or no abatement.

With regard to the use of opium, and the domestic traffic in it, there has probably been about as little change, as there has been in its production and the foreign traffic. Both without and within the empire there have been temporary suspensions and changes. Tens

of thousands of smokers, we doubt not, have reduced the quantity daily consumed; and probably thousands have abandoned its use altogether, in consequence of the late vigorous measures taken for its suppression. They and their friends rejoice at what has been done for them. They appear to themselves, and they feel, like persons saved from impending ruin. But the number of these reclaimed is no more, we fear, than one in a thousand, compared with those who persist in the use of the 'vile thing.'

The laws enacted for the suppression of the use and the traffic have indeed been 'awfully severe.' Upon what has been suffered by the foreign community, in the present crisis, it may be here remarked, that the innocent and the guilty have both had to suffer — and in some cases it may be the former have sustained greater losses than the latter. The same has doubtless been true with regard to the Chinese. And this indiscriminate suffering has been, and is, a grave subject of just complaint. The executors of the laws have declared their intention to distinguish between the parties, and they may have done what they could to fulfill their intention. Had they sought it, doubtless they might have secured the coöperation of the foreign consuls and British superintendents of trade in preserving the fiscal regulations of the empire, the same as is done in other countries; but this they did not. Of the local magistracy, several officers of low rank have been taken into custody, and are on trial for having aided the illegal traffic. On some of these it is supposed the extreme penalties of the law will be inflicted. Since March last, five native smugglers have suffered death by decapitation or strangulation; and others, it is said, have died in prison.

It is now generally believed by foreigners, as well as by the Chinese, that the supreme government of the empire ever has been, and is, sincere in its desire to suppress the evil. For a while the plan of subjecting the drug to a duty, and making its importation legal, seemed to prevail. But before moving far in this course, the emperor paused to take the sense of all the provincial governments, and all the high tribunals in his capital. The response everywhere was unanimous against such an introduction. And from what has since transpired we may suppose that the emperor in council resolved that, it were better to cut off all foreign commerce, than to suffer the introduction of opium and the exportation of silver. In this resolve, according to all the information we can obtain from the Chinese, the emperor has had the support of the popular voice, from one end of the empire to the other. And it has been said, by well-informed

men, that very few have been opposed to the late severe measures, excepting those persons who have been either engaged in the traffic or strongly addicted to the use of the drug. Never have we heard a Chinese attempt to justify either the smoking of opium or the trade in it. We have heard the opinion of thousands; and they have always disproved and condemned both the one and the other. Among foreigners we know of but few advocates for the use or the traffic. Many, even of those engaged in the trade, do not hesitate to declare that it is an evil — and a great evil. Indeed almost all persons, who know anything of its effects, pronounce it evil. When, on the 1st of August last, lord Ellenborough brought the subject before his compeers, in the British parliament, he said 'he was not surprised at the desire of the Chinese to put an end to this trade, which *tends to destroy the health and morals* of their people.' But how, and by whom, shall this be accomplished? Who will stop this traffic? The efforts hitherto made for this purpose have been not only ineffectual, but they have well nigh destroyed all the foreign trade with this country, and threaten to involve the nation in all the calamities of war.

Threaten, we say — because we see here involved those very interests and passions and principles, which in other times, and in other places, have led on to war. That there exists a disposition to make trial of strength, Kowlung, and Hongkong, and Chuenpe, are witnesses. An officer who has seen some service, and witnessed more than once the conduct of Chinese soldiers in action, has well remarked, that they are not to be altogether despised. In both our visits at Chunhow, in June and September last, the contingency of war was made a subject of conversation. It was urged, on our part, that the existing difficulties ought not to lead to such an issue; that a trial of strength would only aggravate and not at all alleviate the present evils; and that the storm of war once raised no mortal could tell when or how it would terminate. *Ta chang puh pă*, 'to join battle we fear not,' was the often reiterated reply to every argument. It was painful to witness the apparent readiness to hazard the 'fortune of war.' Not aware of the advantages which modern science and the arts have given the western warrior when he comes forth as a foe, and believing their cause to be just, the Chinese manifested far less anxiety to prevent collision than could have been desired. They seemed to feel as if they had done only what was right and necessary. It seemed as if they thought none would dare to join battle with them. It was evidently with feelings of this kind that their fleet, on the 3d of November, met the Volage and Hyacinth. On that day,

they took a new lesson. And they have since fallen back, but we have no evidence that they have changed their purposes or opinions.

The contest is now directly between the Chinese and British governments — all other foreign governments preferring (so far as we know) to remain neutral. Precisely how much each will demand and yield, it is not easy to determine. A few points, however, are certain — at least to us they seem to be so.

1 Correspond or communicate with foreign officers, on terms of equality, the Chinese will not.

2. Any reparation for the opium confiscated, or for losses sustained by the removal from Canton, they will not make.

3. No apology will they offer for the detention of the subjects or representatives of foreign governments.

4. They will not yield the right of apprehending and executing those who are guilty of murder or homicide within their jurisdiction.

5. Nor will they desist from their efforts to prevent the introduction of opium and the exportation of sycee.

Though the contest originated with regard to the introduction of this drug, yet the question at issue has been materially changed in its conditions. No doubt the British government will do whatever it can to suppress the illegal traffic. But —

1. Will that government much longer continue to communicate with the Chinese on any other terms, than those of equality, and just and honorable reciprocity?

2. Will no reparation be asked for the losses which have been sustained by the removal from Canton, and the consequent interruption of business?

3. Will no apology be required for the detention of the innocent subjects and representatives of the British crown?

4. Will bonds be signed that will involve the unconditional surrender of British subjects to the judicial tribunals of this empire?

5. And concerning the molestation of private families, the attack on the Black Joke, the poisoning of wells and springs of water, &c., will no explanation be demanded?

Incomplete as this view of the case may be, it is yet sufficient to show that several great and important topics are soon to be discussed. How shall this be done? Shall the powers of reason, and the force of truth be first employed? Or shall an appeal be made at once to arms? For ourselves, we doubt very much whether the Chinese rulers fully understand the disposition and wishes of foreign governments. Full and minute explanations should first be given.

Then the Chinese *may* yield on some of the above named points. Three principal objects are to be aimed at, and sought for, we would fain hope, by all good and honorable men in any way concerned in these matters. These are —

The extinction of the traffic in opium;
The establishment of legal commerce; and
The preservation of peace.

For the present we shall not enter on the discussion of these themes. We are anxious to exhibit fully and fairly the facts of the case, and shall be glad to receive the assistance of others in doing this, for we feel a deep interest in the question now pending. Let the traffic in opium be abandoned as an evil thing, let a well regulated commerce be widely extended, and let peace and friendly intercourse be preserved, and who will not rejoice? These are great and good objects, and they may be attained by fair and honorable means. To them we invite the attention of our readers. Let all the points of difficulty be fully presented, and the proper remedies suggested. A long communication has just been put into our hands; and we are encouraged to expect more from the same and other writers. In this way, by the comparison of the views of different persons, the 'Due Medium' may be found out; once found out, it may be maintained; and being maintained, order, peace, good-will and prosperity, will be secured. As the offspring of the Most High, and the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, both we and our fellow-residents are all alike bound, to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to do to others as we would have them do to us.

ART. II. *Progress of the difficulties between the English and Chinese; the position of the American residents, &c.* By C. R.

COULD the new and beautiful invention, which is soon to furnish us with perfect pictures of all external things, painted by a pencil 'dipped in light,' be extended to abstract subjects, we know of no scenes, we would more gladly submit to the '*papiers sensibles*' than those now being presented to us, in this part of the world, in connection with the opium-question. With such representations of our political scenery, there could be no disputing about proportions; no

complaint of excessive or deficient coloring. The hand that sketched them, being above suspicion, could be charged with no omissions, no false lights, and no distortions. As the case is, the absent must be consent to take and put together our partial and differing views; and as for the artist — he must be content to get, from one praise; from another, criticism; from a third abuse; as his sketch may suit the eyes and the interests of the frequenters of the exhibition. Still we shall not be deterred by the sense of imperfection, the desire of praise, or the fear of censure, from reverting to this interesting subject, as from time to time, new phases are presented to us. In this article, however, we shall do no more than state,— after a brief repetition of some opinions on the past stages of the controversy,— what we hope will be done for us and our cause, or rather, what, we trust, is already doing.

Our first opinion is — that the earliest prohibitions of the drug in 1800, and all the imperial action upon it, from that time downward, was and has been sincere, and that the neutralization of the national policy for so long a period, is to be ascribed to the combined connivance, corruption, and daring of the provincial government and the foreign residents.

2d. The local connivance, even if it could be proved to reach the highest provincial officers, never did convey any valid excuse or equitable protection to the foreign importer; for he knew, that the practical security he enjoyed, was derived by corrupt means and from a legally incompetent party.

3d. The proposition to legalize the import, made in 1836, did not convey any such protective right, because that motion was clearly negatived within four months of the proposal, and followed closely by a reënaction of the preëxisting prohibitions. The right to move and discuss changes in existing regulations must be possessed under every government, and nowhere can such propositions be admitted to weaken the force of the laws, until a formal repeal is actually completed.

4th. The movement of the imperial government, up to the very act of confiscation of March 18th, was so slow and measured, that no one interested in the opium trade wanted opportunity to put himself and his property in safety, had he inclined to use that remedy. The actual appointment of a high officer with large powers and summary instructions, was formally notified to all parties more than two months before his arrival near the foreign residences, and this notice was coupled with the strongest persuasions and warnings to withdraw beyond the reach of his measures.

5th. The course taken by the commissioner before and in the act of confiscation, cannot be reconciled with European modes of procedure, or with our notions of personal justice. Yet, so far as the actual holders of the confiscated drug are concerned, the eastern mode was not more severe than the western. *On them*, the personal arrest, and armed seizure practiced under European writs, would have fallen at least as heavily as the demand of surrender, and the denial of passports. It is the non-holder who has the right to complain, that the confinement was made general instead of personal, and he and his property implicated without cause and without remedy.

6th. The position of the British superintendent under these circumstances was so embarrassing, as to claim and merit the utmost consideration and allowance. As a consular officer under the British government, he was bound by law and instruction to give no support to his countrymen in courses subversive of the fiscal regulations and general policy of the empire. On the other hand, as the agent of the government interested directly in the growth of the drug, and pledged, as it were, not to depreciate its value on its customer's hands, he was deterred from those timely explanations and disclaimers, which would have cleared the British flag, and the legal trade conducted under it, from implication with the illegal. All who know him, know that his personal feelings on the question are, and have ever been, pure and honorable; worthy of himself, his office, and his country. It was the anomalous position of his government, which embarrassed him. Had he been his own counsellor, or the free, unfettered representative of England, he would at once have disclaimed all connection with the opium. But as the coädjutor of the E. I. Company, as the correspondent of the governor-general, he hesitated, and compromised, and lost the invaluable opportunity.

7th. On the occasion of the first attempt to execute a criminal before the factories at Canton, the opposition of the residents to the act was as just, as it was successful. The ground so attempted to be employed, was a part of their own leased premises, and it was proper to guard them right by resistance, even if there had been no other reasons for their interference. The case was considerably altered, when the governor, in reply to the appeal of the Chamber of Commerce, declared the sole grounds of the offensive spectacle. We would have had the national representatives accept his paper as a disclaimer of all national bearings, in the humiliating act; and as to the importers of the drug, they should have so laid it to heart, as to have made impossible, the repetition which shortly followed.

8th. When the entire stoppage of the trade of Canton ensued, the interference of the superintendent, by order of Dec. 18th, to expel the smuggling boats, was right and necessary. Not so, his attempt to draw an imaginary line across the Bogue, and to confine the harm and guilt of smuggling to the waters of the river. The previous practice of the British government may have lent some support to such a discrimination; still, its futility is evident. The Chinese jurisdiction does extend over the shores beyond the Bogue, and to deny their right of domain over the outer anchorages, is to usurp a portion of their territory. Or, if the instructions of the superintendent made it necessary for him to treat the outer waters as the 'high seas,' and to claim exclusive jurisdiction over offenses committed thereon, by British subjects; then such pretensions should have been clearly explained to, and adjusted with, the provincial government. No doubt should have been suffered to rest on a point so important in itself, and so closely connected with the opening controversy.

9th. No such explanation having been made (that we know of); no such division line having been agreed on; no British claim to the outer anchorages having been admitted; the superintendent's order of March 22d requiring all British vessels to repair to Hongkong, and there prepare to resist every aggression on the part of the Chinese government, was wholly indefensible. To resist that government within the river, had been, three months before, declared penal, and homicide committed in such contest, to be murder. Unless therefore, some mutual demarcation was agreed on, the command to oppose the same authority, on the same business, without the river, was a solecism of the greatest magnitude. That the order to arm and resist did include the opium fleet, is manifest from its whole tenor, and especially from the fact, that the whole fleet, was officially placed, in case of the absence of H. M. sloop Larne, under the command of the senior captain of the storeships. Had the Chinese then, leaving their own forms, adopted the European mode of seizure, how could the bloody contest, which must have followed, been defended from the charge of breach of faith? What explanation could have been given, for thus defending by public authority, in ships without the river, an article which the same authority had given up to confiscation, in boats, within the Bogue? Had the acquaintance of the Chinese with European usages extended a little farther, they would at once have met the superintendent's notice by the withdrawal of his exequatur, and thus dissolved their obligations toward

an officer, who had publicly declared, that he had lost, 'all confidence in their justice and moderation.

10th. The confinement of the foreign residents having taken place, it was a generous, a gallant thing for the superintendent to throw himself within the guard, and share with them their dangers and their humiliations. The policy of that act, we shall not question; the main error lying, to our view, in the use subsequently made of it. Communication with the authorities was prefaced by an interference which necessarily destroyed the just influence of the British representative.* The withdrawal of the gentleman on whom the commissioner had fixed, as the representative of the opium dealers, from under the Chinese guard to the asylum of the British factory, identified the superintendent with the body whose part he thus took, and made him the object of strong suspicion. Of course his proffers to adjust the question at issue, on principles of equity, were suspected, for it was evident that the two officers differed *toto* as to their interpretation of the word equity. The negotiation was soon at an end, the demand for passports followed, and the breach between two great nations was now made broad, if not irreparable.

11th. Although the Indian drug was the growth of the East I. Company, and bore their mark, we know by the declaration of the select committee in 1826, that they meant to denounce and disclaim it, the moment the tea-trade should be endangered on its account. They would have ordered off the opium fleet, that the superintendent sought to protect. Instead of giving Mr. Dent the protection of their factory, they would have deported him. It was a strange thing, therefore, to see a directly opposite course pursued, to behold the whole mass of the drug assumed for the service of the British government. Considering the origination of the article, and the close connection of that government with it, this was just as it should be. An unseen retribution seemed to control the act. But looking at the consular instructions, at the high tone of British policy, and at the deference due to a friendly nation, a greater official error than the assumption could scarcely be committed.

* The representative is no doubt bound to interpose, promptly and fearlessly, the moment the safety of a fellow-citizen is endangered. But when (as in the case before us) the citizen stands charged with infraction of the laws, it is necessary so to interfere as evidently to secure, not obstruct, the course of justice. Hence we preferred, that the superintendent should stand by Mr. D. protesting against every injustice, demanding every security, &c., rather than remove him. The former course could not have been mistaken; the latter was immediately interpreted as an attempted abduction. The determination to protect was worthy of all praise, the mode only was objectionable. The British factory was no more safe than any other; and the alternative — the surrender of the confiscated drug - was noways altered.

12th. The ardent temperament of the superintendent, his energetic character, his extreme sensitiveness to the honor of his flag, and that ever ready recourse to arms, which military training from youth up always engenders, scarcely account for his subsequent measures. The Baconian creed, 'let nations that pretend to greatness, have this, that they be sensible to wrongs, either upon borderers, *merchants*, or politic ministers, and *that they sit not too long upon a provocation*,' hardly authorises them. In fact it is not easy to avoid the conviction, that finding himself sinking into unpromising inactivity, the superintendent hailed the opportunity to fasten a quarrel on the Chinese people. His government had shown itself indifferent to points of honor, and matters of personal disrespect, in the cases of Mr. Marjoribanks and lord Napier. But here was an opportunity to touch 'that sensitive region, the breeches pocket,'—to vest in the Queen a quarrel worth £2,000,000 sterling.

13th. The breach once made, it was necessary to the same policy that it should not close again. It would not do, to sit down quietly under official protests, until the pleasure of the home government could be known. Because this clumsy government, once in motion, had trampled upon the illicit trade, it was necessary that the legal too should be trodden down along with it. This was the practical effect of the superintendent's injunctions on all British subjects, to quit their residences and their business, and to retire from Canton for an indefinite period. The American residents refused to follow this example for these reasons; because, to withdraw at that moment and on such grounds, was to stake their chances of sympathy and support on a hopeless throw—on an opium quarrel; and because the interests of the absent and the innocent were not lightly to be sacrificed; and because they had no representative able and willing to bear the responsibility of a similar order. Situated as they were, they seem to us to have made the wiser choice. At the same time it is to be granted that the semblance of generosity, the show of honor, the seeming of disinterested sacrifice, were on the side of the retiring party. The show, we say, for it was necessary to the reality, that the choice should have been made voluntarily, and when made, honestly and manfully abided by.

But in truth the obedience of the British residents to the orders to withdraw, seems ascribable only the peculiar circumstances of their case. They had given up £2,000,000 sterling, on the responsibility of the superintendent, and it would not do, to question his powers, or attack the authority for so important an act of alienation. This

would have revived their personal responsibility for the surrender, and deprived their claims of his official advocacy. Had not the surrender preceded, the retirement had never taken place.

14th. As a public measure, the withdrawal seems to us impolitic and indefensible. It involved the innocent with the guilty, committed the legal traders to intolerable losses, drove them to evasions of the orders they dared not openly disobey, and at last destroyed their confidence in the superintendent and in each other. It completed the identification of the British government with the contraband trade, and converted the superintendent, from an influential mediator into an open enemy of the commissioner. Besides, the order to retire, like the prior order to arm and resist, seems to us to have been based on a geographical error. It assumed that it was necessary to withdraw from Canton, but not necessary to retire from China. It supposed that private life and property were unsafe within the Bogue, but safe in the outer anchorages. How did the result bear out these assumptions. Did the Chinese yield their claim over those waters? Could Macao afford any protection? Was Hongkong beyond annoyance? No. While on the one hand, the Chinese claims were successfully asserted; while the impression of the British fleet spreading its sails and seeking safer harbors, was not made; while the onus of every difficulty was thrown upon the superintendent; while the idea that trade was still expected and desired, was kept up by the presence of the merchant ships: on the other, more loss of comfort, life, and property were involved in the outset, than continued residence at Canton could by any possibility have endangered. These results are all so many attestations to the wisdom of those articles in modern treaties, by which it is provided, that, even in event of hostile rupture, the merchants of either party shall have a sufficient interval for the settlement of their affairs, and for a safe retirement from the enemy's dominions. For instance, by the 12th article of the treaty of 1826, between Great Britain and Mexico, 'it is agreed, that if at any time any interruption of friendly intercourse, or any rupture should unfortunately take place between the two contracting parties, the merchants residing upon the coasts shall be allowed six months, and those of the interior a whole year, to wind up their accounts, and dispose of their property, &c., &c.' Both the British and the American codes abound with specimens of the like considerate and humane negotiation. And in the view of these, we cannot but look upon the hasty injunctions of May last, as a measure becoming an enemy of British commerce, rather than its legally appointed superintendent

and protector. Even had the conduct of the Chinese government been ten times worse than is was; had hostilities been sure to ensue; had it been absolutely necessary for all official correspondence to cease; still time was due to the legal trader for the settlement of his affairs, if negotiation could procure it; and had it been denied, the mere refusal would have constituted a further ground of just complaint against China. But the harsh requisition came from the British representative, not from the imperial commissioner. The guardian of British interests on this side the Pacific, inflicted with his own hands, the losses, from which the same commerce on the opposite shores, is sedulously guarded by solemn treaty.

15th. The signature of the first bond by the Americans was a great error. To induce the English to remain at Canton, exemption from all bonds had been offered. In all probability therefore, a calm statement of the just objections of foreigners to such bonds, would, at that stage of affairs, have been successful. This release had been virtually promised to an American resident, who came a little before to look on at the destruction of the opium. Unhappily these fair prospects were clouded over; a bond was signed; and to make the matter worse — to add the character of meanness to error — it was arranged that the resident merchants should be screened, and the whole risk be thrown upon the commanders and crews of vessels. Why then were these last fastened on, and the former passed over? Had they been the authors of these troubles? Had they been the chief encouragers of the traffic, the means of its increase and the sharers of its largest profits? No; the resident merchants. Why then this unfair substitution? Because the wily head of the cohong knew whom he was dealing with, and that to subdue the opposition of hardy sailors; to have a victim forthcoming, when the time for sacrifice should arrive; it was necessary to bribe the resident agents.

16th. Unfair and objectionable as the first bond was, there were reasons for submitting to its signature, as a temporary measure, when it became unavoidable. After all that may be said of the law of honor, and of the duty of resistance to every unjust demand; the individual is fully authorized by the Christian code to adopt a less lofty, a humbler demeanor. To fight for every right, to resent to the last every despotic encroachment, may be the duty of governments; but the private man may and generally should submit under protest, waiving his just claims, until appeal can be had to national protection.

Again, at the time of the signature of the first bond, no law touch-

ing the case of foreigners, dealing in opium, was or had been promulgated. The 'new regulations' referred to in the bond itself, were silent as to capital penalties. The edicts of the commissioner, the sole ground of the dread of capital punishments, conveyed direct exemptions for a very long interval. On these grounds, it was believed, that no conviction could legally take place under that bond, and hence, that its signature, though inexpedient and humiliating, involved no practical danger. This belief was strenuously combatted, however, by some, and the submission of the Americans treated as a direct sacrifice of every security for life and property. The argument continued open until the receipt of the commissioner's edict of 20th October, requiring a new bond to be given by all vessels entering the river. The language of this paper was, 'the American ships having been the first to enter the port on the 11th of June, *at which time the particulars of the new law had not been promulgated &c. But now the new law has already been made*, wherein it is said, that any foreigners bringing opium to the inner land, shall be immediately executed, &c., all must therefore comply with the form prescribed.' This declaration from the highest authority was decisive, that the first bond, though objectionable in itself and injurious as a precedent, was not an assent to a capitally penal law, for such had not then been promulgated.

17th. When the British residents had made their election, to quit Canton, and the Americans theirs to remain; one and only proper course remained for both parties. The former were bound to stand manfully by the injunctions of the superintendent, without flinching or evasion; and the latter, were bound not to interfere or tamper with them. The views of the superintendent towards the Americans had been at all times, kind and friendly. He wished and invited them to leave Canton with him, but since this could not be, he had no disposition to molest them. They were bound, on their part, not to interfere with his policy, or draw away his people from their professed submission to him. When therefore leading American houses at Canton began to look with an eager avidity on the profits of this forbidden agency, and to prepare for its active prosecution, no disinterested person, even of their friends, could regard it as anything less than a departure from all propriety, from all just deference to the representative of Great Britain. The American commodore, then in the Chinese waters, expressed himself thus on the subject,— 'The trade carried on under our flag between Canton and Hongkong appears to me pregnant with evil, and I regret to find that men

who were considered prudent, are largely engaged it. The * * * has come down laden with a cargo for an English ship at Hongkong, and her master informs me, that two of the first American houses are about employing constantly two ships to supply the British shipping with cargoes. If any misunderstanding should grow out of this, our countrymen will have themselves alone to blame for it, and cannot expect the aid of men-of-war, to assist them in doing wrong, &c.' These opinions were the more correct, this claim of the superintendent to deference from the Americans was the more clear, because he had, already, with a generous disavowal of all wish to annoy, sanctioned such purchases of British goods in exchange for their bills, as was necessary to carry on their usual trade without the smallest interruption. This important concession should have satisfied the Americans, and content with the undisturbed prosecution of their own business, they should have held themselves above the temptations presented, and thus given to the world a fine specimen of mercantile principle and moderation. As the merit and good effects of such a course would have been great, so the results of the opposite were lamentable. The friendly feelings of the superintendent were of course affected, and private merchants, as they yielded one by one to the pressure of losses, and sent their property within the river, felt anything but cordiality or respect towards their American agents. Thus the policy which dictated the retirement was gradually broken up, until all that was intended to be impressive and coercive upon the Chinese, fell with almost unmitigated weight on the shoulders of their generous opponents.

18th. While the commissioner was among us, as the impersonation of the temperance spirit in China, we were disposed to follow his movements with indulgence, if not with favor. We saw something of justice, as well as of severity, in his decree of confiscation. In following him through the details of the measure, we remembered how far the Chinese usages differ from our own, and excused in part his preference for his own national modes of procedure. As the officer of an Asiatic and pagan government, we were not surprised to find him somewhat wanting in that strict integrity, that undeviating veracity, which western nations owe solely to their Christianity. But when we stood by the spot where the opium was being destroyed, and passed on from the humiliating scene to an interview with his excellency, we conceived his work of punishment to be finished, and made it our earnest petition, that he would now change his course, and close his mission with revising and liberalising the laws regarding foreign intercourse with China

Unhappily his excellency was already in an attitude of hostility towards the larger portion of the foreign residents, and the advice was not taken. The bloody affray of July soon followed, and the relations of the two nations were thrown into inextricable confusion. When this affair was carried to the commissioner, he reverted at once to the old Chinese law and precedents, and demanded the murderer. The terms he was then on with the superintendent, precluded any calm and friendly settlement, and irritated by the refusal to comply with his demand, by the lingering of the opium ships and dealers, and by the renewed sales of the drug, he suffered himself to be hurried on to those harsh and unjustifiable acts, which have left an indelible stain on his mission and character. Acting on the system of mutual responsibility, so interwoven with the Chinese polity, he proceeded to coerce the surrender of the guilty individual by oppressing the British residents at Macao, a place forty miles distant from the scene of the murder. The superintendent and most of his countrymen withdrew to Hongkong, where the denial of provisions, and other local annoyances brought on remonstrances, and finally a collision with the Chinese force at Kowlung, a small port in the vicinity. Of this affair, we believe the general opinion to be, that it was rash and 'untoward.' It threw upon the British flag the odium of being the first to aggress, the guilt of the first bloodshed.

19th. The right of blockade is confessedly a portion of international law, which belligerents and neutrals are far from being agreed on. But there are sufficient expositions extant, to show clearly, that the blockade of the port of Canton, announced the 11th of September and revoked the 16th, was defective in authority, as well as based upon misapprehension. The actual cutting off of certain British subjects by the Chinese, which had been assumed in the notice, proved incorrect, and even if it had not, no maritime nation would, we think, have admitted the blockade as emanating from competent authority That a British consul and a British post-captain can declare war, or assume certain acts of foreign powers to be a declaration of war, and thence proceed without any direct instructions, or any reference to superior authority, to exercise belligerent rights upon neutral flags, is a doctrine that would overthrow all the securities of commerce. Least of all could such principles be admitted in application to remote parts of the mercantile world, where incalculable losses would be inflicted, before such reference could be made or confirmation had, from the supreme governments. In the particular instance before us, the assumption maintained by the blockade party

and derided by their opponents,—that war did actually exist—would have been even more disastrous to British than to neutral interests. Had it been true, the large amount of British property lying within the Bogue, would have been at the mercy of the Chinese, and almost the whole in the outer anchorages also, liable to capture and condemnation under charge of trading with the enemy. But in truth no war existed, and the revocation of the blockade, five days after its announcement, was coupled with a notification of negotiations pending with the enemy.

20th. We shall not attempt toa nalyse these negotiations, or to trace the causes which led to their failure. On this, as on the other prior matters, we want fuller copies of what passed between the contracting parties, to decide exactly. From the papers which have appeared, it would seem that the whole negotiation for a trade at Chuenpe, was carried on by the parties at cross purposes with each other. From the commissioner's edict of 9th October, ushering in the arrangements, and from the momorandum of propositions and replies published Oct. 26th, it is evident he contemplated as complete a subjection of British life to Chinese adjudication at Chuenpe, in case of the detection of opium, as could be conveyed by the subscription of any bonds whatever. At the same time, it is equally apparent from the whole course of the superintendent, that, on his part, no such submission was intended. Whether any further modifications took place, or whether the superintendent secretly relied on the presence of a sloop-of-war to rescue any British subject charged with smuggling, we know not; but so far as appears, no arrangement was at all practicable between parties so wide of each other. Bad faith on the commissioner's part may have existed, but it is unnecessary to call it in, to account for the subsequent failure. A frank and clear understanding, a full declaration of each one's meaning, was all that was needed to produce that result,—to break off a negotiation based wholly upon concealment or mutual misapprehension.

21st. The failure of the arrangements at Chuenpe gave a new impulse to the freighting business already going on in American and other bottoms. This last hope of renewed trade disappointed, the anxiety of the British ship-owners and consignees to clear their vessels, and the competition which followed, carried freights of cotton (from Hongkong to Whampoa) up to $6 per bale, while, for bringing down teas, &c., $10 per ton was given. The depreciation of the British flag and the enhancement of the value of others went on, until ship after ship was sold for nominal considerations, to supply the demand

for neutral tonnage. This strange alteration of values was of course the legitimate fruit of the superintendent's measures. But whether he foresaw this result or not, we are not aware, and therefore make no comment on the official causes. As a concern of the merchants interested in these transfers, no commendation can be expressed either of the buyers or the sellers. The public and generous nature of the superintendent's contest, however impolitic, should have prevented any man of any other nation from this direct opposition to him. Still more wrong was it for British subjects, to evade their obligations to their own officer, laboring for their own protection. The former violated their neutrality; the latter, their consistency and their allegiance. The part taken by the American consul in these purchases is open to the same and even greater objection. By giving his sanction to such transfers, instead of checking them in the outset, he of course involved the consulate in the course so offensive to the British representative. By going further, and granting formal passes to vessels so bought, requesting all 'princes, potentates, &c., to suffer said ships to pass, without let, hindrance, or molestation,' he exceeded, in the common opinion, his proper and legal functions. As the question here involved is an important one, we will briefly state the grounds of that judgment, as we understand them.

We learn from the consular instructions promulgated on the first of August, 1801, that 'our consuls had already originated the practice of providing with certificates foreign vessels purchased abroad by citizens of the United States.' 'To regulate a course of proceedings the tendency of which was to blend American with foreign property in appearance,' the consuls were instructed to require certain proofs of bonafide ownership, and thereon empowered to grant a certificate, after a form prescribed, which paper—it is added —'*must* be limited to the vessel's return to the United States, and *her destination to some port therein must be specified in it.*' The form referred to, after reciting the evidences of property—closed thus—'I have granted permission that the said ship may depart and proceed on her voyage to the port aforesaid. This permission to continue in force only during the said voyage.' If therefore this certificate were still authorized, it would appear to convey no protection to purchased vessels, plying on freighting trips between foreign anchorages, with no homeward destination, and no idea, in fact, of ever being sent to any port within the Union.

But after four years' experience of the workings of this permission, the department of state issued, July 12th, 1805, the following in-

structions. 'The multiplied abuses of the certificates which the consuls of the United States were, by the instructions of the 1st August, 1801, authorized to give, in the case of foreign vessels purchased by a citizen of the United States, notwithstanding the precautions taken against them, have led to the conclusion, that the discontinuance of the certificates altogether is the only effectual remedy. You will therefore forbear to grant any certificate whatever relative to such purchases, except to those who may satisfy you, that the purchase was made without knowing this alteration in your instructions. Accordingly, you will publicly advertise that you are restrained from issuing certificates in such cases, with the sole exception just mentioned; and from allowing the exception itself, after the expiration of two months from the date of the advertisement.' This is, so far as we know, the latest action of the American government, on the subject of these certificates. The revival of the practice in China, after so long an interval, is, we suppose, based on the general consular power to grant certificates, or on the silence of the general instructions of March 2d, 1833, or on the late receipt of new instructions. The first supposition, could not, in any case, we suppose, authorize more than a consular deposition, respecting the ownership of the vessel in question, even if this be not precluded, by the special exception recited. The second ground seems equally defective, because the object of Mr. Livingston in his digest, was — to guide the consul in his duties, — in the exercise of powers yet belonging to his office, not to recite repeals, or to authorize resumptions of those long taken from it. On the third point, the American consul is of course the best authority, and he certainly will not refuse to make known such instructions, nor indeed any reasons which have justified, to his own mind, this portion of his official conduct. In the absence of such explanations, our impression is — that while the United States will always extend to foreign built vessels purchased by Americans, the protection accorded by acts of congress of 1802 and 1803, they yet confine all certification to the home authorities, because it cannot in their view be safely intrusted to the consuls.

22d. The failure of the Chuenpe negotiation led to other consequences of a much more serious nature. The commissioner renewing his commands to the British fleet 'to enter the port or leave the coast,' under pain of capture or destruction, the superintendent proceeded with two sloops-of-war to the Bogue, to demand the withdrawal of these offensive orders. No satisfaction being afforded, and the Chinese fleet showing signs of hostile preparation, the sloops began

a fire which shortly disabled or destroyed several of the junks, with some scores or hundreds of their people. On this conflict, opinions are, we believe, much divided; some joining with the superintendent in lamenting the carnage; the most regretting that the complete destruction of the fleet was not effected. We do not hesitate in this diversity to take the side of the superintendent and of humanity. And we would further respectfully ask, was it, then, *for the safety of life and property*, that the retirement from Canton was ordered? And are these the fruits of that measure? With all allowance for difference of value between Chinese and British blood, could any consequences so costly have resulted from a continued residence at the factories? We know these questions will be answered with a show of triumph, by pointing to the violences of the commissioner. But the reference is not satisfactory. Had the orders to repair to Hongkong never been issued to the fleet, probably the homicide of July had never happened. Or if it had, the presence of the superintendent at Canton, had he preserved a position of impartial mediation, should have been at least as influential, to resist unjust demands, as was that of the E. I. Company's select committee. Or if the singular violence of the kinchae had brooked no terms and even extorted a victim to the law of retaliation, then how clear and unquestionable would have been the position of Great Britain. As the case now stands, it is not easy to say how much of these difficulties has proceeded from causes worthy of a nation's quarrel, or how much from subaltern error and exasperation. On the one hand, it is undeniable that the course of the commissioner has been harsh and even hostile. But on the other, the declaration of March 22d was hostile. The language and conduct of the British community during the confinement was openly hostile. The retirement was avowedly the precursor and preparation for hostilities. No more conference, no more papers — was the superintendent's language — a swift and heavy blow will be struck at the Chinese, without preface or explanation. Then the armed occupation of a Chinese harbor was not peaceful. The attack at Kowlung, the notice of blockade, the affair at Chuenpe, were all hostile. In short, the whole history of these troubles forms an admirable comment on the wisdom of those provisions against rash war-making with half civilized states, which fill up some of the brightest pages in western diplomacy. We quote for instance, the following from Art. 24 of the treaty of 1786, between the United States and Morocco. "If any differences shall arise by either party infringing on any of the articles of this treaty, peace and harmony shall remain

notwithstanding in the fullest force, until a friendly application shall be made for an arrangement; and until that application shall be rejected, no appeal shall be made to arms." And again, from the 16th article of the treaty of 1816 with Algiers: "In case of any dispute arising from the violation of any of the articles of this treaty, no appeal shall be made to arms, nor shall war be declared on any pretext whatever; but if the consul, residing at the place where the dispute shall happen, shall not be able to settle the same, the government of that country shall state their grievance in writing, and transmit the same to the government of the other, and the period of* three months shall be allowed for answers to be returned, during which time no act of hostility shall be permitted by either party."

These articles seem to us to embody the true spirit of an enlightened and pacific diplomacy; to treat the fearful power of making war,—of taking life,—in the only proper manner,—as an essential attribute of sovereignty, not to be trusted to subaltern hands in any case whatever.

23d. The collision at Chuenpe, as it threw an additional doubt on the safety of British property within the grasp of the Chinese, gave a new impulse to transhipments. Five or six ships of the British fleet were transferred by sale to American hands, and several more were placed under other neutral colors. How far these sales might have gone, is not to be told, had not the commissioner, seeing perhaps that his efforts to dislodge the British fleet were neutralized by the permission to tranship, withdrew by his edicts of Nov. 25th, the license he had previously given through the American consul. These important papers drew the more attention, because they put an official end to the British trade with China, from and after the 6th December. Whether they will be construed rigidly or loosely, whether the exclusion will be applied generally, or only to such vessels from Indian ports as refuse to give bonds against opium, remains to be gathered from the future course of the commissioner and his successors.†

In this tangled and complicated state of affairs, it is our design now to express our views and wishes, as to the more immediate measures necessary to bring back these agitated elements to quiet and order. Beginning with the American community, we venture to offer some brief recommendations, first to the consul, and next to the

* This interval is extended to twelve months in the treaty with Tripoli.

† The receipt of the imperial rescript published January 5th, now makes it nearly certain that the exclusion will for the present be acted on.

private merchants. To the former, we propose that he reconsider his course on two points; the granting of passes to purchased vessels, and the mode of dealing with petitions placed in his hands by his fellow-citizens for presentation to the Chinese authorities.

Beside the objections to those grants, arising out of the consular instructions, he should consider their offensiveness to the superintendent, and their tendency to destroy our neutral character, by confounding all the distinctions between American and foreign property. When the transhipments first began, in American built vessels, commodore Read warned his countrymen — that, 'if they could not carry on their commerce without having their interests so completely and thoroughly blended with those of the English, it would have been better that ships-of-war had not appeared here.' Had he remained in the Chinese waters, until equal and even greater suspicion came to be thrown over the flag itself, his opinions on the point would surely have gained further strength, and thus placed the two American officers in the country, in direct collision with each other.

Again, we hope the consul will reconsider his course with respect to the receipt and forwarding of petitions. We must explain our views by saying — that when the British fleet had repaired to Hongkong, and it became absolutely necessary to the prosecution of the American trade, to exchange bills for goods, a strong objection was felt to any transhipments, by some parties, on account of their irregularity. These parties wished to bring the subject at once before the commissioner, that the practice might have his sanction, or if it were refused, that ships might repair for the purpose to ports beyond the Chinese territory. The hongs would not receive the petitions; and on application to the sub-prefect of Macao, he required that the petition be presented through the consul. The consul refused to transmit it, and thus for some months, the transhipments went on under an odious and hazardous singularity. But when the actual sale of ships, as well as of goods, brought the subject before the commissioner, and he demanded explanation, the consul was compelled to state what he had before declined, and the transhipments were admitted in reply 'to come within the limits of allowable business.'

Again, when the second bond was first presented to the American captains, it was the strong wish of parties that the just objections to that paper should be calmly and frankly stated. Memoranda were prepared for that purpose, but when on the refusal of the hongs to interpose, the consul was applied to, his answer was, that he should not petition himself, nor could he transmit any petition for others.

We are fully aware how very low a rank the consular officer holds in the political system, and that the American especially has no right to approach any native government, at all, except in cases of emergency, and in the absence of an accredited minister. Still, in such circumstances as exist in China, we think it extremely desirable that the consul should not refuse to act upon points which intimately concern life, property, and honor. While we would not have him assume powers at variance with his instructions, and which if exercised, can only serve some private speculation; we would have him ever ready to interpose in behalf of those who are suffering for their fidelity to their principles and their country.

As respects the American merchants, if our opinions might have any influence, we would use it, to recall them to their own regular commerce, and to a more becoming position toward the Chinese government. It is to be hoped, that the prohibition of transhipments will do something to forward the former object; and as for the latter, though error has reached an almost irreparable point, yet something may be done to make it the less disastrous. The mistake we refer to, is — the signature of the second bond, without protest, explanation, or remonstrance. The first bond was sufficiently objectionable. It was vague and without any expressed penalties. It looked like a studied attempt to combine apparent rigor with real immunity from punishment. The admissions with which it was coupled deprived it of any fatal power, until the lapse of a considerable interval. Yet, even in the signature of this bond, the American merchants went to the very verge of dishonor. They made a bad precedent, in the hope of discharging better, an important duty. In the attempt to give the Chinese government every possible proof of their sincere abjuration of the opium traffic, they had conceded all and perhaps more than society and governments could sanction. Still this was no inexcusable, no irreparable error. Yet, had no new bond been presented to them, they would have been bound, on the expiration of the commissioner's limitations in December, to have brought the subject before him, and remonstrated against a longer signature. When therefore the new bond was presented, with all its offensive and fatal clauses, there should have been an unanimous refusal to accept its terms, and the grounds of this rejection submitted frankly to the commissioner. The quiet swallowing of such conditions, in silence, without an effort to effect an abatement, was a proceeding wholly inexcusable, and utterly beneath the American character. Enough had been already done, to evince a complete abandonment

of the opium trade, and here was a fine opportunity to show, how satisfaction to the injured government of China, could be reconciled with every other duty. It was thrown away, as if of no value. Lamentable as this recklessness was in itself, and in its influence to confirm the Chinese in error as to foreign usages, something may yet be done, and certainly should be, before the departure of the commissioner. Taking advantage of his return to the provincial city, they may lay before him their petition in form something like the following.

The undersigned, American merchants, approach your excellency for the purpose of respectfully stating their views on the form of bond lately required, through the hong merchants —

When the British merchants withdrew from Canton in May last, we declinod the invitation to follow them, because we were anxious to prove, that our abandonment of the opium trade was sincere and final. Your excellency having then, specified four and eight months, as the periods after which the new law should take effect, on vessels from India and from Europe, we were anxious to use this interval, to settle our affairs, and to give every reasonable satisfaction to your excellency. It was ever our intention, on the expiration of these periods, to come before your excellency with our frank petition against the full enforcement of those regulations. Now before the period has elapsed, we find ourselves called on to submit our vessels and crews to their full and unreserved operation. We take this occasion therefore to state the following objections.

1st. The bond now required is unnecessary. When your excellency arrived at Canton in March last, the opium trade was flourishing. With two weapons, the confiscation of the drug and the banishment of the importers, the traffic was driven from the factories. If then, these two means were sufficient to eradicate the evil, they are surely sufficient to prevent its springiug up again within our residences. Where is the necessity for the confiscation of legal property, or for the use of capital punishments?

2d. The bond is misplaced. For the last eight months, not a chest of opium has heen sold by the foreigners at Canton; while hundreds and perhaps thousands, have been delivered along the coasts of the empire. It is not, therefore, by new and severe regulations applicable to Canton alone, that the evil is to be reached, but by measures extended along the sea-frontier.

3d. The bond is fraught with danger to China. The confiscation of the drug, in March last, and still more, the shutting up of the

foreign residents and consuls, have already endangered the peace of the empire. How then can war be avoided, if confiscations be extended to whole cargoes of licit property, and even life be taken away, for a catty of opium?

4th. The bond is framed in entire dereliction of the benevolent professions of the government towards foreigners. It is not only capitally severe toward the really guilty, but it involves all, having property on board the ship whence opium is landed, in common forfeitures. To use the language of Mencius, it converts the waters from the Ladrones to Whampoa into a vast pit for the ruin of foreigners.

5th. The bond manifests complete ignorance of the views and usages of foreign nations. All good men in the west regret the use of opium by your people. But it is their custom to check vice by pure examples, by clear instructions, &c., not by capital punishments. If such means are necessary to restrain your people from the use of opium, they leave you to apply them. Your people know the laws and language. If accused, they can defend themselves. They have friends to intercede for them. If wronged, they can appeal to the emperor. Not so the foreigner. He is an alien on your shores. He can with great difficulty prepare a short petition. He has no friends, no access by appeal to the emperor. Foreign states will give every guaranty against opium, but they will ever demand, either that their people be treated in all respects as natives, or suffered to live entirely under the jurisdiction of their consuls. This has always been granted to the Portuguese at Macao; why should it not be granted to all other foreigners?

6th. The bond, even if given, is of no value; no man signs it sincerely. He submits, because you are strong and he is weak, but he utterly denies the obligation. He neither means to give up his crew nor his vessel, nor his cargo. He has no right and no power to do either. He regards you as an oppressor, for demanding it, and is determined to act, just as if he had signed no bond whatever. His rulers too will disown the certificates so soon as they hear of them.

For these and other like reasons, we petition your excellency to desist from the demand of these bonds, and to revert to the means already so successful in your hands,—the confiscation of the drug wherever found, and the expulsion of all foreigners taking part in its introduction.

Objections like these are surely too well founded to be overlooked by the American residents; nor will their consul again refuse them his aid, when it is thus required—not for mercenary purposes, not in

doubtful stretches of uncertain powers, — but for the preservation of life, property, and public honor. Even if such a petition should fail to change a policy now hardened by our own needless submissions, yet it is worth while to have placed it in the provincial archives, and in the hands of the commissioner. It is something to have told this government, that while it keeps the foreigner an alien on its shores, it must find some means to reconcile its own demands, with the allegiance he still owes to the laws of his native country.

To go on to the British community, we take the liberty to give our counsel to the mercantile residents with all the freedom of friendship and sympathy. Their choice seems to us to have been made, once for all, when they obeyed the superintendent's injunctions to retire from their factories. Or rather the surrender of the opium was the pledge, too heavy to be forfeited, staked upon the validity of his injunctions, which bound them to respect his command and support his authority. Deference to the superintendent, and unanimity among themselves, were henceforth their true policy. They should not have sent their property, as such, within the Bogue, nor should they have employed other flags, other covers, and other agencies. Evasions, jealousies, discords, only lowered their own stand, and weakened their hold on the home government. It is time that frankness, truth, unanimity, and loyalty, resume their empire. The act of this government, which now puts an official period to British commerce, is the act which should unite all minds in a firm, patient, undoubting expectation for the powerful interposition of their sovereign.

As regards the British superintendent, we trust it may not be inconsistent with the deference due his rank and superior information, to express our wishes on two points,— the armed possession of Chinese harbors, and the defense of such positions byhostile measures. We think he will admit the doctrine, though laid down by a transatlantic tribunal,* that 'the jurisdiction of a nation within its own territory is exclusive and absolute. It is susceptible of no limitation not imposed on itself. Any restriction, deriving its validity from an external source, would imply a diminution of its sovereignty to the extent of that restriction, and an investment of that sovereignty to the same extent, in the power which could impose such restriction. All exceptions to the full and complete power of the nation within its own territories, must be traced up to the consent of the nation itself.' Candor and the maps further oblige us to admit, that the anchorages

* Supreme Court of the United States. (*The Exchange vs. McFaddon.*)

now and lately occupied by the British fleet are 'within the body of the country, not 'the uninclosed water of the ocean on the sea-coast, outside the *fauces terræ*.' Under such premises, we would respectfully ask, if it be right for the officer of a foreign nation to occupy and hold by force, such harbors? Does this impose no 'limitation' on the Chinese sovereignty? And when this assumption is made, not in war but in peace, not by supreme but by inferior authority, is it justifiable; is it in short, the proper part of a peaceful, protective, trade-superintendency? We cannot see it to be so. The policy of the superinteudent on this point,—the withdrawal from Canton to take up a position without the Bogue,—seems to us to have involved a common forgetfulness of precedents and of geography. It overlooked that favorite provision in modern treaties already quoted, by which a long interval (six to twelve months) is secured to merchants, &c., wherein to settle their affairs, before they shall come under the reach even of a declaration of war, and hurried them from their residences on a hasty and insufficient notice. It drew the same erroneous line across the Bogue, which had been drawn in reference to the opium smuggling, in the previous order of December. The superintendent's abandonment of this demarcation as concerns the drug, and his declaration (notice of 11th September) that 'H. M's. flag does not fly in countenance or protection of the traffic,' and requiring all British vessels engaged in it 'to depart immediately from the harbor and the coast,' go far to show that the distinction between inside and outside never was well founded, and should be given up entirely. The orders not to trade with the Chinese, have now been met by the orders of the commissioner not to trade with the English, and oaths, it is said, are about to be exacted, of all vessels entering, that they have not communicated with the British shipping. We trust therefore the necessity of a general evacuation will soon be admitted, and the fleet leave these waters for some more hospitable harbors.

If the armed occupation of Hongkong was indefensible, much more so were the bloody encounters of Kowlung and Chuenpe, by which it was sought to maintain possession. But the orders to repair thither being issued, it was next necessary to secure a supply of provisions for the fleet, as well as to guard it from molestation. The attack on Kowlung aimed to gain the first object, that on the Chuenpe fleet, the second. If the British relations with China were those of war, when the first action took place, it was surely too much to require the Chinese to furnish supplies — to commit the treason of

'aiding and comforting' the enemy If they were peaceful on both occasions, then we must view these 'untoward' affairs, as humble, inglorious imitations of Copenhagen and Navarino. But there is a broader objection to these encounters, than any that arises out of the momentary relations of the contending parties. 'War,' to borrow again the language of a western statesman, 'is the ultimate and last resort; and much ought to be borne, before a nation, especially a commercial one, should appeal to arms.' It is the last resort to which humanity consents, even when the reluctant act of supreme authority, after slow and solemn deliberation. How much more objectionable then, when the work of destruction is made to precede the declaration of hostilities; when the sovereign, in whose hands this awful power is constitutionally lodged, is not consulted, and counsel and deliberation are forgotten in the hurry of mutual exasperation. Hence the wisdom of that provision against rash hostilities already quoted; and hence the earnest wish we venture to express, that when the British fleet can no longer ride quietly in the Chinese waters, it will retire, until its safe and honorable and triumphant return can be provided for, as it should be, by orders under the sign-manual.

We now reach the last topic we design to touch, viz. the action, to be expected and desired, on the part of western governments. And here we look mainly to the interposition of G. Britain; not that we doubt that an American (and may be a French and a Dutch) envoy will soon be out; but because his appointment will probably be anticipated, and his measures outweighed, by the quicker and more powerful interference of England. Unquestionably the United States will exhaust every peaceful recourse, rather than leave their citizens resident in China longer exposed to loss and contumely. But all their efforts will be deliberate and pacific. Their neutral position, during the long wars of Europe, and the succeeding disturbances of the Spanish colonies, has taught them patience. The tardy and reluctant satisfaction granted to their claims, but granted at last, by almost every European power, attests their long-suffering, and at the same time, the steadiness with which, when wronged, they demand, and finally obtain justice. They will say of these troubles in China, as was said of the conduct of the South Americans, by the secretary of state in 1827, 'had we declared war upon every occasion of complaint like these, (and there is no disposition to underrate them,) the United States would have enjoyed scarcely a year of repose, since the establishment of their present constitution.' For this reason chiefly, we suppose the American action here will be

set aside, and therefore direct our attention chiefly to the expected movements of Great Britain. The nature of the present troubles — of the crisis which calls for her interference — compels her, at the very first step, to take up the opium question.

The origination of that traffic by the British government, through its creature the E. I. Company, has given rise to two obligations on her part,— one, towards the surrenderers of March,— the other towards the Chinese government. The E. I. Company has trained up a class of men, and employed them to do its work and fill its coffers, by carrying on a contraband trade in China. These men have been overtaken in their sad service, by sudden and heavy losses. The character of their agency is such, that no armed protection can be afforded them, no claim for security or compensation can be put in, on their behalf, to the Chinese government. Their cause cannot be defended even in argument, much less espoused and borne out by warlike measures. There is only one thing upon earth, they can claim from their government, and that is *money*. The power which has raised them up, and taken care to secure the lion's share of their profits, in all the times of their safety, is now bound to bear a liberal share of their losses in their day of adversity. Great Britain stands obliged by sheer justice, to take upon herself a generous division of the late losses, and beyond this, she owes no respect to the traffic, its authors, or conductors, whatever. The money must be counted down, and then the drug, in all its connections, must be swept from her path, at once and for ever. Their claims, their pretensions, their existence, must not stand for a moment longer, between her and her honor.

A distinct satisfaction being done, apart and by itself, to the sufferers of March, in pounds, shillings, and pence, Great Britain approaches, unembarrassed, her obligations to China. Into these, nothing pecuniary enters. Inroads upon a people's virtue, life and happiness, cannot be calculated or paid for, either in sycee or sterling. The past is irrevocable. Frank explanation, manly bearing of just so much censure as is merited, only, can be given; the rest is all prospective. As we are charged, in common with other opponents of the opium trade, with holding all sorts of absurd opinions upon this point — the satisfaction due from England to China — we take this occasion to state our real sentiments the more freely.

As concerns the Chinese government, and especially its imperial head, we hold, that so far as its action upon the opium springs from and evinces a sincere determination to check the fearful progression

of a popular vice it merits respect and deference. Motives so honorable, even if they do not completely justify, yet should bar all hasty and hostile retaliations. At the same time, we are far from yielding to this government, unmingled commendation. Its merits are subject to some large deductions. It is evidently unenlightened on the subject of 'inefficacious punishments.' It cannot be said 'to love mercy rather than sacrifice.' It clings as closely as ever, to the theory now nearly exploded in the west, that crime is best guarded against by unmeasured punishments. Hence it has already loaded its people with so many odious bonds and penalties, to repress the favorite vice, that nothing but conscience probably keeps down insurrection. Another deduction must yet be made, which should not be overlooked by the moralist and the Christian. The authority which commands a public reformation from a long-practiced vice — universal abstinence from a darling luxury — is the very same, that shuts its people up, from the strongest motives, the most essential helps, to purity and virtue. The imperial proscriber of the opium traffic is also the proscriber of Christianity. Equal sincerity may perhaps animate both acts, but this neither excuses them, nor helps the case of the people. There is no propriety in commanding them to resist seduction, and in denying them, at the same time, the faith that overcomes the world, and fortifies the heart against temptation. It is asserting what all history, all revelation disprove, that there can be popular virtue without Christian motive or private piety.

Unquestionably, all sincere reformation must spring from enlarged knowledge, deep convictions, sincere repentance, in the erring party. And with the aid of Christian motive and the awe of just penalties, such might have been the true and lasting recovery from the national vice of China. No trenching on the popular liberty, no odious bonds, no unjust responsibilities, no harsh and murderous enactments would have disfigured such a reformation. Its effects would have been purely good; not as now, largely mixed with evil. Indeed the imperfect suppression of the traffic at this moment, while the commissioner still lingers near the provincial capital, makes it an easy inference, that his departure will be the signal of fresh importations. If so, of all this costly movement, only two partial fruits will remain:—the moral lesson 'read to Europe,' and the impression made on Chinese society. The first will not soon be forgotten. For the last, the smoker will resume his pipe, for new pleasures are not, new nerves cannot be, given him. The young, the aspiring, the uncontaminated, only, will eschew a vice, once fashionable and flattering,

but now odious, the mark of the informer, the surest disqualification for official honors.

The satisfaction due to the imperial author of this national movement, must, as we have said, be almost entirely prospective. He does not ask for any retroactive measures. Security against future importations is all that is demanded by China of Great Britain. The British government has not even an explanation to tender, unless so far as it deems them necessary to the vindication of its own honor. We hear it has already sanctioned that notice of Dec, 1838, by which the superintendent withdrew protection from the smuggling craft within the river. And when it comes to pronounce upon the notice of March 22d, by which the same officer, changing his ground, defended without the river, what he had denounced within, we cannot doubt, it will declare the distinction vain, and express regret that it was ever adopted. Indeed it has been, as we have said, already abandoned by its author; the notice of September 11th, being as full a disclaimer of the whole obnoxious traffic, outside and in, as could have come from the foreign office, or from the pencil of the commissioner. It remains only for the British government to sanction that official act, and to tender to the emperor such securities for the future abstinence of the E. I. Company and all private parties from growing or carrying the drug, as are consistent with the national usages.

The question then is, do British precedents permit the government to interfere to check the opium trade by making it penal for British subjects to carry the drug, and thus to satisfy the demands of China? We find an answer to this query, in the treaty, on the navigation of the Pacific, &c., concluded February, 1825, with Russia. After defining boundaries, granting free commerce, &c., the 9th Article adds—'the abovementioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in *spirituous liquors*, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging *not to permit the abovementioned articles to be sold or delivered in any manner whatever*, to the natives of the country.' Nor is Great Britain alone in these humane provisions. The United States (beside its treaty with Siam, in which opium is specified as prohibited, and its traffic forbidden to their citizens) has a similar treaty with Russia, on the same subject, dated April, 1824. By its Article 4, '*all spirituous liquors*, fire-arms, &c., are excepted from the commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two powers engage reciprocally, *neither to sell or suffer them to be sold to*

the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any persons under their authority.' Accordingly, congress acting on the right reserved under this treaty, to determine and inflict punishments for contravention of its articles, proceeded to fix, by act of May 19th, 1828, the penalties (fine and imprisonment) to be incurred by any persons so offending.

These remarkable compacts no doubt owe their existence to the working of mingled interest and compassion.* And since they have been entered into, for the sake of the scattered tribes on the north Pacific, and their petty traffic; they may be, for the Chinese people and intercourse with China. If they have been made to include spirituous liquors in their list of prohibitions, they may take in the more deadly drug, which has been intoxicating this empire. If these stipulations — these limitations on a gainful traffic — have been granted on the demand of the czar, they cannot be denied to the demand of the emperor. We hazard little in predicting that they will be conceded; that within a very short period, provisions equally broad and just will be applied to the matter in controversy with this empire. One point of difference between the cases will then have to be provided for. The Indian tribes were too feeble to enforce the system devised for their protection. China is more civilized and more powerful. A fair division of jurisdiction would have therefore to be agreed on; such for instance, as the reserving all offenses on the 'high seas' to the foreign, and leaving all committed in harbors, to the native, tribunals.

Securities like these, tendered by foreign governments to the Chinese (with such modifications as circumstances might be found to require) would surely go far to satisfy the imperial mind, and settle the pending controversy † Until the tender is made, all retaliations and hostilities are, to say the least, permature; for it cannot be known that they are necessary. The offer involves no extermination of the poppy, as many would have us believe; no crusade against Turks,

* It is under the same humane and intelligent system, that the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company have been concerting and carrying out together, the gradual withdrawal of spirits from their hunting tribes.

† Compare, at least its influence with the present state of things, and the impressions thence resulting. The E. I. Company offering near 20,000 chests of opium for public sale, *for export by sea only*, and advancing on a further crop of the poppy;—2000 chests on its way from Bombay; 9000 to 10,000 more in store of the old crop; and more than 20,000 of the new, just gathered in Malwa.— Powerful vessels, British owned, plying on the Chinese coasts, showing such flags as they please, and to crown all, actively supplying their native associates with fire-arms and ammunition!! And with all this before the Chinese, *with the E. I. Company's advertisements in the hands of the commissioner*, we wonder, and resent

or Malwarrees; no breach of faith, law, or usage. Let the two great powers most interested in the matter, make the concession, and let time tell, if any other dare violate what they unite to respect, or refuse what they have conceded.

Supposing this satisfaction — these securities — once given, we close this article with a short reference to the further questions, most urgently claiming foreign interference. Taking the late occurrences as a guide, (and leaving out of sight the higher and ulterior privileges belonging to those cordial and equal relations, we are one day to have with China,) we confine our remarks to two points, the protection due to the foreign residents, and the security of the innocent among them, from implication with the guilty

The protection due to the citizen while resident abroad, is one of the important and delicate parts of diplomatic provision. Three degrees of this may be noticed. One, where civilized nations, treating with each other, in mutual confidence, give up their citizens to each others municipal laws, without any reservation. This confidential footing is seen in the relation of the European states with the United States of America, and with each other. The second and almost opposite course is followed with respect to states half-civilized, whose police regulations are imperfect, and whose general administration of justice is not to be trusted. Thus the czar treating with the Ottoman Porte at Adrianople in 1829, stipulates, 'that Russian subjects shall live under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the ministers and consuls of Russia:' and the United States, treating with the same power in May, 1830, make the only stipulation of the kind in their diplomatic code, that their citizens 'shall be tried by their minister or consul, and punished according to their offense, following in, this respect, the usage observed towards other Franks.

An intermediate degree of protection is sometimes secured, for examples of which, we may cite the treaties of the United States, with Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. For instance the Article 21 of the treaty of 1786, with the first of these states provides: 'If a citizen of the United States should kill or wound a Moor; or on the contrary, if a Moor shall kill or wound a citizen of the United States,

his measures. It is said too that the governor-general will probably be empowered to coerce a settlement of the pending controversy. Can it be? Whatever chastisement China may deserve, are there none to administer it, but the monopolist growers of the opium? What justice could be looked for, were the most criminal of all the parties concerned, to be transferred from the bar to the bench, to measure and dispense it? No: let nothing of our delicate and important cause be given over to the Calcutta council, until the time come, so long predicted, when "the child may put his hand on the cockatrice's den."

the law of the country shall take place, and equal justice shall be rendered, the consul assisting at the trial' And again, the 19th and 20th Arts. of the treaty of 1816 with Algiers provide, that 'any disputes that may take place, between the citizens of the United States, and the subjects of the regency of Algiers, shall be decided by the dey in person, and no other.' * * And—'if a citizen of the United States kill, wound, or strike a subject of Algiers (or the contrary), the law of the country shall take place, and equal justice be rendered, the consul assisting at the trial; but the sentence against an American shall not be more severe than against a Turk in the same predicament."

The second of these forms is, no doubt, that which all western governments will prefer, when once they address themselves to the work of making their people safe in China. And as the Portuguese have long been permitted to make and apply their own laws at Macao, no insuperable difficulty seems to lie in the way of the extension of the privilege to other foreigners. It is, at all events, much more easy of concession than those full diplomatic relations, which equalize the native and the foreigner — and which alone will ever induce western governments to give up their citizens to the unmitigated operation of the laws of this empire. If, however, some difficulty should oppose the introduction of both these modes, the third is sufficiently substantiated to admit of being tendered to this government; though without a trial, it seems probable, that the Chinese would rather turn foreigners over entirely to their own officers, than admit a joint exercise of judicial authority.

We have every reason to believe that neither Great Britain, nor any other power, will attempt to screen their people from the course of a steady, a somewhat severe justice in this county. Late events, however, make it impossible that they should longer neglect a due provision for that very end — the attainment of a calm and discriminating justice. The homicide of July has been the means (at once atrocious in itself and fortunate in its connection) of reviving the odious pretensions of the Chinese on this point, at a moment when public attention cannot but be turned toward China. It is enough, that Great Britain and the United States have each suffered one such occasion to pass unimproved; that each once looked on unmoved, and saw a subject die unjustly under the hands of the Chinese executioner. It is due in great measure to the firmness of the superintendent that the same scene has not been lately reënacted, and we feel sure, his superiors, though they may regret that his hostile posi-

tion interfered with the satisfactoriness of his trial, will fully support his exclusive jurisdiction over the homicide of July. It will be the unpardonable fault of the great powers in commerce with this country, if this long contested question be not now settled aright and for ever.

The second point, we have selected — the security of the innocent from implication with the guilty — touches on a remarkable feature of the Chinese polity — that of mutual responsibility. As a domestic question, we are not competent to argue upon it, much less to sit in judgmen tupon it. It is in theory capable of no defense, and all its justification even as a domestic affair, must arise solely out of the necessities of the government that enforces it, and of the social system, with which it is interwoven. In this point of view, the real question is — does the state of the administration and of the social system in this country, demand the mutual responsibility — or, in other words — is it the lesser of two evils — the only alternative from confusion and anarchy? The late Dr. Milne, commenting on this subject (translation of the Shing Yu p. 40), in connection with the atrocious severity of the Chinese statute of treasons, asks — 'may it not be, in a great degree owing to this singularly severe feature of the Chinese law, that their government has continued for so many ages unchanged, as to the radical principles and great lines of it?' We venture no answer to the question. It is not with the home bearing of the subject that we have to do, and it is clear enough, in any event, that its extension to the foreigner is wholly inadmissible. He can be controled, corrected, tried, punished, without such odious compromises of distributive justice. If the guilty man cannot be awed or punished, in his own person, for his own offenses, by Chinese law; he can be reached by his own country's pains and penalties. He needs not to be restrained, or made to suffer at second hand, through the medium of his unoffending relatives. It remains for the powers intrusted herein, to put a period to such unjust liabilities; tendering at the same time to the Chinese, such aid as may ensure the attainment in all cases, of the ends of substantial justice. We must not again see a community of innocent men and women, broken up and flying before edicts which hold them responsible for crimes committed at forty miles distance. The delicate female, the helpless child must not again expiate in flight and exposure, the atrocious brutalities of every drunken homicide. Unless Great Britain make the late proceedings, to which we refer, the occasion for procuring these securities, along with public and private satisfaction

for the wrongs sustained, she will release all her absent subjects from any further confidence in her sympathy or her protection. If war be ever justifiable in this age and under the dispensation wherein we live, the denial of such reparation, of security against such injuries, surely goes far to sanction its declaration.

Our limits forbid our entering further into the catalogue of rights, civil, commercial, and diplomatic, which has often been made out of late, for presentation to the court of Peking, as an ultimatum. To one only will we advert, and that because every day gives painful experience of its value, viz. the possession of a true copy of the Chinese fiscal code and tariff, under the sanction of the supreme authority. For the private merchant to obtain this, is, and has always been, impossible. He has never been able to gain such a definition of his duty. Even now, no diligence of inquiry, no sincerity of obedience, no sacrifices, can satisfy his own sense of right, or raise him above the taunts of the malicious. The time of public interference is now at hand, and the longer sufferance of this great abuse, will convict western governments, to say the least, of small regard either for the happiness of their people, or for their own honor.

Finally, we repeat our opinions, formed long ago, as to the mode of acting on this empire. *Every peaceful resort must be exhausted, before force is employed against China.* The cause of peace, the enlightened sentiments of the age, demand this; it is enforced by the recollection of the vast usurpations, already pushed forward by Europeans upon the soil of Asia. Military movements here must awaken the worst suspicions, and arm all there is of love of country, and pride of independence against their authors. Such movements, if strong enough for irritation and yet too weak for success, tend directly to force this government, upon the stricter exclusive policy of its eastern neighbor. If powerful enough to shake the Mantchou dynasty, they endanger the disruption of the political tie, and may let loose again the very demons of confusion and anarchy. Every reader of Chinese history, remembering those long reigns of terror which abound in its ancient annals, will unite in warning western governments to be careful how they throw down a polity they cannot reconstruct, or seek to conquer what they cannot govern.

Here we have the Scylla and the Charybdis of foreign interference with China;—on the one hand—the introduction of an exclusion as rigorous as that of Japan; on the other—the overthow of the dynasty, and the substitution of lawlessness and anarchy. The first cannot but be deprecated by the friend of peaceful intercourse; the

second must awaken the far more serious alarms of every friend of humanity. Here is room for political wisdom to show itself, viz., in so steering, as to avoid these opposite dangers. The improbability that this degree of wisdom will be possessed by the conductors of ordinary military movements, or indeed by any single negotiator, sent hither, added to the love of peace, have made us long since feel and express a strong desire, that a combined mission from the western governments in commerce with China, should be the instrument selected for pressing their common suit at the bar of this empire. To this course, we have never heard an objection, except this, that western states cannot, and will not, move and work together. To this we reply, the cause is common; and peaceful unanimity in its pursuit cannot fail to make a deep impression. A joint guaranty against the violation of the Chinese territory, and a joint tender of a treaty like that we have already cited, are almost sure to disarm distrust and pave the way to confidence and freedom. Union is itself proof of disinterested aims, or at least, of aims resting on broad foundations, and not on the basis of national pride, cupidity or retaliation. If such union be not due to China, it is yet due, in our estimation, to western interests. Are these combined motives too abstruse, or too feeble to be felt and admitted by western cabinets? If they be, yet let generosity touch them, and while they exhaust every expedient for pacific success, they may rely, that if heaven will that the Ta Tsing dynasty be overthrown, it will provide a way for that end, in its haughty rejection of all advances; realising once more in the history of Taoukwang, the ancient saying, *quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

It remains once more to advert to those purer principles, which are just beginning, in our day, to be recognised, as laws for public, as well as private conduct. The time is fast drawing on, when 'the spear shall be cut in sunder, and the war chariot burned in the fire.' The best, the divinely appointed agent of amelioration upon earth, is the Bible, and not the bayonet. It is still left in part to us, however, to employ or reject the proper instrument. Or rather it is permitted to men to do the part assigned to them by Providence, under motives worthy or unworthy, disgraceful or meritorious. So will it be in this exigency, and in this country. Western states will be used, as the instruments of certain predicted changes here, and these they will work out, as their real characters may be, from lofty and pure respects, or from cupidity, revenge, and ambition. There is a pure influence, a commanding superiority, in their keeping; and

if they are wise and good enough to use it, the work will be done, and done to their immortal honor in the sight of earth and heaven. But if these noble motives are thrust out by angry, selfish, and cruel passions, then however complete the success, no merit will attend, no blessing hallow, the instrumentality. As citizens of western states, as humble sharers in their failures or their triumphs, we earnestly hope and pray, that they will on this remarkable trial now before them, do their duty.

Note. It should be stated that this article was prepared for our December number; but was necessarily postponed.

ART. III. *Loss of the British bark Sunda, described by communications by survivors from the wreck, addressed to the editor of the Canton Press.*

SIR, On looking into your paper of the 14th inst., I saw an account of the melancholy loss of the bark under my command, and as that statement is not altogether correct, I hasten to give you an authentic account of the loss of that vessel. On the 7th of October, at 6 o'clock in the evening, the land of Tyloo was seen from the mast-head, bearing N. E. by N., distant about 35 miles; the weather at this time appeared very unsettled, the barometer falling fast, with all the appearances of an approaching gale of wind, which I prepared the vessel for, by furling topgallant-sails, courses, and jib, and double reefing the topsails; at 9 o'clock, the wind suddenly veered from N. N. W. to N. E. by E. and blew a strong gale; in attempting to close reef the topsails, they were both blown to pieces; also the fore topmast-staysail and mizen; the wind continued to increase, till three next morning, when it blew a perfect hurricane, accompanied with a tremendous sea; at 8 o'clock the wind abated a little, but the sea became more violent and tossing in all directions; at this time, the fore topmast and main topgallant-mast both went over the side, and sprung the main topmast; from this time the wind continued to abate, but it still blew a strong gale with a very heavy sea, until the morning of the 10th when it became moderate. the wind from the N. Eastward. All that day we were busily employed clearing away the wreck of the masts, and endeavoring to get the vessel into a working state, and getting new topmasts made. On the 11th, it continued fine, when we had succeeded in getting new sails bent, and the broken spars on board, and one new topmast ready to send up. At 4 in the afternoon, we saw the Taya Islands bearing W. S. W., distant about 8 miles, when finding there was not sufficient drift for the vessel till morning, I set the foresail and run under the lee of one of

the islands, and brought up there. At this time 8 P. M., it was moderate weather, but at nine it began to blow, accompanied with a heavy swell; at eleven, it had increased to a gale; the vessel then began to drive with 90 fathoms of chain, I immediately gave her the whole chain being 120 fathoms, when she held on but capsized the windlass and started the bits from the deck; at one in the morning of the 12th, the chain parted about the hawse hole, and the vessel fell off with her head towards the coast of Hainan.

I then wore the ship round to the S. E., the wind at that time being about E. N. E. I then set the foresail and main trysail, and continued on the larboard tack, it blowing a heavy gale with a most frightful sea. At 3 A. M., the vessel touched the ground while in the hollow of a sea; I then set the square mainsail, the only remaining sail I had, when we deepened our water and kept off shore till five o'clock, when the vessel made a heavy plunge, burying her forepart into the sea as far as the foremast, carrying away the jibboom, fore topmast staysail, filling the forecastle with water, and washing everything off the deck; a short time after this, the main sheet broke and split the sail; I then gave up all hopes of being able to save the vessel, there being at this time five feet water in the hold, but kept reaching on with the foresail and main trysail, and anxiously looking for daylight. During all this time, the passengers were all in the cabin, I visiting them occasionally and comforting them in the best manner I could. At a little past five I discovered the land close to, to leeward, and extending to the S. E. about two miles, which part we were driving on; it appeared to be a very high rocky coast, and much like an island. I at this time communicated to the passengers our dangerous position, and my intention of bearing up, and running to leeward, in hopes that the land might prove an island with sufficient water between it and the shore to come too in, and if not, to run the vessel on the sandy beach which extended from it to the northward, for the preservation of our lives. At 5-30 kept the vessel away with the foresail; when within a quarter of a mile of the rocky coast, and two miles of the beach; during all this time it blew a heavy gale with a tremendous sea. In about fifteen minutes after keeping the vessel away she struck the ground, all hands were then employed clearing away the boats; we got the cutter on the booms ready for launching, when a heavy sea washed her off, and carried away the warp which had been passed aft from the lee bow, and made fast to her, to haul her up under the bow by, it being the most sheltered situation the position of the ship afforded; in endavoring to get the long-boat out, she was broken in pieces by the sea. About half an hour after the ship struck, the stern dead-lights were broken in, and the cabin filled with water; I then removed the passengers to the steerage in front of the poop, where I and part of the crew also took shelter; on failing to get the long-boat out, the rest of the crew took to the fore rigging. By this time, 8 A. M., the vessel had been driven much nearer the shore by the force of the sea, and had now begun to settle in the sand, the sea making a clear breach over her. About ten o'clock the companion of the steerage was washed away, when Mr. and Mrs.

McPherson with her female servant and myself, were washed out; I, in attempting to save Mrs. McPherson, had her infant child washed out of my arms which went overboard, and myself washed into the lee main rigging; we all succeeded now with great difficulty in gaining the poop and mizen rigging, excepting poor Mrs. McPherson and her servant, who were washed to the mainmast; Mr. McPherson in attempting to reach Mrs. McPherson, was washed forward to the main hatchway, and at the same time Mrs. McPherson and servant were washed into the body of the vessel, where they all remained but a short space, when they were washed overboard; the other passengers, myself and part of the crew, remained in the mizen rigging till 3 P. M., when the sea fell considerably, and after many vain attempts we succeeded in gaining the fore rigging: at this time the vessel began to work very much and soon became a total wreck. We continued on the wreck till evening, when I had no hopes of her holding together during the night; and thought the only chance of saving our lives would be by trying to get on shore before dark; there appearing at that time a current setting in shore, the cargo drifting rapidly towards it, we all succeeded in reaching the shore on pieces of the wreck; excepting Mr. Ilbery, Mr. Magnelius, and one of the crew, who were drowned in the attempt: six others of the crew remained in the foretop, Mr. Newbery being the only passenger who reached the shore in safety. On reaching the beach, we were surrounded by great numbers of natives, armed with hatchets and large knives, who were all busy plundering whatever came on shore, and carrying it into the country. At dark I succeeded by means of my cook who was a Chinaman, in prevailing on one of the natives, to conduct us to a place of shelter; he took us to a joss-house about four miles from the beach, where we remained for the night. The next mornning, at daylight, I and my crew went down to the beach, to endeavor to get the remaining part of the crew on shore; on reaching it, we found that the ship still held together, but the main and mizen-mast had both gone during the night, and the sea still continued so high that all communication between the shore and the wreck was impossible, and continued so during the day. I then endeavored to learn from the natives if any of the bodies had been cast on shore, as none of them could be found by us, after searching the beach for several miles. I learned from them that one had been cast on shore, and to which they conducted me; it proved to be that of Mr. McPherson, which they had buried. This night we slept in a small hut on the beach; at daylight, I and my crew walked down to the beach; the weather was now quite moderate with very little sea; a great number of natives had got on board the wreck, and thousands of them were on the beach. At this time those of the crew who had remained in the top, got on shore on rafts constructed of broken pieces of the wreck. I now finding it was impossible to save any part of the cargo which drifted on shore, the natives being so numerous, determined on attempting to reach the wreck, and endeavor to save the treasure, and keep possession of it until some of the authorities might appear, the natives being under no control.

In the evening I succeeded in taking a boat from them, and myself, the doctor, and three of the crew got into her, and got on board of the wreck, and drove the natives from on board, and kept possession of it during the night. Next day the weather continued very fine, and finding that I had not a sufficient number of the crew with me to protect the treasure, as boats from several junks which had come and anchored close by, had attempted several times to come on board. I sent the boat on shore for part of the crew which were on the beach; on sending the boat several of the crew got in, and Mr. Newbery, who was with them, came on board. I sent the boat a second time for the doctor, and two others who were still on the beach. On the boat reaching the shore the natives swam out and cut the rope which had been made fast to her from the wreck to haul her off by, and took possession of her. I was now left with Mr. Newbery and three of the crew on the wreck, without any means of communicating with the shore. At 5 P. M. it began to blow fresh with a heavy swell from seaward; by ten o'clock it had increased to a gale; we were at that time obliged to leave the after part of the wreck and get forward, as the sea was washing over it. At eleven the wreck broke in two, and the poop part drifted several hundred yards from the forepart. The scene was now most terrific, as the sea had full power on the upper part of the wreck, and was tearing it to pieces. Soon after the foremast went over the side, and in a short time there was nothing left but the stem and part of the bows. Mr. Newbery, my carpenter, and I were standing in the head protected a little from the sea by the night heads, from which place I was washed about midnight. I was fortunate enought to get on shore but I scarcely know how, with my body most frightfuly cut and bruised by the broken pieces of wreck. I lay on the beach till daylight, when I succeeded in getting to the joss-house by the assistance of the crew who came to the beach. Form the report of a sailor who was also washed on shore, it appears that on my being washed off the wreck, Mr. Newbery and the carperter left that part and got on to the mainmast, which was still fast to the wreck by the rigging, and that a piece of wreck passed over his (the sailor's) head, and on looking round, Mr. Newbery, the carpenter, with another seaman, had disappeared, and there was no doubt but that they were carried off by the piece of wreck mentioned.

Next morning, Mr. Newbery and the carpenter's bodies were found twelve miles to the northward of the wreck, at which place they were buried; two days after the vessel broke up, there was not a vestige of the wreck to be seen, as what was not floated out to sea, was broken up by the natives and carried into the country. I remained with my crew at the joss-house three days, when two mandarins visited me, and next day we commenced our journey to Canton. I am happy to say that on our travels from Hainan, we were very hospitably entertained by the Chinese and kindly provided, by the mandarins of the different cities I visited, with provisions for myself and crew, and also conveyances for those who were not able to walk, until I arrived at Canton, where after a few days detention, I had an interview with the yum-

chae who was very familiar and kind, in sending presents of five large roasted pigs, and an immense number of loaves; and on our being dismissed, he gave orders for two boats to be provided for the crew, one for myself and officers, and other two for a mandarin and linguist who were to conduct us to Tungkoo, where we arrived on the 19th instant, after a lapse of 59 days from leaving the wreck.

I beg also that you insert in your paper, that I and my crew are grateful to the American gentlemen resident in Canton, and more particularly to Mr. Snow, the consul, W. Delano, esq., and the houses of Russell & Co., and Wetmore and Co., for their prompt and kind administering to our several wants on our arrival at that place, and their unabated kindness during our stay there.

Dr. Hill's account of the visit of the survivors to the commissioner, we also extract from the Canton Press.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th ultimo, we were requested by one of the linguists to proceed immediately to the consoo house, as his highness the imperial commissioner intended honoring us with a visit that afternoon. On reaching the head of Old China street, we found a large concourse of people assembled in the neighborhood of the consoo house, and numerous palanquins entering its interior, where several officers and most of the hong-merchants had already assembled. Several American gentlemen were likewise in attendance, anxious to get a sight of the great yumchae. After waiting, however, for nearly two hours we were informed that his highness would not honor us with his presence that afternoon, but that in all probability we would be admitted to an audience on the following Monday. On Sunday afternoon one of the linguists called, and said that the yumchae wished to see us within the city early on the following morning, whither he requested us to be in readiness to proceed by eight o'clock.

Accordingly, after partaking of an early breakfast, we went to the consoo house, when we were told that the hong-merchants had already gone on before us. Without loss of time, therefore, we marshaled ourselves in pairs, and marched towards the city, escorted by the linguists and a motley group of attendants. Shortly after entering the city gates, we found the streets lined on both sides with soldiers, presenting rather a formidable appearance. We were conducted to a large joss-house or temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, distant about 300 yards from the gates, the outer court-yard of which was completely filled with palanquins and horses belonging to the mandarins and hong-merchants already in attendance. After waiting for about an hour, we were told that the commissioner had gone to breakfast with the governor, immediately after which he would visit us. On this the linguists took the opportunity of redoubling their exertions in order to persuade us to bend the knee to his highness, which we still persisted in refusing to their great mortification. They said "this not all same one other day. To-day yumchae all same emperor, all that mandarin have come, all that hong-merchant, must crook foot litty." About ten o'clock, a considerable bustle was observed at

the outer gate of the temple, occasioned by the coming of the treasurer and one of the judges, at whose approach the hong-merchants and linguists simultaneously bent the knee. The tedium of waiting so long was somewhat relieved by the conversation of the linguists and their assistants, one of whom appeared a very intelligent young man, and had been in London for nearly eight years along with the late Mr. Elphinstone. He speaks English remarkably well, much better, indeed, than any Chinese whom I have ever met with, and I regret much that he did not act as our interpreter with the yumchae, as Atung stammered so much, and was so flurried, that we had great difficulty in understanding him.

A lady likewise came to present an offering to the Queen of Heaven, a short account of the ceremony attending which may not be unacceptable to some of your readers. The offering was first placed upon the altar, and consisted of a roasted pig, boiled fowl, pork chops, a plate of crabs, two plates of ornamented cakes, two plates of oranges, one pot of spirits, one pot oil, and a quantity of incense paper. The oil was then poured into a large lamp, which is constantly kept burning, when the lady bowed three times, knelt three times, at the same time kissing the ground, she then burned the incense paper, while an attendant beat a gong. She then knelt and kissed the ground three times, presented the priests with a cumshaw of fifty cash, and removed the offering, already somewhat diminished by the hands of one of our boys, who made love to some of the cakes.

About the hour of eleven o'clock, the firing of cannon, beating of gongs, and shouting of a host of ragamuffin attendants announced the approach of the yumchae, upon which the hong-merchants arranged themselves in a row upon one side, and the linguists with their assistants on the opposite, in readiness to receive him, while the the mandarins proceeded to an inner apartment behind the temple. Our party at the same time went inside the temple, where we conveniently obtained a peep of his highness without being observed. Four palanquins containing the commissioner, governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, now proceeded up the court-yard in the order mentioned. The commissioner first made made his exit, upon which the hong-merchants, linguists, &c., prostrated themselves for a short time, his highness at the same time bowing most condescendingly. The same ceremony was repeated towards the others in succession, differing only in the length of time during which they remained on their knees, in the latter cases being only for an instant. In about ten minutes we were informed that his highness was ready to receive us, when we were conducted to the hall of audience, situated behind and to the left of the temple, though forming part of the same range of buildings; it consists of a large quadrangular room, having a small recess at its upper part in which were placed two tables covered with books, papers, &c. Several mirrors and a few paintings were arranged round the walls, and from the roof two crystal chandeliers were suspended; at the sides were two tables and a few chairs, and the floor was covered with an English carpet. The yumchae was seated at the upper part of the room, having the

governor on his right, the lieut.-governor on his left, and the hoppo second on his right, also seated. The treasurer sat on the right side of the room, and one of the judges on the left. In person the yumchae is rather stout and short, and apparently about 45 years of age, his countenance has rather a pleasant expression, with a small, dark, and piercing eye, and a fine intelligent forehead. His voice is strong, clear, and sonorous; he was very plainly dressed, while the other dignitaries were invested with all their insignia of office.

On being conducted into his presence, we uncovered, and made a polite bow, which he returned, and immediately after commenced the conversation. He began by stating his regret at our melancholy shipwreck, and hoped that we had been treated kindly by the different mandarins on our journey to Canton. He then asked when we left England? And whether any account of the disturbances in China had reached England previous to our departure? When and where did we first hear of them? How many days' sail is Anjier from China? Whether it is usual for vessels to call there on their way to China? What was the nature, and value of our cargo? And whether the vessel had been to China before? He then said that he was very sorry on account of the differences which at present existed between England and China. That for the last 200 years, the Chinese and English had been on the most friendly terms, during which time everything had gone on smoothly for the interest of both. He regretted that these happy days had fled, and would rejoice to see them back again. The English had caused these disturbances by deluging the country with opium, the importation of which, they knew to be strictly prohibited by the Chinese law. He then dwelt at considerable length on the injurious effects of the use of opium on the system, and the iniquity of our introducing it into China being doubly aggravated from our knowledge of the severe penalty inflicted upon those found making use of it, or in any way engaged in its traffic. He then mentioned the dreadful extent to which it had increased of late years, and the determination of his sovereign to put a stop to it. That he had been sent down by the emperor for that purpose, and was firmly resolved not to return until he had effectually done so. (Here he became very animated.) He was well aware, he said, of the handsome profits made by us upon other articles of merchandise, and why should we not be content with those, but introduce a poisonous drug? He would appeal to our own hearts, if it was not a monstrous crime to engage in the opium trade? He was certain that the gods could not approve of it, and that the conscience of any one engaged in it would never allow him to be at peace on this earth. He then instanced the melancholy fate of Mr. M * *, and said that other similar cases were not uncommon. In order to show us the iniquity of the opium trade, and its increase during the last few years, he handed us Mr. Thelwall's pamphlet, and a work upon China, from which the titlepage was torn (Davis' I think), a few extracts from which he requested us to read. Several portions of both works were translated into Chinese, and pasted on the corresponding pages. He

also had five or six E. I. Company's cards, showing the quantity of opium sold during the season. One of them which he handed us was marked Patna opium 12,046 (?) chests. March 1839, and signed, Trotter.

He next adverted to the murder of his countryman, Lin Weihe, and expressed his great dissatisfaction at the murderer's not having been delivered up. He could not conceive how we were unable to find out the murderer, especially as we knew five men who were engaged in the affray, and one of whom he said, ought in justice to be delivered up to atone for the murder. He next alluded to captain Warner's having come up to Whampoa in the Thomas Coutts, and asked, why others had not done so. His own impression was that captain Elliot was afraid of the officers and crews being beheaded, and the property confiscated, which we would perceive was entirely groundless, as we were then completely in his power, and he had not the slightest wish to do us any injury, but on the contrary had the greatest compassion for us, and wished to deliver us in safety to our own countrymen. He would like to see all our vessels at Whampoa, but they could not now be permitted to go up, even although they signed the bond, until he received further orders from Peking. He had not the slightest enmity towards the English, but only towards those of them engaged in the opium trade. No distinction would be made between them and the Chinese, if caught with it in their possession. Hitherto, we had been dealt leniently with, but now no mercy would be given, as he was determined to put a stop to it at all hazards. He then alluded to captain Elliot's conduct, with which he was by no means pleased. "At Macao," he said "captain Elliot very proper man, at Canton no proper." He then asked if we had heard any reports in Canton as to the state of his health, as he had been informed that in Tungkoo it was currently reported of his being in a very bad state of health, and not likely to survive many days, upon which he laughed most immoderately, and asked what we thought of the state of his health? When we congratulated him upon his robust appearance, with which he was highly delighted. He then handed us a letter addressed to the queen of England, written in their usual high flowing strain, at which I could scarcely command my gravity, which he observing, immediately asked if it was all proper? We said that it was only a few mistakes at which we smiled, whereupon he requested us to take it into an adjoining room and correct any errors we might find in it, and whither tea and refreshments would we sent us. The letter was a pretty long one, and written in a fair legible hand with a hair pencil. The subject of it was principally a lengthened disquisition on the opium trade, and its evil effects, and a hope that H. B. majesty would interfere and assist in putting a stop to it. Some parts of it we could make neither head nor tail of.

During the time we were engaged in the perusal of the letter, the crew got a blow out of roast pig, &c., with four of which we were presented on our departure. On our return to the hall of audience, we found the yumchae and the other dignitaries seated round a circular table, having divested themselves of most of their insignia of office. They were amusing them-

selves with one of our boys (who was likewise a good deal taken notice of by several of the mandarins on our journey), and asking him a number of questions such as the following: his name, age, were his father and mother alive, was he fond of the sea? &c. They likewise made him read a page or two of English, at which they were highly pleased. He then asked the names of the places from whence the different kinds of opium were brought, and requested me to write them down for him which I did. On mentioning Turkey, he asked if it did not belong to America? Or form part of it? And seemed a good deal astonished on being told that it was nearly a month's sail distant. During the rest of the time he remained standing, as also did the viceroy, &c., and conversing with us with the greatest familiarity, and laughing and joking with his friends about the different parts of the English costume, which he minutely examined. He seemed highly amused with our chief officer, and desired his secretary to show him round, first in one direction and then in another, in order to get a proper view of him, when he put on his spectacles and "hey-yaad" at a great rate. He lastly informed us that boats were in readiness to convey us to our countrymen at Tungkoo, to whom he hoped we would give a favorable report of him, which we promised to do; he then "chin-chinned" us and bade us good-bye.

ART. IV. *Commands of the emperor, in reply to the engagement at Chuenpe on the 3d November, and approving of the entire stoppage of British trade.*

IN answer to a joint memorial, addressed to the emperor, on the 21st of November, detailing the circumstances of engagements with English ships-of-war at Chuenpe and at Hongkong, the following commands, in the imperial handwriting were received, on the 3d of January, 1840.

"The imperial pleasure on this subject shall be hereafter declared. Respect this."

And, in the form of marginal comment on the memorial.

"This is in the highest degree praiseworthy."

On the words, "The admiral himself remained standing by the mast,"—it is remarked, "He should not have done so, lest the dignity due to his station be lost sight of."

On the words, "If they become repentant, they may be allowed to turn again,"—it is remarked. "Such violence will not be found well adapted for long continuance."

On the words, "Then strengthening our force, and making firm our bulwarks, we quietly waited for them, and like them also took our stand upon our strength,"— it is remarked: "The views taken were very right; in the proceedings there cannot, however, but have been a tendency to raise opposition."

On the words, "Those obeying the laws, are drawn to us; *those who break them are repelled*,"* it is remarked: "Though there be exhibited the different dispositions of dutiful compliance and contumacious resistance, yet the men being all of the *same nation*, matters should not have been so arranged."

On the words, "We commanded our subordinates to find out whither she (the Royal Saxon) had gone, and bring her up to Whampoa,"— * * * (the remark seems to be intentionally omitted, for the reason that it is incorporated in the full reply which follows.)

Despatch from the court to Lin, Tăng, and Kwan (the commissioner, the governor, and the admiral), covering, under date of the 13th of December, the following imperial commands:

"Lin and his colleagues have reported the circumstances of engagements had with foreign vessels. We have duly perused and are well informed upon the contents of their report.

"The English foreigners, since ever it was resolved to put a stop to the opium trade, have been twisting and turning, and changing inconstantly. Previously to this, having audaciously presumed to commence firing, they afterwards, when sharp-cutting proclamations were issued, turned about and made a pretence of being dutiful and compliant. But, again, they joined to them vessels-of-war, and sought occasion to take revenge. At that time, again, they met with condign punishment; but their trade was not immediately cut off altogether, so that our terrors failed to be carried home to them.

"On this occasion, Smith, in his cruizer (the Volage), again dared to come forward and commence firing; and, upon the public stream,† assumed possession of a place of cover for himself, whence, six several times, he gave battle. Our forces successively came off victorious; and from Hongkong they drove away all the foreign vessels.

"Had the bond been given, 'twere yet hard to insure that there would not have been some twisting and turning. Now, when there has

* So underlined by the emperor. (Copyist's note.)

† There are some doubts regarding this rendering. It has been otherwise rendered, "and, at Kwanyung, assumed a place of cover for himself, and six several times, gave battle." Kwanyung is a military post near to Hongkong. *Translator.*

been such repeated opposition; should a continuance of trade be allowed them, it would be highly inconsistent with the requirements of dignity. And as to the petty, trifling, duties, how can they merit a moment's calculation or discussion!

"Our dynasty, keeping in peaceful and quiet order the outer foreigners, has most richly imbued them with its favors. These foreigners, by their ignorance of the claims of gratitude, and their unruly resistance of those over them, have shown, to the conviction of all, whether within or without the empire, that the wrong is on their side, and the right on our's. It being so, what pity can be felt, when they thus put themselves out of reach of the means of living and increasing?

"Let Lin and his fellows, taking into consideration existing circumstances, put a stop at once to the trade of the English nation. Whatever ships there be of the said nation, let them immediately drive out and expel the port. It is unnecessary to take bonds from them. And the murderer, whose blows caused the death of one of our people, let them not care to demand the delivery of. Towns' ship (the Royal Saxon) they need no longer seek after.

"Let them also issue to all nations a proclamation, plainly making known to them the several acts of guilt committed; and let them promulgate these to all foreigners, that they may understand that the English have alienated themselves from the celestial empire; that the thing affects none of those other nations; and that so long as these continue dutifully to comply, they shall still be allowed to carry on their trade; but that if they dare to give shelter to the English, and introduce them into the port, so soon as such conduct shall be discovered, they shall meet condign punishment.

"To the important places of passage along the coast, and the islands not far removed from the foreign ports, let Lin and his colleagues, weighing their several importance and necessities, dispatch in secrecy officers and troops, for the strict defense and protection thereof. Let them not permit the least degree of remissness.

"The conduct of the admiral, Kwan, on this occasion,—the bravery with which he advanced foremost, leading on the forces in his own person, is in the highest degree worthy of praise. In reward thereof, let the title of *Fahailinga Pátulu** be conferred on him;

* "These words are in the imperial handwriting." (Copyist's note.) They are two Tartar words, the precise meaning of which is unknown to the translator. *Pátulu* is an honorary distinction, conferred on military men, and somewhat resembles our knighthood. *Fahailinga* is the adjunct, distinguishing one Pátulu from another.

and at the same time let the Board of War consider liberally what shall be done in reward and encouragement of his meritorious conduct. The officers engaged in the affair and who exerted themselves,— upon a statement regarding them being presented to us,— we will graciously reward. Let Lin and his colleagues also send to the Board a statement of the killed and wounded in the action, that they may receive the treatment enacted by law. Make known all these commands. Respect this."

In respectful obedience the above is forwarded in this dispatch.

ART. V. *Naval battle of Nov. 3d at Chuenpe described, in a communication written by an eye-witness. Extracted from the Singapore Free Press, Nov. 28th,* 1839.

SIR,—As the public mind of India must be deeply interested in the present posture of our affairs in relation to the Chinese empire, and matters having been driven, as you will learn, to that extent where supineness can no longer exist,— I feel the ideas of one upon the spot, who has no further interest in the matter than the sustainment of his own national honor, and so far as his consistent with that, the maintenance of all international rights— I feel, I say, that such ideas may be entitled to a place in your excellent journal.

A collision has taken place between the force of her majesty protecting the trade of her subjects, in this part of the world, and such power as the local government of this part of China could collect to resist that force.

The public press of the country will inform you, that negotiations had been going on between captain Elliot, her majesty's chief superintendent of trade here, on the one part; and the high commissioner of the emperor of China on the other. You will be, by the same medium, moreover informed, that these negotiations had so far advanced on either side, that the British inhabitants had deemed themselves secure in returning to Macao; when the commissioner thought fit to turn round, break from every previous arrangement, and require such terms, as honor and humanity should for ever forbid us for a moment to listen to; and had accompanied such requisition with threats, which his previous acts clearly point out to us, he wants not

the will, however deficient he may be in the power, to enforce. These threats consisted in driving away from a neutral territory such British inhabitants as dared to remain there — the Portuguese territory of Macao. To fullfil which, 800 Chinese troops were collected and encamped at the Barrier, separating Macao from the Chinese territory. He required, that a man should be handed over, guilty or not, to be put to death in expiation of an unfortunate homicide, which occurred here in July last. He required a recognition on the part of the British government here, of a bond, which it should be necessary that the master and crew of merchant ships trading here should sign — the nature of which bond was, that they, or any of them, should be put to death, and the vessel and property confiscated, should any particle of opium be found on board the ship, and that under such terms, they should proceed to Whampoa to trade; having previously submitted to such search as he might order; and in case of non-compliance with these orders, he stated, that unless the ships left the country within three days, measures should be taken for their destruction by fire.

Now, surely, these were terms that could not be endured, much less submitted to: though the Thomas Coutts had gone up, signing the bond, and even had expediency pointed out a temporary acquiescence in the signature of such bond, it is with reason believed, he only wanted to get within his power sufficient life and property to insist upon the other, and more atrocious conditions. It was on all hands agreed, that no act of the government should place within his power the British lives and shipping.

Well, unless we complied, he had threatened to destroy our fleet. We knew well, that on the ocean our small force rode triumphant over all the power that he could collect, but we also knew, that his war-junks were passing and repassing with impunity, and perhaps congregating in some spot, unknown to us, whence in the darkness and silence of night, they might pour upon our dense and compact fleet, and throw their fire ships on us, with vast destruction of property and life.

Such an idea could not be tolerated, and consequently on the morning of Saturday, the 2d of November, her majesty's ships Volage and Hyacinth, anchored off Chuenpe, distant from the Bocca Tigris, the entrance to the Canton river, about seven or eight miles. Captain Elliot the superintendent of trade, went up in the Volage. A letter was dispatched by captain Smith of the Volage to the Chinese admiral, with an enclosure for Lin, the imperial high commissioner,

requiring him to withdraw his chop threatening the annihilation of the British fleet, and also to allow the British inhabitants to remain unmolested at Macao, until such time as the two governments might arrange the larger questions at issue. Now surely, no one could imagine any thing unreasonable in these requests. The letter was taken on board the admiral's ship, which was lying below the Bocca forts, with from 30 to 40 war junks, by a commissioned officer of the Volage, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, first interpreter to the commission. They were received politely by the admiral, who took the letter, and stated that an answer should be sent on the morrow. In the evening, a boat approached the ship, and asked permission to come alongside, which was granted, and it proved to contain a Chinese linguist and pilot, who said they had come from Canton, and that a proper chop in reply to capt. Smith's was on board the admiral's ship, and requested that Mr. Morrison should go and fetch it. This of course was not acceded to, and without further communication they were dismissed, asking, if they would be again allowed alongside during the night, which was assented to. They did not, however, come till the following morning, when they came out in a larger boat, and again from her in a smaller one, to the Volage. They now stated the chop to be in the larger boat, again requesting it might be sent for, which was again declined. They returned to the boat, finding all to fail, and brought it themselves. They brought it, and what was it? Why, the identical dispatch which had been sent from the Volage, returned apparently as it was sent! While this was going forward, we observed the Chinese fleet to be getting under way, and standing towards us, and at the same time the Royal Saxon was passing us, apparently going through the Bocca, as we had previously learnt was her intention; being an English ship, a shot was fired across her bow, on which she hove to, and anchored. The Chinese fleet were still standing towards us, and both the Queen's ships rapidly weighed anchor, and were under commanding sail. The messengers were again dispatched with the original letter, and as the movement of the fleet could be taken as nothing less than a hostile demonstration, a letter was sent to the admiral peremptorily requiring him to return to his usual anchorage. To this he quickly replied that no terms could be maintained until the homicide was delivered over to the Chinese. This was an awful answer; and an anxious moment. What was there to be done? The junks picked up a berth in line, along the line of coast, stretching to the southward from Chuenpe point. The number of war-junks here anchored was 16;

and they had outside of them, that is between themselves and H. M. ships, 13 vessels as fire-rafts, each with a black flag flying.

Could the British authorities, with the threat of annihilation before them — could they, with the recollection of all the wrongs, and the insults, and hardships, which, during the last six months, had been indiscriminately heaped upon their fellow subjects — could they, in the recollection of the murderous, and piratical act, which but a few weeks before, had been committed on the Black Joke, under the favor if not the counsel of the mandarins, as there is reason to believe — in the recelliction of the burning of the Spanish brig, under the impression that she was British; of the barbarous treatment of her crew, under the same impression — could they, I say, under all these circumstances, withdraw, to leave the Chinese government to work out its plans for our destruction — to return to our fleet, with all this unnoticed, and unchastized?

Surely not. The moment had arrived, that we must either have basely succumbed, and told the fleet they must remove, that we could not protect them; or the dreadful alternative of proving to these people, in the only way they seemed capable of taking a proof, the power of our arms. Every attempt at conciliation had been made, and each in its turn had failed. The latter alternative was only left to us, and the firing began.

The first vessel to receive our fire was one of their fire-rafts; we threw a few shot upon her in passing, and in a few seconds observed her to settle in the water, and almost immediately go down. One of the war-junks was now on the beam of the Volage, and fired a couple of guns at her, which passed over. These we immediately returned, several of the shot telling on the junk, and almost instantly we heard an explosion, and on looking round saw through the envelope of the smoke, the fragments of the unfortunate junk, floating as it were in the air. She had blown up. When the smoke cleared somewhat off, out of whatever number she might have had on board, we could see but three about the wreck. When blown up she was not distant from the Volage more than fifty yards. Pieces of the wreck fell on board, and the cover of the pinnace was set on fire. A boat was sent to save what offered on the wreck — but was fired at by the Chinese, and returned. The Hyacinth came in astern of the Volage, passed her, and got among the denser part of the junks. And an awful warning they must have had from her, of her force! The firing was now indiscriminate upon any vessel where the guns would tell, and the admiral got his full share; more particularly from the

Hyacinth, she being further to the northward, and nearer to him. Vast destruction of life not being so much the object, as a wholesome chastisement, the Volage kept more to the southward, to prevent the junks escaping in that direction, and drive them back to the anchorage, to which in the morning they had declined to go; but towards which by this time, they were all too glad to get, by every means in their power. The first shot or two, was the signal to many of them to be off, but the admiral and a few others kept their station longer, firing with more spirit than we had been generally led to expect. Their guns and powder must have been good from the distance they carried, but not being fitted for elevation or depression, all their shot were too high to have any effect, except on the spars and rigging. The Volage got some shot through her sails, and the Hyacinth was a good deal cut up in her rigging and spars; a twelve pound shot lodged in her mizen mast, and one went through her main-yard, requiring it to be secured. Their wretched gunnery hurt no one. The firing commenced about twelve, and at one, they were all sunk, dispersed, or flying. About one the Hyacinth was ranging up alongside the admiral, and would soon have sunk him. The chastisement was already severe, and she was recalled.

The result of the whole was, three junks sunk, one blown up, many deserted, and the rest flying. The last that was seen of the admiral's junk, she was standing in for the land, and apparently settling in the water. But those on board would reach the shore. It is to be hoped the lesson they have had has not been given them in vain. The ships moved to Macao for the security of the defenseless inhabitants there. On the morning of Monday, the Volage went to Hongkong to the merchants fleet, leaving the Hyacinth at Macao. At Kowlung, a neighboring bay to Hongkong, they have been erecting batteries.

On Sunday evening an attack was made upon some of the officers of the merchant ships—the evening of the day of their chastisement, when they could not have heard of the affair of the Bocca, and the mate of the Shaw Allum was stabbed in two parts of the head.

On the whole we trust that an earnest has been given to them of what we can and may do. Still, many rumors are afloat, the truth or untruth of which can only be disclosed by the progress of time. Much might be said on the general state of matters here. But I look upon the late affair as in many points distinct from them, and involving other considerations. I an sir, your obedient servant,

A British Subject.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences; review of the month; captain Elliot's correspondence with the governor of Macao; destruction of a village; Mr. Gribble arrives in Canton; dispatch from Peking; a Chinese killed in Macao; notices of blockade; Mr. Gribble released; naval preparations; smuggling on the coast; Spanish envoy; new governor of Canton.*

JANUARY, 1840, has passed without any essential amelioration of public affairs, and without opening any fairer prospects. There is now, at the close of the month, an apparent calm, but nothing is settled except the determination to persist. Long ago, in view of the unsatisfactory state of relations between this and other governments, negotiations directly with the court were strongly recommended. What now is to be done? Will petitions or force avail aught for good here? Have they done this during the last year? Towards the annihilation of the traffic in opium, what has been accomplished? If opposition is provoked, and hostilities are gendered, what can be done? We do not believe the Chinese desire an extinction of any part of the foreign trade — except only that in opium; but while *that* is being *forced* on them, as it now is, will they, can they, or *ought* they, to remain quiet? The Chinese believe, or affect to believe, that this traffic is countenanced by the British government. If this belief is unfounded, and can be made to appear so to them; and if, further, the Chinese can have assurance that the British government (after an adjustment of present difficulties) will coöperate with them in just and honorable measures for the suppression of all smuggling; will they not gladly renew that *ching king mow yih*, now declared extinct? We should rejoice to see a negotiator at Teëntsin, prepared equally to give and to ask what is just and honorable. We are heart-sick with sad tales of petty annoyances, outrages, and all the *etc.*, with which every day is filled.

Wednesday 1*st*. The British chief superintendent "driven to ask permission in the name of her Britannic majesty, to deposit the remainder of British cargoes in the warehouses of Macao, upon the payment of the duties fixed by the regulations of the place." The request was not granted. See Canton Register, Jan. 28th.

Under this date a correspondent writes, "In Tungkwan, the district east of the Bogue, was a village called Wankeächun, many of whose inhabitants had long been known as daring adventurers in the smuggling of opium. Although in the neighborhood of the commissioner's residence, yet they relaxed not in their contraband proceedings. About a week ago, the commissioner was informed that at Wankeächun a large amount of the drug was stored up. He immediately dispatched a body of soldiers to seize the whole, and bring the smugglers to justice; but they were met by the villagers and completely routed in open combat. When his excellency heard of this, he forthwith ordered several hundred more soldiers to proceed to the place, and to take or kill every opposer and burn every dwelling. The villagers, hearing that so large a force was marching upon them, deserted their houses and fled. The soldiers, after indiscriminate plunder, set the whole town on fire, and Wankeächun, once containing two hundred houses and one thousand inhabitants, no longer exists."

2*d*. Mr. Gribble, whose seizure off Chuenpe was noticed in our last, arrived at Canton, in a sedan, was shortly after taken into the city, judged and pronounced a "good Englishman," and sent to the consoo house to await a second examination.

3*d*. A dispatch was received, by the high officers, from court, approving the entire stoppage of the British trade. See page 486.

5*th*. Early this evening a Chinese was killed by an Italian sailor in Macao, who was immediately arrested and imprisoned by the Portuguese. The following proclamation, issued in Canton, we copy from the Register.

Lin high imperial commissioner, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., Tang, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, &c., E, a

vice-president of the Board of War, lieutenant-governor of Kwangse, &c., hereby conjointly proclaim to all men that they may thoroughly know and understand:

Whereas on the 19th year of Taoukwang, 11th month, and 29th day (January 13th), we received an imperial edict to the following effect:—

[A part of the dispatch given on page 487 is here quoted; after which their excellencies again proceed.]

We, the commissioner, viceroy, and fooyuen, having with deep respect received the imperial commands, find that the English superintendent Elliot has many times disobeyed and opposed the laws, and been constantly shifting and changing. We (the aforesaid high officers) had already made our clear report to the great emperor, that from the first day of the 11th month (December 6th, 1839), we had stopped the English trade, and now we have again respectfully received a fresh imperial edict, commanding us to draw up a statement of the said English nations's crimes, and disseminate it among the foreigners of all other countries, and at the same time to drive out their ships, not permitting them to cast anchor in the Chinese seas. We ought therefore to give due compliance to the imperial commands, in summing up the crimes of the English and laying them before all men, and forasmuch we now proclaim the following, that ye, the men of all foreign nations, may thoroughly know and understand!

Elliot, after having delivered up the opium (May 1839), and gone down to Macoa, earnestly entreated that a weiyuen (or specially appointed officer) might come to Macao for the purpose of deliberating upon, and fixing certain regulations, so as to cut off the opium (evil). Successively he begged that (export) cargo might be sent down to Macao, and then forthwith opposed and broke with the said weiyuen, and at the same time prevented the whole of the ships of his nation from signing the duly prepared bond, and entering the port. These (the English ships) by remaining a long time anchored at Tseenshatsuy (Hongkong) on the high seas, led to a number of sailors going ashore and raising a riot, when, getting drunk, they committed an act of homicide. The said Elliot screened the murderer and would not deliver him up, and day by day only grew more stupid and obstinate! At first he took up Douglas' merchant vessel (late H. M. S. Cambridge) and falsely disguised her as a man of war—afterwards he leagued himself with the two cruizers Smith and Warren (H. M. S. Volage and Hyacinth) and got these to come to Canton (?) to give him assistance. Then these were so bold as to go to Kowlung, and there were the first to smear the altars with blood! (i. e. to commence the horrors of war). Next they went to Chuenpe on the high seas, and fired off their great guns in direct opposition to the imperial troops! With the same breath they received under their protection the boats of our native bandits, these they placed in the middle of their fleet, and, if our government cruizers came near to examine or seize them, then (the English) forthwith fired off their guns and muskets! This most unprincipled procedure of theirs showed people who had no fear before their eyes, and plainly demonstrates that it is the said English who have put themselves out of the pale of the laws! At this present time, then, even were these said English to repent of their crimes, and beg for mercy, and be willing to give the duly prepared bond, yet even then, we, the commissioner, viceroy and fooyuen, could not upon any account memorialize the emperor in their favor! This then is all brought about by the said English themselves! They have outlawed themselves, and the case has no reference to any of the foreigners of other countries.

Do ye then, oh, all ye foreigners of other nations, look up with awe to the great emperor, and as you receive his foolishly tender and unbounded goodness in permitting you to continue your commercial intercourse as of old, know that, in order to preserve in safety your persons and properties, ye must reverently observe the laws and prohibitions! If ye dare, however, clandestinely to give ear to the insidious counsels of the English, or convey up the goods brought on in their ships, or dispose of the said goods for them, the moment that such clandestine procedure is discovered, will your crime be visited by the severest punishment! We shall also duly memorialize the emperor, that the trade of the said offending nation be in like manner put a stop to! What then will your after repentance avail you? Let every one tremble and obey! Do not oppose!

A special proclamation. Taoukwang, 19th year, 12th moon, 1st day. Canton, 5th January, 1840.

7th. Some foreign letters were brought to the factories in Canton, having been intercepted by the Chinese authorities.

Soon after the seizure of Mr. Gribble, a demand for his release was presented at the 'Bogue; which not being granted, occasioned the following notices.

PUBLIC NOTICE. The British ships Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon having entered the Bocca Tigris, in violation of my public notice to the serious prejudice of general and permanent British interests: notice is hereby given that persons shipping produce of this empire on board either of the said ships for any port in her Britannic majesty's dominions, till the British trade has been declared open under my hand and seal of office, will expose themselves to serious inconvenience. Given under my hand and seal of office on board her majesty's ship Volage, off Chuenpe, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty. Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent &c.

2. OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE. Notice is hereby given that the intended blockade of the river and port of Canton, declared in my public notice under date of 15th September 1839, and suspended in my public notice of the same month and year, is hereby annulled. Given under my hand, on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor off Chuenpe this seventh day of January, 1840. Signed) H. SMITH, Captain, and senior officer of her Britannic majesty's ships in China.

3. OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE. Whereas, a British subject, seized by the officers of the Chinese government on the 27th ulto., has been detained in captivity without cause to this date, notwithstanding formal demands in her majesty's name: Notice is hereby given that it is my intention, at the requisition of the chief superintendent of British subjects in China, to establish a blockade of the river and port of Canton on the 15th instant. Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor off Chuenpe, this 8th day of January, 1840. (Signed) H. SMITH, Captain, and senior officer of her Britannic majesty's ships in China.

14th. Mr. Gribble, and also five lascars, were released from Canton; and about noon, next day, Mr. G. came on board the Volage, without the Bogue, and the blockade was raised.

16th. Rumor says, thirty new pieces of iron cannon, 3000 catties in weight, six feet long, were this day inspected and approved by the authorities in Canton. It is also said that a new fort is being erected at Hongkong, and other military preparations for defense being carried on at other places along the coast.

17th. A poor tailor in Canton, in distress for *six dollars* to pay his debts, took a drachm and a half of opium to cancel the same. About an hour after, Dr. Parker was called, and the application of the stomach pump afforded effectual interference, to the great joy of his family—a wife and three children.

19th. Two edicts were issued: one by the high provincial officers, stating that 18 months had been allowed opium smokers to break off the habit, and that now more than two thirds of the time had elapsed, and therefore warning them that on the expiration of the 18th month, seizure and capital execution will await those who change not the vile habit. The other edict was issued by the tsotang at Macao, threatening vengeance on the police if they dared to molest the fishing boats, as they come into the harbor to spend the holidays of new-year.

22d. We are glad to hear that an envoy is expected from Manila, to seek reparation for the loss of the Bilbaino, and the release of her officer. In the mean time, her consignee is endeavoring to effect these ends.

24th. "Startling rumors, alas, too well authenticated," says a correspondent, "of bloodshed and the cool deliberate murder of arrested Chinese officers, on the coast, by *foreign smugglers*." Several sharp encounters we hear there have been between the Chinese cruisers and the said foreign vessels. In the words of another, "we hope these latter carry the flag of no civilized nation;" but of this we are not sure.

31st. The number of vessels now at Whampoa is reduced very small, say to ten or twelve, and there may be some forty without the Bogue. It is rumored that the Chinese are about to man some foreign vessels for naval service. It is also rumored that commissioner Lin is to be governer of the Leäng Kwang. It is likewise said that warlike stores are on their way from India to China. The *Ariel* is hourly expected with dispatches from the home government.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—FEBRUARY, 1840.—NO. 10.

ART. I. *Letter to the queen of England, from the high imperial commissioner Lin, and his colleagues. From the Canton Press.*

LIN, high imperial commissioner, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., Tăng, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, &c., and E, a vice-president of the Board of War, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, &c., hereby conjointly address this public dispatch to the queen of England for the purpose of giving her clear and distinct information (on the state of affairs) &c.

It is only our high and mighty emperor, who alike supports and cherishes those of the Inner Land, and those from beyond the seas — who looks upon all mankind with equal benevolence — who, if a source of profit exists anywhere, diffuses it over the whole world — who, if the tree of evil takes root anywhere, plucks it up for the benefit of all nations: — who, in a word, hath implanted in his breast that heart (by which beneficent nature herself) governs the heavens and the earth! You, the queen of your honorable nation, sit upon a throne occupied through successive generations by predecessors, all of whom have been styled respectful and obedient. Looking over the public documents accompanying the tribute sent (by your predecessors) on various occasions, we find the following:—"All the people of my (i. e. the king of England's) country, arriving at the Central Land for purposes of trade, have to feel grateful to the great emperor for the most perfect justice, for the kindest treatment," and other words to that effect. Delighted did we feel that the kings of

your honorable nation so clearly understood the great principles of propriety, and were so deeply grateful for the heavenly goodness (of our emperor):—therefore, it was that we of the heavenly dynasty nourished and cherished your people from afar, and bestowed upon them redoubled proofs of our urbanity and kindness. It is merely from these circumstances, that your country—deriving immense advantage from its commercial intercourse with us, which has endured now two hundred years—has become the rich and flourishing kingdom that it is said to be!

But, during the commercial intercourse which has existed so long, among the numerous foreign merchants resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; and of these latter are some, who, by means of introducing opium by stealth, have seduced our Chinese people, and caused every province of the land to overflow with that poison. These then know merely to advantage themselves, they care not about injuring others! This is a principle which heaven's Providence repugnates; and which mankind conjointly look upon with abhorrence! Moreover, the great emperor hearing of it, actually quivered with indignation, and especially dispatched me, the commissioner, to Canton, that in conjunction with the viceroy and lieut.-governor of the province, means might be taken for its suppression!

Every native of the Inner Land who sells opium, as also all who smoke it, are alike adjudged to death. Were we then to go back and take up the crimes of the foreigners, who, by selling it for many years have induced dreadful calamity and robbed us of enormous wealth, and punish them with equal severity, our laws could not but award to them absolute annihilation! But, considering that these said foreigners did yet repent of their crime, and with a sincere heart beg for mercy; that they took 20,283 chests of opium piled up in their store-ships, and through Elliot, the superintendent of the trade of your said country, petitioned that they might be delivered up to us, when the same were all utterly destroyed, of which we, the imperial commissioner and colleagues, made a duly prepared memorial to his majesty;—considering these circumstances, we have happily received a fresh proof of the extraordinary goodness of the great emperor, inasmuch as he who voluntarily comes forward, may yet be deemed a fit subject for mercy, and his crimes be graciously remitted him. But as for him who again knowingly violates the laws, difficult indeed will it be thus to go on repeatedly pardoning! He or they shall alike be doomed to the penalties of the new statute. We presume that you, the sovereign of your honorable nation, on pouring out your

heart before the altar of eternal justice, cannot but command all foreigners with the deepest respect to reverence our laws! If we only lay clearly before your eyes, what is profitable and what is destructive, you will then know that the statutes of the heavenly dynasty cannot but be obeyed with fear and trembling!

We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles,* that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit. Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves in destruction those very natives of China? Without meaning to say that the foreigners harbor such destructive intentions in their hearts, we yet positively assert that from their inordinate thirst after gain, they are perfectly careless about the injuries they inflict upon us! And such being the case, we should like to ask what has become of that conscience which heaven has implanted in the breasts of all men?

We have heard that in your own country opium is prohibited with the utmost strictness and severity:—this is a strong proof that you know full well now hurtful it is to mankind. Since then you do not permit it to injure your own country, you ought not to have the injurious drug transferred to another country, and above all others, how much less to the Inner Land! Of the products which China exports to your foreign countries, there is not one which is not beneficial to mankind in some shape or other. There are those which serve for food, those which are useful, and those which are calculated for re-sale;—but all are beneficial. Has China (we should like to ask) ever yet sent forth a noxious article from its soil? Not to speak of our tea and rhubarb, things which your foreign countries could not exist a single day without, if we of the Central Land were to grudge you what is beneficial, and not to compassionate your wants, then wherewithal could you foreigners manage to exist? And further, as regards your woolens, camlets, and longells, were it not that you get supplied with our native raw silk, you could not get these manufactured! If China were to grudge you those things which yield a profit, how could you foreigners scheme after any profit at all? Our other articles of food, such as sugar, ginger, cinnamon, &c.,

* That is, Chinese miles—from 20 to 23,000 British statute miles.

and our other articles for use, such as silk piece-goods, chinaware, &c., are all so many necessaries of life to you; how can we reckon up their number! On the other hand, the things that come from your foreign countries are only calculated to make presents of, or serve for mere amusement. It is quite the same to us if we have them, or if we have them not. If then these are of no material consequence to us of the Inner Land, what difficulty would there be in prohibiting and shutting our market against them? It is only that our heavenly dynasty most freely permits you to take off her tea, silk, and other commodities, and convey them for consumption everywhere, without the slightest stint or grudge, for no other reason, but that where a profit exists, we wish that it be diffused abroad for the benefit of all the earth!

Your honorable nation takes away the products of our central land, and not only do you thereby obtain food and support for yourselves, but moreover, by re-selling these products to other countries you reap a threefold profit. Now if you would only not sell opium, this threefold profit would be secured to you: how can you possibly consent to forego it for a drug that is hurtful to men, and an unbridled craving after gain that seems to know no bounds! Let us suppose that foreigners came from another country, and brought opium into England, and seduced the people of your country to smoke it, would not you, the sovereign of the said country, look upon such a procedure with anger, and in your just indignation endeavor to get rid of it? Now we have always heard that your highness possesses a most kind and benevolent heart, surely then you are incapable of doing or causing to be done unto another, that which you should not wish another to do unto you! We have at the same time heard that your ships which come to Canton do each and every of them carry a document granted by your highness' self, on which are written these words "you shall not be permitted to carry contraband goods;" (the ship's register?) this shows that the laws of your highness are in their origin both distinct and severe, and we can only suppose that because the ships coming here have been very numerous, due attention has not been given to search and examine; and for this reason it is that we now address you this public document, that you may clearly know how stern and severe are the laws of the central dynasty, and most certainly you will cause that they be not again rashly violated!

Morevoer, we have heard that in London the metropolis where you dwell, as also in Scotland, Ireland, and other such places, no opium

whatever is produced. It is only in sundry parts of your colonial kingdom of Hindostan, such as Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Patna, Malwa, Benares, Malacca,* and other places where the very hills are covered with the opium plant, where tanks are made for the preparing of the drug; month by month, and year by year, the volume of the poison increases, its unclean stench ascends upwards, until heaven itself grows angry, and the very gods thereat get indignant! You, the queen of the said honorable nation, ought immediately to have the plant in those parts plucked up by the very root! Cause the land there to be hoed up afresh, sow in its stead the five grains, and if any man dare again to plant in these grounds a single poppy, visit his crime with the most severe punishment. By a truly benevolent system of government such as this, will you indeed reap advantage, and do away with a source of evil. Heaven must support you, and the gods will crown you with felicity! This will get for yourself the blessing of long life, and from this will proceed the security and stability of your descendants!

In reference to the foreign merchants who come to this our central land, the food that they eat, and the dwellings that they abide in, proceed entirely from the goodness of our heavenly dynasty:—the profits which they reap, and the fortunes which they amass, have their origin only in that portion of benefit which our heavenly dynasty kindly allots them: and as these pass but little of their time in your country, and the greater part of their time in our's, it is a generally received maxim of old and of modern times, that we should conjointly admonish, and clearly make known the punishment that awaits them.

Suppose the subject of another country were to come to England to trade, he would certainly be required to comply with the laws of England, then how much more does this apply to us of the celestial empire! Now it is a fixed statute of this empire, that any native Chinese who sells opium is punishable with death, and even he who merely smokes it, must not less die. Pause and reflect for a moment: if you foreigners did not bring the opium hither, where should our Chinese people get it to re-sell? It is you foreigners who involve our simple natives in the pit of death, and are they alone to be permitted to escape alive? If so much as one of those deprive one of our people of his life, he must forfeit his life in requital for that which he has taken:—how much more does this apply to him who by means of opium destroys his fellow-men? Does the havoc which he

* We have been obliged to guess at the names of some of these places.

commits stop with a single life? Therefore it is that those foreigners who now import opium into the Central Land are condemned to be beheaded and strangled by the new statute, and this explains what we said at the beginning about plucking up the tree of evil, wherever it takes root, for the benefit of all nations.

We further find that during the second month of this present year (i. e. 9th April, 1839), the superintendent of your honorable country, Elliot, viewing the law in relation to the prohibiting of opium as excessively severe, duly petitioned us, begging for "an extension of the term already limited, say five months for Hindostan and the different parts of India, and ten for England, after which they would obey and act in conformity with the new statute," and other words to the same effect. Now we, the high commissioner and colleagues, upon making a duly prepared memorial to the great emperor, have to feel grateful for his extraordinary goodness, for his redoubled compassion. Any one who within the next year and a half may by mistake bring opium to this country, if he will but voluntarily come forward, and deliver up the entire quantity, he shall be absolved from all punishment for his crime. If, however, the appointed term shall have expired, and there are still persons who continue to bring it, then such shall be accounted as knowingly violating the laws, and shall most assuredly be put to death! On no account shall we show mercy or clemency! This then may be called truly the extreme of benevolence, and the very perfection of justice!

Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom! Still we cannot bear to slay or exterminate without previous warning, and it is for this reason that we now clearly make known to you the fixed laws of our land. If the foreign merchants of your said honorable nation desire to continue their commercial intercourse, they then must tremblingly obey our recorded statutes, they must cut off for ever the source from which the opium flows, and on no account make an experiment of our laws in their own persons! Let then your highness punish those of your subjects who may be criminal, do not endeavor to screen or conceal them, and thus you will secure peace and quietness to your possessions, thus will you more than ever display a proper sense of respect and obedience, and thus may we unitedly enjoy the common blessings of peace and happiness. What greater joy! What more complete felicity than this!

Let your highness immediately, upon the receipt of this communication, inform us promptly of the state of matters, and of the measure

you are pursuing utterly to put a stop to the opium evil. Please let your reply be speedy. Do not on any account make excuses or procrastinate. A most important communication.

P. S. We annex an abstract of the new law, now about to be put in force. "Any foreigner or foreigners bringing opium to the Central Land, with design to sell the same, the principals shall most assuredly be decapitated, and the accessories strangled;—and all property (found on board the same ship) shall be confiscated. The space of a year and a half is granted, within the which, if any one bringing opium by mistake, shall voluntarily step forward and deliver it up, he shall be absolved from all consequences of his crime."

This said imperial edict was received on the 9th day of the 6th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang, (19th July, 1839), at which the period of grace begins, and runs on to the 9th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Taoukwang (15th January, 1841), when it is completed.

ART. II. *Memorial, proposing to appoint an intendant of circuit to reside at Macao.*

POSTSCRIPT to a memorial, from the commissioner, governor, and lieutenant-governor.

Again, your majesty's servants have humbly perused your high commands here following: "Lin has been put into the government of the Leäng Keäng. Though just now intrusted with the special care of this matter, yet how can he remain constantly in Kwangtung? And Tăng has the general control of the public business of two provinces — business not small and uncomplicated: and he must not in attention to one thing neglect the rest; but still must care for and retain in due order the whole field of action, preserving all sound and sure; so that, hereafter, when the roots of evil are wholly cleared away, he may be able to speak of eternal rest of the fruit of one effort of labor. Respect this."

Perusing these commands, we look up and behold our imperial sovereign's intelligent conduct of the machinery of affairs, and his high desire of stooping to give effect to his servants' labors. We have, at present, left the Bocca Tigris and returned to the provincial ca-

pital,— having, in obedience to the pleasure of your majesty, cut off the commercial intercourse of the English foreigners,— and purposing here to take further measures for setting at rest all these affairs.

The reflection occurs to us, that mere laws cannot operate of themselves; and that, taking measures — such as may be suitable for forming vessels and instruments of use,— it is our duty to select the more valuable, that we may have the means of ruling men aright.

We find, that, on the foreign merchants of every nation coming to Kwangtung to trade, the vessels with their merchandise all proceed inwards to Whampoa, while of the merchants and their assistants, who have charge thereof, many procure residences at Macao. To learn the condition of the hongs, and to settle their accounts, this indeed affords opportunity. But it also affords opportunity to stand out for exorbitant profits, and to put in operation crafty schemes.—Thus Macao is in fact a general place of concourse: and sly craft and cunning abounding, traitorous Chinese herd there together, seducing and enticing, and stopping short at nothing.

As regards the Portuguese foreigners, though declaring themselves respectfully obedient, yet they neither plough nor spin, but diligently pursuing schemes of improper gain, they abound in ever varying tricks. And now that we have stopped the trade of the English, it is more than ever difficult to insure that they will not clandestinely intrigue with them, receiving from them commissions to convey and dispose of merchandise for them. An opening for such crafts and illegalities being once formed, the leak will remain unstopped as of old. It is therefore of bounden necessity to search therefor, and to take careful preventive measures.

We find, that, in the 8th year of Yungching (1730), an assistant was appointed to the magistrate of the district Heängshan, to reside at the village of Mongha, within Macao. And that in the 8th year of Keënlung (1743), there was further appointed for Macao, a joint prefect, who shall reside in the encampment of Tseënshan, about 15 *le* (5 or 6 miles) distant from Macao; and whose special function should be the administration of foreign affairs. In their origin, these measures were abundantly sufficient in extent and in precision. But of late days, the varied crafts and deceits of the foreigners have so numerously broken out, that the affairs of Macao have become increasingly important. And at the time of utterly extirpating the evils so abounding, it is of the first importance to have men able to check and rein them in. It is requisite that there should be a somewhat higher officer, else the means will not be adequate to dry up the

source of the evils; or to hold under restraint the proud and the unbridled.

Our investigations have pointed out to us the newly appointed intendent (taoutae) of the circuit of Kaou-Leën, by name Yĭh Chungfoo, as a man of well-regulated mind, and under self-control, able to bear toil and trouble, bold and courageous in the transaction of affairs, and who has gained for himself a name to be feared. He has now surrendered the seals of office of the prefecture of Chaouchow, preparatory to repairing to his new office over the Kaou-Leën circuit. We, your majesty's servants, have with one consent resolved to depute the said taoutae to reside for a time at Macao, and, with the joint-prefect and assistant magistrate under his direction, to observe and regulate all the foreign affairs; to keep careful watch over the licensed Macao vessels, and put a stop to any transactions under false names on behalf of the English; and to search after and apprehend any traitorous Chinese who may furnish them with supplies: in all these things to lay upon the said officer the responsibility of acting, always in accordance with precedent.

The affairs of the government of the Kaou-Leën circuit — his present office — are comparatively simple, and may all be managed by dispatches sent to and from Macao: except only the autumnal trials of the two prefectures of Kaouchow and Leëuchow, which having hitherto been subjected to the personal observation of the intendant of that circuit, he may, on the approach of the period, repair to his circuit, requiring not more than a month or so ere the business will be completed.

As to his abode at Macao, there has long been a traveling office of the superintendent of maritime customs, which remaining unoccupied, may be borrowed as a residence for the said officer, during his stay at Macao for the transaction of the public affairs.

But Macao being a place occupied by the Chinese and foreigners intermingled, it is of importance, while administering the government with goodness, to make also an imposing appearance. In small matters, the civil power inflicts punishment: in larger affairs, the military must be called into action. This is indeed often required. Having then charged him with authority in affairs, we should give to him also a military guard. In the encampment of Tseënshan, there is stationed a body of 363 men, under command of a naval toosze (commander), belonging to the river force, and hitherto under the authority of the commodore on the Heängshan station. It behoves us to request that this body may be placed under the direction of the

said taoutae, that whenever the urgency of affairs may require, he may send them wherever they may be needed. And the circuit of Kaou-Leën being actually one to the intendant of which military powers are accorded, this arrangement will be quite consistent with the established forms.

After he shall have discharged the duty of putting affairs in order for one or two years, if it shall be found that all the foreigners conform themselves to our rule, and that opium is thoroughly purged away, the said taoutae can then be recalled within his own circuit, to give more close attention to the duties of his office.

These — the obscure views of your majesty's servants, are humbly submitted — the lieutenant-governor, Eleäng, uniting in this supplementary memorial — with the intreaty that their correctness or otherwise may be determined, by the casting thereon of a sacred glance. A respectful memorial.

Art. III. *Abuse of opium: opinions on the subject given by one long resident in China, W. Howitt, Mr. Bruce, and the Calcutta Courier, Mr. Davis, and sir Stamford Raffles.*

When we plead for the extinction of the traffic in opium, it is chiefly because of the injurious effects that are known to result from the *abuse* of that drug. It may be that we know not one hundredth part of the evils which it produces; yet enough is known to make it plain to every reflecting mind, that, even if no laws existed rendering it contraband, the traffic ought to cease. Good and honorable men have been engaged in this business: and such, it may be, are still concerned with it. The honorable the E. I. Company has been declared, "*the father of all smuggling and smugglers.*" But it is supposed by many, and some of them very competent judges, that the Indian monopoly will erelong be given up, and the traffic on the coast of China will 'fall into the hands of the reckless, the refuse, and probably the convicted, of all the countries in our neighborhood.' On the 23d of December, 1838, the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China said, in an address to the governor of Canton; "Deliberating on those serious risks to which the lives and properties of many innocent men, both native and foreigners, are

presently exposed, he considers that it is his duty to lay his thoughts before your excellency. Seeking for the immediate source of this dangerous state of things, he finds it in the existence of an extensive opium traffic, conducted in small craft within the river. From one condition of undisturbed lawlessness to another and still more hazardous, the course is sure and rapid. Illegalities will be committed more and more frequently, the difficulty of distinguishing between the right and the wrong will daily become more difficult; the foreign interests and character will suffer increasing injury, violent affrays will be of frequent occurrence; life, and probably the lives of innocent men, will be sacrificed, some general catastrophe will ensue, and there will be employment, profit, and impunity, for none but the reckless and the culpable. The government of the British nation will regard these evil practices with no feelings of leniency, but, on the contrary, with severity and continual anxiety."

This, though said of the traffic within the Bogue, was and is equally applicable to it on the coast, and the lapse of thirteen months has shown the correctness of the judgment given above. The smuggling of any article, under any circumstances, is to be deprecated. If it be sin to rob our neighbor, is it not equally wrong to defraud the government? For ourselves, we have no doubt that good men will soon free themselves from this traffic, not only because it is contraband, but especially because opium is misused to the great injury of multitudes of our fellow-men. The *chief* merits of this question do not turn on the mere legality or illegality of the drug, considered simply in a commercial point of view. The subject should be considered in all its bearings. The use of opium, and the traffic in it, should be contemplated in all their consequences, as they are known to affect health, morals, &c., and then the inquirer should decide whether or not opium is beneficial to the Chinese, or injurious to them, and whether it is right to engage in this traffic or to abandon it.

Regarding the extent to which the drug is used in China, the statistics kindly furnished us by capt. Gover (now deceased, but many years engaged in the traffic), are the most complete of any we have yet seen. They may be found on page 303 of volume VI. The number of smokers, at three candareens per day, as estimated by captain Gover, was 2,039,998 — consuming 21,677 chests, valued at $19,769,111; this was given as the average of three years, ending on the 31st of March, 1835.

In a controversy on this point,—conducted by two of our readers, with much good humor, and no small care, they being next-door

neighbors to each other, one extensively engaged in the traffic, and the other strongly opposed to it — the following particulars were elicited, abridged from volume V. page 565.

One Reader stated, that, for the year ending March 1837, there were 33,200,000 taels weight of the smokable extract prepared from the opium imported, and that a tael each per day for 300,000,000 people would give 912,000 smokers. Another Reader, instead of a *tael* took a *mace*, (nearly 57.984 grains Troy,) which is, as the Chinese say, and as one would think, a good allowance. This made 9,120,000 smokers of the Indian and Turkey drug. To this he added one fourth, for opium grown in the country, and that brought overland, which gave a total of 11,400,000. Besides, this consumption is but of the first smoking; yet the drug is not thus destroyed, it being sometimes used *twice* or *thrice* over, each time losing in flavor though not much in strength. Each *rifacimento* is cheaper than the former one, till the worst, mixed with tobacco, or jaggary, or some other substance, is placed in the reach of the very poorest people. This will permit a great extension of the number of consumers, say a total of 12½ millions. Of the 300,000,000 people in the empire, according to the known laws of population, about one half are females. Of the 150 millions of men, he assumed that three fifths are under 20 or over 60 years of age, which leaves sixty millions, among whom are the consumers of the 33,200,000 taels of smokable extract. We shall thus find, said he, *one in every five of men* in the prime of life, or verging to old age, *an habitual opium smoker!*

This extensive and indiscriminate use of opium is its abuse; for there is no doubt that the quantity, named by a Reader, has been consumed; and we believe it quite true that few smoke beyond the age of sixty, since the habitual opium smoker dies before he reaches that period. The number of those who commence before they are twenty is not very large; but there are instances of youth and young men, at fourteen and sixteen, who have been habitual smokers. The fair sex, too, are by no means free from this "vile habit." Opium *may* be used for useful medicinal purposes; and so it often is, under the direction of skillful physicians; but so, we believe, it is very seldom employed among the Chinese; as far as we know, it is chiefly used by them for the purposes of suicide and mere pleasure: to effect the first, it is eaten; to effect the second, it is smoked.

The first person we ever saw smoking opium was ——— ———, partner in the ——— hong, now bankrupt for some millions of taels, chiefly due to foreigners. He was then (seven years ago) in the prime of life, prosperous in business, of good reputation, and surrounded with the best means he could command for making himself happy. It was a late hour of night, in winter, at a fashionable dinner, after the very numerous and rich courses usual on such occasions had

been handed up, and the dessert dishes began to thicken on the table, when the man said, with a very singular look, and which left no doubt of the sincerity of the invitation, "you kum long my litty teem, eh?" "Hai lo!" was the reply; and away we went, down stairs, and round about through a long dark path till we came to *the* place. A key, which he carried on his own person, opened the door; we entered, followed by two attendants; and the door was again locked. By a lamp, brought in a dark lantern, the room was soon well lighted. Having had no intimation of what was coming, we began with no small degree of wonder and curiosity to survey the locality, and its several appurtenances, while our host immediately began his preparations. We may here remark, *en passant*, that Mr. Davis' picture, or the one in his book, differs from anything we ever saw in China: it represents a "mandarin" smoking opium, sitting erect and in his full robes. Our accomplished friend understood the matter better. Having thrown off his cap and disrobed, manifesting a considerable degree of impatience, he laid himself down upon a couch on one side of the room, and invited his guest to occupy another on the opposite side. The room was small, not more than twelve feet square, without windows, and sealed close all around and above. The couches were very broad and placed close against the wainscot on two sides of the room; between them, on the third side, stood a small low table, upon which the apparatus for smoking was spread out, not wholly unlike a small tea service. A little porcelain cup contained the delectable matter, nearly of the consistency and color of tar. There were also on the table a small glass lamp and a silver capped pipe, with a few other articles, as brushes, needles, &c., for cleansing and trimming the pipe. In length and shape, this is like an accountant's round ruler; and near one end of it there is a bowl, about the size of a small thimble. Scarcely a minute elapsed, after entering the room, before the smoking was begun. One end of a small rod was dipped into the opium, and a small quantity taken up, and, after being held for a moment near the blaze of the lamp, was crowded into the bowl of the pipe. The man now laid his head on a pillow, put the pipe in his mouth, and, lifting the bowl to the blaze of the lamp, commenced inhaling; this was continued for a few seconds, then the pipe was taken from the mouth to be refilled, and the fumes leisurely puffed from the mouth. The process was repeated some fifteen times, each more and more leisurely, the whole occupying perhaps half an hour. Before the scene ended, the room was full of smoke, and our host had become exceedingly loquacious, uttering all manner of things that

came into his head. On making our exit, the same key as before opened and closed the door, and we returned to our friends in the dining-hall. Some persons suspected he was a smoker of the drug; but the fact was not generally known. About *half a mace* was the quantity taken per day at this time. Afterwards the quantity probably increased. Be this as it may, his regularity in business did not long continue, his reputation began to wane, and bankruptcy soon followed. Whether the smoking of opium contributed to this issue or not, we leave our readers to judge.

In all the cases, of which we have been eyewitness, the process and the attitude of the smoker were the same as in the one here given. The quantity and the quality of the drug have differed. In respectable hotels, where we have seen the pipe, the room has always been in some retired quarter of the house, and so constructed as to escape notice of those not privy to it. In the factories of the merchants who bring teas from Fuhkeën and the more northern provinces, we have seen much less secrecy. So in the residence of the Siamese embassadors. In boats, belonging to officers of government, we have seen the opium pipe used as freely as that for tobacco. The last instance of this kind was in one of the boats which came with the literary examiner, who was from Peking. The boats remained opposite the factories, and close to the shore for two days; and in one of them we repeatedly saw the forbidden article freely used. In the spring and summer of 1838, the smokers were more bold than we ever before saw them in Canton. In the suburbs of the city, some sixty or eighty rods west of the foreign factories, there is a long street, which runs north and south, opening on the river; it is but little frequented, and the houses on both sides of it are small and poor. Several of these were occupied as opium shops; and there we have repeatedly seen, when passing along in the street, both the processes of preparing and smoking the drug. To these shops many of the poor people, who are employed as boatmen, resorted. Men of this description, receiving only four or five dollars a month, have declared to us that they were spending one third of their wages for opium, and that too when a family was depending on them for support. One young man, we remember in particular, who said he had repeatedly resolved, at the entreaties of his friends, to break off the habit; but to do this, he added, was impossible, and he would allow his friends to suffer, or even die himself, rather than go without his pipe! In temples also, among the votaries of Budha, we have seen smokers of the drug. Native doctors sometimes prescribe it in certain diseases as

a remedy, and the poor patient, confiding in the advice of his physicians, becomes so enslaved by this habit, that what was at first employed as a remedy, becomes at last itself the greatest disease. Finally, after all we have both seen and heard, we are inclined to give full credit to the accounts of those Chinese, who represent the habit as prevailing among *all classes* of the people.

As to the effects of using opium, we will cite here what has been written by some, whose testimony seems worthy of most careful consideration. Our first extract is from a letter, addressed to J. H. Palmer, esquire, signed by *One long resident in China*, dated London, August 10th, 1839. He says:

"But, say the anti-opium party, that traffic is pre-eminently sinful, and all who aid in it are involved in the sin, as are all who use or abuse the drug. I do not intend to advocate the use of this or any other stimulant; nevertheless, scarcely a nation exists which has not one or more commonly taken by its people to exhilarate or inebriate, as their desires may prompt. Ardent spirits of various sorts in Europe and America; crude opium in Turkey, India, and amongst the Malays; bang (a preparation of hemp-blossoms) in parts of India; in most countries, tobacco, wines, &c., are used, to the injury, often, of the health and morals of millions. It would be a blessing, indeed, could all men be induced to forego such indulgences; but since that is not to be effected, I boldly assert, from the experience I have had of Chinese habits, that I prefer, as a national vice, the use of opium, prepared in the mode prevalent in China, to the use of any ardent spirit, and a happy thing would it have been, [!!] since stimulants we must have, had the British people adopted the opium in lieu of gin, whiskey, &c. The *abuse of either*, no doubt, *leads to disease and death*, but a moderate use is quite compatible with the enjoyment of health and long life. The European spirit-drinking debauchee is a violent, often a furious madman. Crimes of all degrees of heinousness are committed by him, and he ends his days, perchance, under the just sentence of the law for those crimes. *The Chinese opium debauchee is a dreaming, quiet, and useless member of society. He, too, ends his days in a pitiable state;* but he does not superadd those violent crimes so injurious to others, which the former constantly does. *Each dies beggared and despised*, the former often causes the death or destruction of the property of his nearest relations. I have known many Chinese, who habitually used the watery extract of opium (the only preparation of it in their country) for smoking, without feeling the slightest injury. They were moderate men, like our gentlemanly wine-drinkers."

We have italicised two or three lines, in which the writer expresses *his opinion* regarding the *abuse* of the drug; his testimony is the more valuable, because he is laboring to extenuate its "sinfulness." Whether he is right in preferring opium to ardent spirits we will not try to determine. He may "boldly assert" his preference to the one,

and others may as boldly assert their preference to the other; but the assertion of preference weighs little against the plain and simple declaration that the *opium debauchee is a useless member of society.* In saying he has known many who have habitually used opium without "feeling the slightest injury," he no doubt affirmed what he believed to be true; he may have seen, too, many more who have been injured; but on this point he does not inform us. The first person we saw smoking opium, was then using it habitually "*without feeling the slightest injury*;" at least, so he thought, and so we supposed. We have seen many others in the same predicament. But we are constrained to entertain the most serious doubts whether any man can use the article habitually, except as a medicine when afflicted with disease, without injury. The injury may not be at once apparent, while yet it is making sure and steady inroads on the constitution, and the smoker becomes "victimized" ere he is aware of his danger. We have known some most melancholy instances of this kind. A bold avocate, in the Colonial Gazette, says truly, that the consumer of opium, in "that state of debility in which an excessive use of it leaves him, is more fit for his bed or *his grave,* than for an act of desperate physical exertion." The existence of a great evil in the use of ardent spirits, in western countries, and the melancholy detail of loss, ruin, and death caused thereby, is surely no extenuation of the same evil in China, because here it is caused by opium. The latter is not lessened, because the former is estimated to be greater.

Our second extract is from an article in Tait's Magazine, on the use of opium in England, from the pen of William Howitt, esq.

"I have contemplated with horror the rapid increase of the consumption of opium, and its spirituous laudanum, within the last ten years. The ravenous fierceness, with which opium-eaters enter the druggists' shops, when want of money has kept them from their dose beyond their accustomed time of using it, and the trembling impatience with which they watch the weighing of the drug, (every moment appearing to them an age,) and the avidity with which they will seize and tear off their wonted dose, and swallow it — are frightful to be seen; yet must have been seen by many on such occasions. The extent to which this drug is administered by poor women to their children, too, is another crying evil, of which the humane public has little notion; and it is one for which there never will be found any remedy but the abolition of the abominable restrictions on the importation of food. The wretched mother, while her husband is thundering away in his loom, for sixteen hours a-day, and her older children are gone out to the factory, or elsewhere, to help to increase the scanty family revenue, which altogether, does not reach the point of sufficiency, and with, perhaps, two, or three little half-clad and

half-starved brats about her, has also one in the cradle. She has no snug nursery — she has no nurse — she cannot afford even to keep at home an elder daughter for that purpose; but, on the contrary, she has to cook the family food, such as it is, to wash and mend the family clothes; and, very probably, besides this, to take in washing or other work. While she is busy at the wash-tub, the child wakes and cries. What shall she do? At night, while she and her husband should and *must* sleep, or they cannot go through their daily work, the child again wrangles and cries. What shall she do? There is nothing for it but to go to the druggist's shop for—'A Pennyworth of Peace;' and what that is anybody in Lancashire can tell you; and, if you are not in Lancashire I can—it is laudanum, or opium disguised in treacle, and termed in other places Godfrey's Cordial. It is in vain to remonstrate with the poor on this practice—they always ask you what they are to do, and think it unanswerable to add—" a pen'orth of peace is worth a penny." Thus are the constitutions of the poor sapped and stupified even in the cradle, and all the wisdom of England cannot point any remedy but that of taking off the violent pressure on the means of existence; and, if that will not enable the poor of this country to live on bread and cheese and honest beef, instead of opium and quack medicines, then there will be nothing for it but their escaping to those new lands where they can."

Both in Europe and in America, especially in large cities and in certain fashionable circles, we have heard it intimated, and in part believe, that the use of opium, in various ways and with diverse names, is far more prevalent than is generally supposed. Let those whose duty it is look to this matter. Our next quotation is from the Calcutta Courier, 4th September, as given in the Canton Register of January 21st. The editor of the Courier says:

"In addition to the general interest with which Mr. Bruce's tea report is invested, as descriptive of the present condition of the tea districts, and the very valuable information which it contains relative to the cultivation of that most important article of commerce, it possesses great additional claim to our attention from the observations which it contains relative to the universal prevalence of the use of opium among the wretched inhabitants of Assam, to which, and we believe very justly, Mr. Bruce attributes the present debased character of a people who were once celebrated as a warlike and powerful race, enjoying all the blessings of civilization and good government — and of a fertile and well cultivated country. If the introduction of the poisonous drug into China were productive of the same effects as it is stated to have had in Assam, we need not wonder at the determination evinced by the emperor to put it down at all hazards, and we cannot sufficiently admire the paternal feeling which actuated him on the occasion, and for which the Chinese nation owes him a debt of immeasurable gratitude.

"Mr. Bruce says—'This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other

countries, and these children seldom live to be old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this country in comparison with others. Few, but those who have resided long in this unhappy land, know the dreadful and immoral effects, which the use of opium produces on the native. He will steal — sell his property — his children — the mother of his children — and finally commit murder to obtain it. Would it not be the highest of blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen?' &c. &c.

"We, and we may safely say, all who read this will respond in the affirmative — and we would add, with every feeling of respect for the government, that it is their imperative duty to put down the cultivation of opium in every part of our eastern dominions, and in that respect emulate the conduct of one, whom we are pleased to call a barbarian, in paternal solicitude for the millions who are injured by its continuance. If it cannot be done, as suggested by Mr. Bruce, by one dash of the pen, we would fain hope that, already, are steps taken for its gradual extinction; and in the case of Assam its cultivation — if cultivated in the country — might be put a stop to, and if not, the importation might be prevented. In support of this proposition there is not only the dictate of humanity — but that is backed by self-interest — for in restoring the healthful tone to the inhabitants of the province — increasing the population, and improving their condition, would result incalculable benefits to the state, and which, in a very brief space, would make up for the loss the revenue would sustain from the discontinuance of the production of opium. We would therefore solicit the earnest attention of our government to this most important point. The mooting of the question of compensation to the owners of the opium seized by the Chinese commissioner will fix the attention of all men in our native land upon this destructive and wicked traffic, and whether the compensation be granted or not, the eyes of the nation will be opened, and the continuance of a trade, which is not less horrible in its ultimate effects than the traffic in human flesh, be denounced by all good men, and if not abandoned spontaneously by the governors of this country, the universal voice of England will compel the government at home to interfere for its speedy suppression."

Upon this, the editor of the Register remarks: "The Calcutta Courier appears of late to have adopted different sentiments, on the opium trade, from those formerly expressed in its columns, when under the management of former editors. In those days, all idea of diminishing the revenue of Bengal, by abandoning the opium monopoly, was scouted, until another source, which would supply the deficit, was discovered. From the decision of the Bengal government on the several periods of the public sales for 1840, it would appear that the opinions of the Courier, albeit it is the governmental paper, have little weight with the powers that be. We have, however, extracted the article on the use of opium in Assam; for we consider the more

elucidation that can be given to this crucial question, the sooner will sound and practicable opinions be formed." So too we think, and we are glad to see it frequently discussed. We do not wonder that the Courier has adopted sentiments on this trade different from those it formerly entertained, and we think it not improbable that many others will do so, when the merits of the case are more perfectly understood.— There is in one of our former volumes (vol. VII, p. 107.) a document, written by a Chinese in one of the central provinces of the empire, containing an account of the injuries of using opium, almost identical with that from the pen of Mr. Bruce.

Mr. Davis, after a residence of some twenty years in this country, almost invariably speaks of opium as a "pernicious drug;" and he says, "its consumption," previous to 1833, "pervaded *all* classes, and had spread with astonishing rapidity through the country." In his second volume, page 453, is a specimen of what he has put on record, touching this matter.

"The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for opium, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connection with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first. The contraband trade (for opium has always been prohibited as hurtful to the health and morals of the people,) was originally at Macao: but we have already seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium is kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place."

Before introducing sir Stamford's testimony, we copy two short paragraphs from the Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, of March 29th, 1832. Those who were acquainted with the editor of that paper, well know that he had no disposition to exaggerate the evils either of smuggling or using opium. He notices the different effects produced by opium in its different states — which seem not to have been observed by the writer in the colonial gazette.

"There are some sagacious observations in print lately relative to the mode of introduction and the effects of opium, with which we have been much amused, not from any facetiousness displayed in them, but from the particularly unsound arguments used on the occasion. Opium, it appears, is only nominally interdicted, and the 'chops' which are so frequently published by imperial and subordinate authorities, are mere matters of form. There is, according to these statements, no impediment to the introduction of the drug

into China, but it comes regularly as a foreign import, as it is to be found from the house of the private inhabitant of Canton to the palace of the governor. If this be so, it is a most remarkable piece of over-caution in the Chinese to visit Lintin, where the drug is delivered 'by stealth,' as they certainly do; doubly absurd for them to endeavor to avoid the mandarin cruisers, or to battle with them when escape is impossible; for what have they to fear in the exercise of a business which is declared to be carried on 'openly, freely, in the face of day?' But why is it no longer brought to Whampoa, and why do the dealers here so frequently take the alarm and secrete themselves from the vigilance of the police? Oh, precious logic! The fact of many of the officers of government addicting themselves to the use of opium, and neglecting the injunctions of the higher authorities to suppress the trade is quietly assumed as an evidence of its legality. It would be about as accurate to infer that smuggling in Europe or America was legal, because the custom-house officers were not proof against the bribes given them to connive at such delinquency.

"As regards the effects of opium upon the human system, the denial of its dreadful operation might be pardoned on the score of pitiable ignorance. The drug prepared and administered as it is in China does not produce the same effect as laudanum or crude opium. The effects are directly applied to the nervous system as a sedative, not as the crude drug chewed, which acts when taken in quantity (as by the Malays) as a fierce excitant at first, and during its primary operation that frantic act, denominated running *a muck* is perpetrated. The operation of opium (materially changed in its character by the process it undergoes in its preparation for smoking,) is slow, but sure. It does not produce its baneful effect as rapidly as the drug taken in its other forms, but is equally dangerous to the system. Again — it must be admitted without reserve that what is called opium-smoking in *moderation* is rank nonsense. The slaves to this habit must wind up the system at particular times, or be wretched; they must increase the dose from 'moderation'(!) to excess in order to continue its power over them, and which, like all vicious indulgences, it requires daily an addition in quantity to maintain. As to Chinese running a muck, the operation of the opium smoking is not one from which any such result could be expected; the smoker is entranced in a delicious dream, not infuriated like a maniac. A Chinese who smokes opium does not, like the Malay, destroy his fellow-men, but himself; his energies of mind and body are undermined, and he ultimately sinks from the effects of an unnatural condition of the system brought on by the constant use of this pernicious preparation. Wine, taken in health, is universally admitted (unless when used to excess) to be a grateful, healthy stimulant. It exhilarates and benefits the system, and leaves behind it no prostration of strength, no nervous irritability which hurries the smoker to renew his occupation in order to escape from the frightful lassitude and exhaustion which follows the termination of the effect produced upon his system by the use of opium.—Our 'gentle readers' must excuse this medical commentary; but we state these

facts in hopes of presenting the case in its real light, not obscured by sophistry, or supported by worthless argument. The Chinese, and all who have witnessed the effects of opium, admit unreservedly the pernicious consequences of its use, and that though idleness or folly may induce a man to smoke opium at first, yet he finds the habit fasten itself on him so rapidly, and so forcibly, that he who at the comencement of his career determined never to commit an excess, is hurried away against his inclination, and becomes in a short time inveterately addicted to it. As to the trade, we have nothing to say upon the subject at present. Each entertains his own opinion, and our observations are to be confined to the Chinese alone."

What the editor here calls a "nervous irritability," and "prostration of strength," are said by the *victimized* smoker to be horrible beyond conception. One, who had used the drug four or five years, and is now dead from its use, likened the sensations, he felt when the stimulus was gone, to "worms crawling in his stomach, and rats gnawing at his shoulders."

Sir Stamford Raffles, in his History of Java, after much experience and observation, says —

"The use of opium is reckoned disgraceful, and persons addicted to it are looked upon as abandoned characters, and despised accordingly. It has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals, of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European governments, *overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country.*"

This opinion was published in 1817; and had its author lived to this day, no doubt every year's experience and observation would have strengthened that opinion. His remarks, made with reference to Java, are applicable to China.

If all foreigners had given heed to the imperial prohibitions first issued in 1800, as they ought to have done; if the soil of Hindústan had been used only for beneficial purposes, and the Turkey drug had never found its way out of the Mediterranean, how different would be the condition of China from what it now is! and how different, too, the state of foreign relations with this country! And yet, after all the evils that have been experienced during these forty years, there are men who scout and ridicule every serious proposition that is made for the amelioration of these evils! In giving prominency to this subject, we do not wish other minor evils to be forgotten; but we do wish, if it be possible, the dreadful scourge of opium may be averted from this land. Even to the limited extent to which we are perso-

nally acquainted with its pernicious effects, we cannot contemplate them without grief and sorrow. Having conversed freely with the Chinese on this subject, after all we have seen among them, we are unable to free ourselves from the consciousness that the traffic, as it is now carried on, is exceedingly sinful in the sight of God, and every way calculated to render the name and character of foreigners odious in the eyes of this nation; and with the utmost earnestness we would warn and intreat all men, especially our friends and fellow-residents, to beware how they deal with, or give countenance to, this forbidden thing.

Here we cannot forbear making allusion to the prospectus of the provisional committee, for forming a British India Society for bettering the condition of the natives of British India. A most excellent spirit pervades every part of that paper; a paragraph or two of which we must be allowed to quote.

"It is admitted in Great Britain, and known to be but too true by all who have had personal experience of the real state of India, that although a commercial intercourse has existed between the British Isles and India, for more than two hundred years, and the government of this empire now rules over a hundred millions of the inhabitants of the east, there is nevertheless a general want of information upon Indian affairs, and an almost total indifference felt respecting them. It must be obvious to all who reflect upon these facts that such a state of things contrasts strangely with the duty we owe to our distant dominions, with the extent, the value, and the importance of our East Indian possessions, and with the many and vast interests involved in the question. British India is an empire as large as Europe (exclusive of Russia), with a population, including tributary states, of *more than one hundred and fifty millions*. Over this empire and people, a sway is exercised wholly British, and consequently, the want of an accurate knowledge of Indian affairs, and the absence of a proper concern in the public at large for the welfare of the natives, must operate prejudicially upon their minds, since they cannot but feel that their destinies are influenced by the disposition manifested towards them in the parent country. From the perusal of a variety of official and other documents of recent date, it appears that ignorance, poverty, crime, and disaffection prevail to a distressing and alarming extent, throughout the British Indian territories. It also appears, that during the last *twenty years*, though a period of profound peace, there has been *a succession of famines of the most desolating description*. It has been estimated that the famine of 1837–38 in the upper provinces of Bengal, *swept off more than half a million of the inhabitants*. These calamitous events are rendered the more mysterious and affecting, when viewed in connection with the statement, that the soil of India, is a soil of unequalled fertility, and that a very large portion of it (by some authorities, computed at one-half) is unappropriated, and covered by

unsubdued jungle. Information on the subject has, within the last few months, been laid before the public in various parts of the kingdom. The result has been a deep feeling of compassion in the minds of many humane and influential persons, and the formation of several associations for promoting the welfare of the natives of India. * * The committee entertain no doubt, that when the vast importance of our Eastern possessions is understood, when the claims of one hundred millions of British subjects are recognized and felt, and when the responsibility and moral obligation of this nation towards them are considered, a great and generous effort will promptly be made, to benefit a country, which contains within itself, the means of returning a hundred-fold into the bosoms of its benefactors, all the blessings they can possibly confer upon it. The committee prefer to make their appeal to the just principles and Christain feelings of the country. They are not ignorant, however, of the extent to which they might address themselves to the loyalty, the patriotism, and the interests of their fellow-citizens. But they believe that such an appeal is unnecessary. They feel convinced that no argument is required, to demonstrate the inseparable connection between the bettering of the social, moral, and intellectual codition of the countless millions of India, and the accomplishment of those ends which are sought by the promoters, and patrons of legitimate commerce, and the advocates of the honor, the stability, and the prosperity of the British empire, at home and abroad."

Attached to this prospectus are the names of major general Briggs, lord Brougham, sir Charles Forbes, William Howitt, esq., and others of like character. We have been told that the British government will not root up the poppy in India. *That* is unnecessary, for were the sowing of the seed neglected for a single season there would be no plants to root up. We have been told that the cultivation is often *compulsory:* advances are made by government, through its native servants, and if the ryot refuses the advance, what then? Why "the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the peons seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. The business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fullfilment of his contract." Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with poppies, which require a very superior soil in order to produce opium in perfection; hence its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural porposes, where other plants, "grown from time immemorial," have been driven out before it. (See Kennedy, Stark, and others in evidence on E. I. affairs; Thornton's State and Prospects of India; Mr Fleming's papers on Revenue; Singapore Free Press, &c) We have been

told, moreover, that the cultivation is still on the increase; and that new advances have been made this very year; and during this month and the next, another full crop will be gathered, unless divine Providence prevent. Thus one year's crop is just now being sold in Bengal, and another is ripening for the harvest. And who are to be the consumers of these forty thousand chests, with all that from Malwa, and Turkey? When and where will the cultivation and consumption of the article cease? Taking into view the extensive famines that have afflicted India during the last twenty years on the one side, and on the other the great evils caused by the consumption of opium in China, and the strong interdicts against its introduction, would it not be wise to desist from the cultivation of the poppy, and to substitute other articles necessary to supply with food the famishing inhabitants of the land? The Society for bettering the condition of the natives in India will, we hope, early take this subject into consideration.

ART. IV. *Three Years Travels from Moscow overland to China, through Great Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Siberia, Daour, Great Tartary, &c., to Peking; containing an exact and particular description of the extent and limits of those countries, and the customs, &c. of the barbarous inhabitants. Written by his excellency Evert Ysbrant Ides, embassador from the czar of Muscovy to the emperor of China. Illustrated with a large map of the countries drawn by the embassador upon his journey, and many curious cuts. To which is annexed an accurate description of China, done originally by a Chinese author, with several remarks by way of commentary. Printed in Dutch by the direction of Burgomaster Witzen, formerly embassador in England; and now faithfully done into English. London, W. Freeman.* 1706. *pp.* 210, *quarto.*

WE have not been able to ascertain any further particulars of Ides than those he himself gives; that he was a German in the service of Peter the Great, by whom he was dispatched on this embassy to Kanghe to carry with him the ratification of the treaty negotiated in September, 1689, between Chinese and Russian plenipotentiaries, of

which we have already given a brief notice, on page 417. The work before us is, however, most studiously silent as to the object of the mission, and the nature of the embassador's credentials, and it is only by the inferences fairly deducible from the time when he was sent, joined to what passed between the negotiators at Nipchú, that lead us to think that such was the object of his mission. Sir George Staunton* says, he "was sent to Peking with a view of improving the commercial advantages stipulated for by that treaty." Both objects were probably included in his mission. Notwithstanding this reserve, the work is worthy of notice, as supplementary to our account of those negotiations.

It commences with the author's dedicatory epistle to his czarish master, written in the most fulsome style of adulation, setting forth his puissant magnificence, and the extent of his domains, and ending his incense of praise by "imploring the Almighty to preserve his throne for a looking-glass to the world that has not a parallel." It is a dedication worthy of a Chinese or Japanese courtier, for the slavish obsequiousness of its expressions.

Having prepared his equipage and retinue, Ides left Moscow on the 14th of March, 1692, and directed his course to Tobolsk, and from thence, passing by lake Baikal, he reached Tsitsihar, the first Chinese town of note on that frontier. So unsettled was the state of the country from Tobolsk eastward, and so difficult did he find it to provision his large train in the half settled wilds of the Tungusians and Samoieds, that eighteen months were occupied in the journey from Moscow to Tsitsihar in Mantchouria. The journey through their lands was lengthened by his endeavor to get well to the eastward of the great desert of Shamo; for this town lies 420 miles east of the meridian of Peking, as well as many hundreds north of it. Here he met an officer from Peking, who had been deputed to salute him, and who, on being informed of his approach, went out to receive him with an escort of eighty men. At this place, he tarried for a few days to refresh himself, being well feasted by the Chinese officer the while, and he inviting him in return. Speaking of the dinner he gave in return, he says, "I entertained him in the European manner, and put a glass of good sack briskly about, causing the trumpets and other music to play, all which wonderfully pleased this gentleman, so that he and his company returned home pretty mellow."

Leaving Tsitsihar, on the 28th September, 1693, Ides and his retinue, accompanied by the Chinese officer, took their way in a

* Chinese embassy to the Tourgouth Tartars, page 12, note.

southwesterly direction, through an almost uninhabited country, and reached the Great Wall on the 29th of October. He was highly pleased with the sight of this gigantic work, partly it may be supposed from the prospect of meeting better accommodations beyond it, and he describes it in proportion to his admiration.

"This really seems to be one of the wonders of the world. About 500 fathoms from this famous wall [at the place we passed it] is a valley, each side of which was provided with a battery of hewn stone, from one of which to the other a wall about three fathoms high is erected with an open entrance. Passing through this fore wall, we came to the entry of the great wall, through a watch tower, about eight fathoms high, arched over with hewn stone, and provided with massy doors strengthened with iron; the wall runs from east to west, across the valley up the extraordinary high rocks, and about five hundred fathoms distant from the other, hath on the rocks on each side of it a tower built. The foot of this wall was of large hewn quarry-stone, for about a foot high, and the remaining upper part was composed of brick and lime, but as far as we can see, the whole was formerly built with the same stone. Within this first port, we came into a plain full one hundred fathoms broad; after which we came to another guard-port, which had a wall on each side, and like the first wall, was carried quite across the vale; and this as well as the first port, was guarded by a watch of fifty men. On the first or great wall stands an idol temple, with the ensigns of the idol, and the emperors flying on the top of it. The wall is full six fathoms high, and four thick, so that six horsemen may easily ride abreast on it, and was in as good repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty years since; no part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the least weed or filth, as other old walls are observed to be."

The first city he reached beyond the great wall was Galchan or Galge, where he was "welcomed by the discharge of three iron guns," invited to sup with the governor, and amused with plays. From this place, he passed through Shantooning and Xungunxa (Tsunhwa chow?) to Ke chow and Tang chow. The last he describes as a place of considerable trade, at which the produce for the capital is landed, and where also he was invited to a noble entertainment. Our traveler is not a whit behind more modern ones in expatiating again and again on his fare, and telling his readers with what good things he was feasted. From Tang chow to Peking was one day's journey, and as he approached the metropolis, he remarked the gardens fenced with stone walls, the cypresses and cedars planted along the paths, and adds with much naïveté, "the gates of the finest gardens were set open, I suppose purposely on my account." He describes the country between the wall and Peking "as plain, and good

arable ground, on which grows rice, barley, millet, wheat, oats, pease, and beans, but no rye." On his entry into the capital, with his convoy of ninety persons, the crowd was so dense as to give some interruption to his progress, which we can easily suppose if the streets of Peking are as narrow as those of Canton. On reaching the embassador's court, he "was instantly stored with all manner of provisions and refreshments." And adds, that, "we every morning returned thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult journey of one year and eight months, had at last conducted us safe and well to our desired place, without the loss of any more than one man."

After a repose of three days, the emperor gave him a welcoming feast at the palace, which he minutely describes; after inventorying the dishes, he says the "table appointed for me alone was about an ell square, upon which the dishes were all of silver, and piled one upon another, amounted, as I told them, to the number of seventy." In tantalizing contrast to this minuteness worthy of an epicure he simply says, when describing his audience: "I found a great number of mandarins at the court, all clothed in their richest embroidered robes, such as they wear in the emperor's presence, who waited for me." After we had mutually exchanged compliments, the emperor appeared on his throne; upon which I delivered his czarish majesty's credentials, and after the usual ceremonies and a short speech, was conducted back." This silence was probably kept by order of Peter, who, in common with his successors, seems to have endeavored to keep Europeans in a measure ignorant of Russian diplomacy with Asiatic courts.

Four days after, the embassador was invited to a banquet in the palace, where he was obliged to sit upon his legs to his great inconvenience. In reading Ides' narrative, one cannot avoid noticing the self-satisfaction and complacency, with which he narrates what he did, and what was done to him; he is so well pleased with himself, his czarish majesty, and his office and dignity as embassador, that he has but little leisure to describe much else. He says, speaking of the invitation to the present entertainment, "I was informed that I was invited to eat before the emperor; wherefore accompanied by the mandarins thereto appointed, and my retinue, I rode to court. As soon as I entered, the emperor mounted his throne. . . . . The emperor sent the viceroy to me with the utmost respect, to ask after the health of their czarish majesties; to which I returned the proper answer." At this feast, he saw some of the Jesuit fathers, who were called in to interpret.

"The emperor sent me from his table, a roast goose, a pig, a loin of very good mutton, and soon after several dishes of fruit, and a sort of drink composed of boiled tea, fried meal, and butter, which looked not unlike bean or coffee decoction: having received all which, with due respect, his majesty ordered the viceroy to ask me, what European languages I understood. To which I answered, I could speak the Muscovite, German, Low Dutch, and a little Italian. Upon which he immediately dispatched some servants to the hinder part of the palace, which done, there instantly appeared three Jesuits, who approached the throne. And after kneeling, and performing their reverence to the emperor, he commanded them to arise. One of these was father John Francis Gerbillon a Frenchmen; and the two others were Portuguese, one of them called father Anthony Thomas. The emperor ordered father Gerbillon to me; who coming towards me speaking Italian, asked me in the emperor's name how long I had been traveling from Moscow to Peking, and which way I came, by waggon, on horseback, or by water. To which I returned satisfactory answers: on which returning to his majesty, he informed him: who immediately answered, *gowa, gowa*, which is very well. The emperor then ordered the viceroy to acquaint me that it was his most gracious pleasure that I should approach nearer the presence, by coming up to the throne; upon which I arising, the viceroy taking me by the hand, after having led me up six steps, set me at the table opposite to the emperor. After I had paid my most humble respects to his majesty, he talked with father Gerbillon, who again asked me how long I had been on the way hither, in what manner I traveled, and in what latitude Moscow was situate, and how far distant from Poland, France, Italy, Protugal, or Holland. To all which I observed my answer proved very satisfactory. Upon which he gave the viceroy a gold cup of Tartarian liquor called kumis, in order to hand it to me; which with due respect I accepted, and having tasted, return-it. This kumis, according to the report of the attendants, is a sort of brandy distilled from mare's milk. After this the emperor ordered my retinue to advance within three fathoms of his throne, and entertained them with the same liquor; which being done, I paid my compliment in the European manner, and the viceroy took me by the hand, conducting me to my former place, where after sitting for a quarter of an hour, I was desired to rise.

"The throne is placed opposite to the eastern entrance, against the hind wall, and is about three fathoms broad, and as many long; before it are two ascents with six steps each, and adorned with rails and cast representations of leaves very well gilt: on the right and left sides were also rails of cast imagery, which some report to be gold, and others silver; which are also extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the middle of this raised place is a throne somewhat like an altar, which opens with two doors: and in it the emperor's seat about an ell high, covered with black sables, on which he sat with his legs across under him. This monarch was then aged about 50 years, his mien was very agreeable, he had large black eyes, and his nose was somewhat raised; he wore small black mustachies, but had very little or no beard

on the lower part of his face; he was very much pitted with the small pox, and of a middling stature. His dress consisted of a common dark-colored damask waistcoat, a coat of deep blue satin, adorned with ermines, beside which he had a string of coral hanging about his neck, and down on his breast. He had a warm cap on turned up with sable, to which was added a red silk knot, and some peacocks' feathers hanging down backwards. His hair, plaited into one lock, hung behind him. He had no gold nor jewels about him. He had boots on, which were made of black velvet."

After receiving these attentions from the emperor, the governor of the city and other high officers entertained him with the performances of play-actors and jugglers, which highly amused him.

"Others so nicely played with round glass-balls as big as a man's head, at the point of a sharp stick, tossing them several ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really surprising: After this, a bamboo cone about seven foot high, was held upright by six men, and a boy, about ten years old, crept up to the top of it as nimbly as a monkey, and laid himself on his belly upon the point or end of it, turning himself several times round; after which, rising up, he set one foot on the bamboo, holding fast to it with one hand, and then loosing his hold, clapped his hands together, and run very swiftly down, and shewed several other feats of agility which were very wonderful."

Similar diversions were played before Ismayloff, which Bell of Antermony describes. The governor also gave him a dinner, at which, among other delicacies handed to him was, "a larger dish of tea than ordinary, in which was put peeled walnuts and hazlenuts, with a little iron spoon, to take them out on occasion, which tasted very agreeably." While dining, "a play was acted, interlaced with songs and dances by little boys dressed in girl's clothes." By the kindness of this officer, he was conducted over the city, and the surprise he expresses at the elegance of those manufactures he examined, the contents of the imperial dispensary, the beauty of the gold fish, and other things which were shown him, betokens a great ignorance of China at that time among the Russians.

On the 7th of January, the Chinese new year occurred, which was celebrated with their usual hilarious clangor, insomuch that from ten at night till next day at noon, "there was as great a noise as if two armies of one hundred thousand men were in the heat of battle." For three days. the shops were shut, "and all merchandising forbidden on penalty of severe punishment." In this last particular, he was probably misinformed or mistaken, for the period of new year is a holy day, which all classes willingly observe by cessation from all business. While at Peking, he visited the college of the

Jusuits, and was as usual "well satisfied with the entertainment of the fathers." He was also invited to see the imperial stables:

"About this time, two mandarins came from the cham, to invite me to take the diversion of seeing the city: accordingly I mounted, with my retinue, and these mandarins conducted me to the emperor's elephant-stable, where stood fourteen of those beasts, one of which was white; having then seen them, that was not enough, but they must show several tricks, and, at the command of the master of the stable, they roared like a tyger, so dismally loud, that their very stable seemed to tremble: others lowed like an ox, neighed like a horse, and sung like a canary-bird; but, which was most surprising of all, some of them imitated a trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their respects to me on their four knees; to lie down first on one side, then on the other, then to rise up. When they lie down, they first strike out their fore-legs forward, and then throw out their hind-legs backward, and by this means lie with their bellies flat upon the ground. One of them was not broken, and by reason he was very unruly, he was loaded with heavy chains on two feet, and, for the whole time he had stood there, had not been removed from his place; and a great pit was dug before his stall, that in case he broke loose, he should fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the court to do any mischief. All these elephants were extraordinary large, and the teeth of some of them were a full fathom long. The mandarins told me, that they came from the king of Siam, who annually sends several, by way of tribute, to the emperor of China. Their food was only rice-straw bound up in small truffles, which they take up one after another, with their trunk, and convey to their mouths.

"After a satisfactory sight of what I desired, I rode with the mandarins to my apartment; and as we were on our way, I observed, at the door of a considerable mandarin, and a great officer, some persons fleaing of a fat dog; upon which I asked the mandarin, wherefore that was done. Who answered, that it was a healthful sort of food, especially in summer, it being very cooling. After I had handsomely treated these mandarins, they went away."

The time for his departure approaching, he says, "the emperor sent two mandarins to desire me to be ready to receive my audience of leave two hours before day. At break of day, I was introduced among the mandarins, who were placed according to the particular rank of each of them; and after waiting half an hour, the emperor approached, accompanied with an agreeable concert of fifes, and a sort of lute. On each side of the throne were two great drums, placed on stools and curiously gilt and painted, each of them two fathoms and a half long.

"By his command, the herald which stood before the throne, went to the presence-chamber door, directed himself to the lords which sat without in the court, and uttering some words with a shrill voice, he thrice succes-

sively cried, stand up, bow to the earth! Whilst this was three times done one after another, the bells were rung, the drums were beaten, the lute was touched, and three pipes, made for that purpose, were very loudly sounded. Then two principal lords were, by the emperor, sent to acquaint me, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that I should approach nearer the presence; accordingly they led me, by the hand, from the place where I was, being about eight fathoms distant from the throne, where my retinue were left sitting: and I sat down on one side, about three fathoms from the royal throne, betwixt two great lords; and after having paid a respectful compliment to the emperor, his great bell was rung, and the large drums, on each side, were beaten, which made as great a noise as a volley of guns; the flutes were also played on, and the before-mentioned pipes nine times sounded: upon which I was desired to sit down; which having done, a dish of coffee or bean decoction was presented to me, which I accepted, and drunk up. And after I had dispatched the affairs of their czarish majesties, with the emperor, I rose up, and having paid my compliment to him, he also arose from his throne, and went out at the west-door to his apartment."

From the expressions here and elsewhere used, it would appear that Ides made no objection in complying with the forms of the Chinese court, but performed the *kotow* (a thing, however, he does not mention). Sir George Staunton, quoting from the edition to the Tourgouth Tartars, page 12, of 1698, says, "the embassador being reconducted by the *adogeda* to his seat, the Chinese, all on a sudden, placed themselves on the right side upon their bended knees, knocking their heads against the ground three times, whilst the emperor was descending from the throne. We were led by the two adogedas to the same place, where we were obliged to perform the same ceremony." This sentence does not occur in the edition before us. According to Bell, Ismayloff made many objections and endeavored to avoid rendering this act of homage, but unsuccessfully. It was in his case, settled, "that the embassador should comply with the established customs of the court of China; and when the emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court." As if with reference to this stipulation, in his instruotions to Tulishin, the envoy to the Tourgouth Tartars, Kanghe, speaking of an interview with the czar, says, "if he (the czar) happens not to be desirous to see you, and consequently sends no messengers to invite you to a conference, it is very immaterial. As to the order and ceremonial of your reception, it may be conformable to the customs and ceremonies of that country."*

* Staunton embassy to Tourgouth Tartars, page 12.

Having had his final audience with the emperor, Ides began to prepare for his return, which he did by purchasing a large number of extra camels and mules for carrying the baggage and merchandize through Siberia. He left Peking the 19th of February, 1694, "accompanied out of the city-gate with a numerous train of great officers of state," and also attended by a deputy as far as the confines of the desert, who had orders to furnish the whole company with everything they required at the emperor's charge. As soon as they left the Chinese territories, provisions and forage began to be scarce, and it was with much trouble, the party reached the river Sadun, where they halted two days to refresh. During this repose, he remarks that "a Chinese envoy, with a hundred armed men came up to me, who by command of the emperor, was by the viceroy of Tartary, dispatched from the city of Mergheen, with orders to accompany me to Nerzinskoy, there to treat concerning some affairs with the governor." This addition was a great relief to Ides, who was apprehensive of an attack from the "strowling parties of robbers" thereabouts.

Soon after he left this place, the whole encampment was endangered by the grass taking fire. It had been kindled to windward, and the smoke gave indications of its approach before it reached them, so that some time was afforded for the horses and camels to scatter. However,—

"Within the space of half an hour, the air was wholly darkened with the smoke, and the fire driven on by a stormy wind, flew swifter than a horse could run, into the vale, where the dry grass was about half an ell high; so that it was scarce possible either to escape or quench such a rapid flame: the fire flew, or rather flashed, by our camp, as swift as lightning, so that whilst I turned myself round, it was got to the short grass, and behind the brow of a hill: notwithstanding its speedy flight, we did not clearly escape it, for the flame laying hold of our foremost row of tents, immediately sent ten or twelve of them burning into the air: great quantities of our merchants goods were consumed, and fourteen men struck down by it, which were miserably burned, and some of them taken up for dead; but after necessary care was taken for their recovery, only one Persian died. I was myself in great danger, and if I had not in time run to a hill where there was scarce any grass, and been assisted by two servants, which covered me with a felt, to keep off the heat, I should not have escaped better than those above-mentioned. The flame was no sooner past us than it visited the Chinese embassador, who was encamped at some distance from us, amongst the hills, where, to his good fortune, there happened to be very little grass, so that the fire passed about and over the hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, so that their horses tails only were a little burned, or rather singed."

Before they reached Argum, near Nerzinskoy, they were nearly famished. Indeed, the recital of the hardships endured for want of food, both for man and beast, their apprehensions of attack from the Tartars, and the losses by reason of the death of the baggage animals is in sad contrast to the plenty, safety, and expedition that attended them while in the limits of the Chinese empire. We are told nothing of the errand of the Chinese messenger from Mergheen at Nerzinskoy, and Ides summarily dispatches his journey from thence to Moscow, where he arrived January 1st, 1695, after an absence of two years and ten months.

ART. V. *Note on article second No. 9. for January—Progress of the difficulties between the English and Chinese, &c., by C. R.*

THE importance of the interests staked upon the controversy between the parties referred to in the above named article, the bearing it has on property and life, and the wide diversity of opinion prevailing on many of its points, are the chief motives to discuss the subject often and fully. It is not only allowable, but proper, that the residents should express their personal views, however differing; and having done this, leave the impartial and the intelligent elsewhere to decide. This was the design of C. R. His remarks were meant merely as the results of a calm review of an agitating question, and he adds this note, because some explanations have been asked, and some expressions misunderstood, if not offense taken.

As respects the resistance of the foreigners to the attempted execution in December, C. R's opinion was based on the conviction, that the ground so invaded, was leased property. This belief rests on the fact of its enclosure down to the time of the great fire (1821); the repeated proposals to reënclose it since that time; the claim to it set up, and the power exercised over it, by the holders of front factories; the reënclosure of it at present for the exclusive use of the foreigners, &c. If, however, these grounds are not good, then the resistance should not have been made, nor should it, in any case, have been marked by any violence.

The assumption, that the select committee would have sacrificed the opium trade, in March last, was taken up on the ground of their

constant disavowal of protection to it in China, and especially on the declaration of the committee in 1826, (quoted in Phipps' work on the China Trade:) of course, under opposite orders from the honorable Court, the committee would have acted differently.

C. R. did not mean to convey any imputation on British honor, by repeating, in the 12th paragraph, a very common quotation — as often applied to the government of his own as of any other country. No doubt the superintendent felt that the loss must be submitted to, and that being the case, it were best, the right of recovery, whatever it were, should be vested in her majesty.

When the article, under comment, was written, C. R. did not know that the superintendent disclaimed the stoppage of the British trade, and threw the onus of the same on the Chinese government. His argument upon this point is entitled to great consideration; indeed when full copies of his official papers come before the community, it may be a duty, as it will be a pleasure, not only to exonerate, but to approve this portion of his measures. Meantime we may be excused, if we make the same mistake on this head, which has been made by high legal authority in India.

C. R. did not know that any doubt rested on the point, that an exemption from bonds was held out, to induce the English to remain at their factories. If he is mistaken in this idea, he will at once withdraw a remark, which was, and still is, supposed to stand on the best authority.

The remainder of the 15th paragraph has not been understood or mistaken entirely. Indeed it is freely admitted, by C. R. on review, that, unexplained, it may become justly offensive, though not intentionally so. When the first bond was signed, the impression went abroad, that it was by the direct efforts of the resident merchants, its clauses had been made to operate only upon the masters and crews of vessels. Thus commodore Read complained at the time — "the merchants and supercargoes have succeeded in exempting *themselves*, from the penalties attached, but the bond is yet left to operate upon masters and crews of vessels, who, from their dependent situation, are obliged to comply, &c." This officer's opinion is here given, as before, because his name is a guaranty both for intelligence and friendliness, and to show that such an idea *did* find circulation. So far as it pervailed, it gave the impression, that the substitution was an unfair one. To repeat and reply to the inquiries then, and often made, why it was so done, was the object of the last sentences of the 15th paragraph. They are not to be understood as ascribing what-

ever may be unfair, in the transaction, to the residents, but to the senior hong merchant. He was required to arrange the bonds; he knew his employers, and he knew that if opium was ever detected, and a severe provincial officer demanded the offenders, it would be required of the cohong to search for him among the shipping. To neutralize opposition on the part of the residents, he probably saw no way so good, as to set them aside altogether, to make it in fact none of their business, and to fix all responsibility on the shipping. They took the exemption as it was — as a release from a most harsh demand; he, we suppose, meant it as buying them off, as getting rid of their resistance.

C. R. never believed that the residents would accept a bribe, much less that they would lend themselves to the surrender of a countryman. The word has no meaning, except as descriptive of the supposed design and management of the senior hong merchant. He acted, because he was *compelled* to fix responsibility somewhere; and besides, he naturally chose to save friends and expose strangers. They accepted the exemption for themselves, and the only matter of regret is, that the failure to do as well for others, has laid them open, even with their friends, to sad misconstruction. This explanation, it is hoped, will be of use to do away an idea from which C. R. suffers, as well as others, his countrymen. In fact, he has been careful to make no exception in his own favor.

As concerns matters of trade since the retirement, C. R's argument is one for simple neutrality. More than once within a few years, the government of the United States has been brought to the verge of war, in consequence of acts committed by belligerent powers on its neutral citizens. With this experience before us, it becomes every one to beware of transactions tending to throw a doubt on the nationality of property, and so tempting belligerent invasion. Hence arise the objections, C. R. has stated, to agency for British houses, and still more to purchases of British shipping, in these times of expected hostilities. The late edicts of confiscation, the interference with the funds of several American ships, the prohibition to bring goods from British ports, &c., are all so many comments on the argument aforesaid, so many evidences of already awakened suspicion.

In commenting on the course of the superintendent, as well as on that of the American representative, C. R. has felt all the embarrassment that naturally arises on expressing a single opinion unfavorable to men for whom he feels the sincerest respect and friendship; he never intended to question the just and honorable intentions of those

gentlemen, or their perfect right to act upon their own judgment in the late emergencies. Indeed, the recent intelligence is much more favorable to their course, than to the views of C. R. The public acts of public men are, however, open, everywhere by common consent, to frank and calm discussion. On such points as deeply affect private interests, differences of opinion will always arise, and it is in fact for the interest of the public man that they be discussed early and fully. He is thus directed to the points where misapprehension has arisen, or cautioned where inattention or some like cause was leading him into error. As to the *manner* of such discussion, it should ever be calm and impartial; and if in any respect C. R. has offended against these rules, or has advanced what is erroneous or in any way unfair, he will be forward and happy to repair his inadvertency.

ART. VI. *Reply to article second, in the Repository for January, in a letter addressed to the editor, dated Canton February 14th,* 1840. By NON SINE CAUSA.

[In the article by C. R. in our last, and in that here introduced, there is somewhat which might well have been modified, or omitted. Our pages are designed for a Repository of facts, rather than for forensic debate. Yet when great and difficult questions are pending, it is desirable they should be freely and fairly discussed. To this no one will object. But there is danger of making partial or erroneous statements, or of making them in objectionable terms, liable to be misunderstood. We express our unfeined regret that any such should ever appear in our columns. In future, we hope our correspondents will be more guarded in what they write. Having admitted C. R.'s paper, we feel bound to admit the reply. How to remove existing evils, extend and secure honorable commerce, and open and establish friendly relations—such commerce and such relations as shall be mutually beneficial and satisfactory—are great objects—now, more than ever before, demanding from all careful consideration.]

DEAR SIR,—In the cunclusion of the leading article in your number for January, I observe that you allude to a long communication which had "just been put into your hands;" and you say that you "are encouraged to except more from the same and other writers," and that you expect by a comparison of the views of different persons, the "due medium" may be found out, and that, "order, peace, good will, and prosperity will be secured."

If you expect a comparision of the views of different persons, so that a "due medium" may be arrived at, you may be perfectly safe

in putting the article by C. R. upon the very extreme line on one side; no one can go beyond his Utopian ideas, nor arrive nearer the confines of truth and honesty of purpose; no one *professing* a Christian spirit, far less any one *possessing* a particle thereof, can go beyond C. R. Even admitting his statements to be correct, there is a spirit of jealousy stamped in every line, there is a degree of self-esteem and arrogance in the language of the article, under notice, which renders it a harmless missive; its venom must recoil on the writer. The article would be entirely beneath my notice, or that of any American merchant in Canton, were your journal to stop its circulation here; but shall we endorse the cold blooded slanders of C. R. by permitting them to cross the ocean? Shall we see a respectable individual, like our consul, vilified, and shut our mouths? Forbid it, truth and justice! However, Mr. Editor, I shall confine my strictures, principally to the libels on the American merchants of Canton, leaving the consul and the superintendent to speak for themselves, if they consider C. R. worthy of flagellation. C. R. writes well; therefore he can claim no immunity from me on the score of ignorance; I need make no apologies for my style, for your readers will readly see that I am a plain man; and all who are acquainted with the subject, will say that the truths I write must put down error, however, homely the garb in which they are clothed.

I am quite amused at the temerity of C. R. in wishing to submit even the opium question, and the relation growing out of it, to the "papirs sensibles," for in close connection with that question, in some shape or another, would be found most transactions of the general trade, in which C. R. and all other American merchants have been successful operators. C. R. expects *praise* from one, *criticism* from onother, and *abuse* from a third: he will be disappointed in the *first* most assuredly, and through he will have plenty of *criticism*, he will be spared *abuse*,—for on looking into "Webster" I find that "*abuse*" means "improper treatment," "perversion of meaning," "rude speech," &c., all these definitions it will be difficult to apply to anything that the English language is susceptible of in relation to the article of C. R. If he considers his tirade of thirty pages, "a brief rapetition of some opinions on the past stages of the controversy," spare us, I pray you, the infliction of his *full statements*.

In regard to the opinions of C. R., I would say briefly, in reply to his reasoning on paragraph 7th, that his position is a wrong one; for had the government been actuated by a sincere desire to put down the opium trade, it would have succeed; this is amply proved

by the fact, that the first sincere efforts for its suppression have been successful. In relation to paragraph 7th, I would say, that C. R. approves of the interference of the foreigners on the occasion of the first attempt to execute a Chinese in front of the factories, because he took an active part in that interference; the repetition of the act, or rather the carrying out of the attempt alluded to, was the *consequence* of that *very proper interference*, and not because the importers of the drug did not "lay the first lesson to their hearts." I pass over paragraphs 8, 9, and 10, leaving one of the many friends of the superintendent to notice them.

Paragragh 11th. C. R. says the honorable Company's committee would have ordered off the ships, and deported Mr. Dent. C. R. should remember that Mr. Dent was one of many, and was not particularly subject to the notice of the Chinese authorities until we were all prisoners; and then if the select committee had been here, it would have afforded him the same protection which captain Elliot did, and the act would have been equally praisworthy; and the individual who would hesitate, under similar circumstances, to do as he did would be subject to the censure of every honorable mind.

Par. 12th. All who know captain Elliot, will be slow to believe, that he estimated for a moment the value of the surrendered drug in comparison with the safety of his contrymem; this last was his primary object, and he never dwelt on any other consideration.

Par. 13th. I agree entirely with C. R. that the Americans pursued the wisest course in remaining in Canton, instead of retreating with their English friends to the great prejudice of their own interests, and the interests of their constituents; but I had a different feeling at the time, and would have retired had others been so disposed; this, as matters have turned out, would have been a great error; I do not agree with C. R. as to the *motives* for remaining; not a man remained here because he was unwilling "to stake his chance of sympathy and support on an opium quarrel," but *every merchant* remained here, I believe, because he felt himself personally secure from danger, and because he expected to reap the reward of his continued partial imprisonment, to say nothing of his duty to his constituents.

Par. 14th. C. R. attempts to show that the English committed a geographical error in going outside the Bogue; or, in other words, that they were no more safe outside than in! Most assuredly they "assumed, that life and property were unsafe within the Bogue, and safe at the outer anchorages," and the result has borne out those assump-

tions; the Chinese *did not* yield their claim to the jurisdiction over the various anchorages; but they *did* no more, they *dared* do no more, than annoy the ships, causing them to move a few miles on or about the day that they had previously meditated retiring; and the sanction of the commissioner to the then trade, between Britsh and Americans, was actually given, as also that of the superintendent, the *former* by chop to the United States consul, as C. R. tells us further on in paragraph 23d, and the *latter* by tacit consent, backed by the presence of the superintendent himself.

Par. 15th. The *bond!* The subject of the signature of the bond, has been publicly discussed before, and a *very near friend of C. R's*, has said, that the odium of first signing it, has been frankly assumed by the party to whom it justly belonged; but he forgot that the party assuming the responsibility at that time, did it only *on one condition*, namely, that if the sin thus committed should weigh too heavely, or rankle in the breast of *C. R's friend*, or any body else, that party would assume the responsibility; and as this said *friend* did endeavor to throw off what he considered an awful responsibility, he thereby addimtted that his conscience pricked him. C. R. knows full well, and knew at the time he so "reluctantly assented to the bond," that no one declined signing it because the thought it a dangerous document, but because it was well known that to yield one step to the Chinese, would give them an advantage.

C. R. can rest assured that many calm statements, in reference to the signature of the bond, were made; it is true that these were made without the especial sanction, and approval of C. R.; the unpardonable error was committed, of not consulting this paragon of human excellence, "this second Daniel!" C. R. was probably the identical "*American resident*," who had been promised a virtual immunity from the bond! We have his word for that, and nothing more; and it can easily be credited, that his vanity led him into the belief, that what he states was truth. In reference to this C. R. says, "unhappily these fair prospects were clouded over, a bond was signed, &c." I would ask him, what prospects? Did the *resident* publish, that if a little time could be gained, the bond would be quashed? No; he cherished the idea with characteristic vanity, equalled only by that of C. R., that *he individually* would be the favored one, all others might, from their *suspicious characters and knavish pursuits*, be compelled to sign bonds, but *he*, the *pure*, the *uncontaminated* '*resident*,' would proudly hold up his head, and say, "Lin knows whom to trust," "my word is as good as my bond;" if he ever had any reason

to expect such immunity, he fully expected to make a private use of it.

C. R. accuses the Americans, his neighbors, with *meanness* for making it necessary for the captains to sign the bonds, instead of themselves. He says, "were they the authors of these troubles?" "Had they been the chief encouragers of this traffic, &c." "No—the resident merchants." C. R here assumes the false ground, that the resident merchants, then in Canton, were "*en masse*," engaged in the opium trade, and desired to carry it on, and shift the responsibility on the captains! I pronounce this to be neither more nor less than *most atrocious intimation*, conceived in malignity, and born with falsehood stamped upon its face. Surely, if there was any danger of opium being brought in, accidentally, or secretly, it must have been known to the captains; and C. R. with all his venom, will hardly go so far as to say, that the captains were to be inveigled into bringing in the drug by the residents, and afterwards be asked to sign the bond. The fact is, Mr. Editor, the captains knew the tenor of the bond before entering the port, and the captains under my control, as agent for their owners, were not (like C. R's captains,) servants of mine. C. R. knew perfectly well that his signature, or that of his agent in Canton, would satisfy the authorities as well as the name of the captain, and therefore if he considered it 'mean' to put the responsibility on the captains, *why did he do it?* And for the reason, why was it settled that the captains should sign the bond? "Because the wily head of the cohong knew whom he dealt with, and that, to subdue the opposition of hardy sailors, to have a victim forthcoming, when the time of sacrifice should arrive, it was necessary *to bribe the resident agents.*" This is truly a most rancorous, injust, and libelous sentence; but to any one acquainted with the Chinese character, it excites only laughter, and falls upon the too lofty head of C. R.

Par. 16th. C. R. tells you that there were reasons for signing the *first bond*, as a temporaly measure: I presume one of the most urgent, was that he had a ship at that moment in port, which he was extremely anxious to dispatch; and I will take this occasion to remark that, C. R. finds a good excuse for going just so far, in the measures leading to the heinous offenses committed by his countrymen, *as suits his own interest.* No man who signed the bond thought for a moment that by doing so he would keep opium out of his ship, he signed it because he was perfectly sure that, from other considerations, none could come in her, and that by doing it, his cargo would certainly be on its way to its destination much sooner than if he declined. If,

as C. R. says, and attempts to prove by stating that "no conviction could legally take place under the bond, and that there were reasons for signing the bond," why was it an act of meanness to ask the captains to do so? As to the *second bond*, C. R. knows perfectly well, that originated in the precedent established by the "Thomas Coutts," and not in any newly promulgated law; for it is clear, that the most lenient bond would have been quite enough, with the publication of the law; but I deny that there is any essential difference in the two bonds; if the Chinese are disposed to be sanguinary, we are equally at their mercy, bond or no bond.

Par. 17th. This has very little to do with the questions between C. R., and the Americans, whose course I am attempting to justify; but a very cursory survey of its contents affords me so good an opportunity to notice the inconsistency of C. R., that I cannot refrain from giving it a passing word. In paragraph 14th C. R. says, "The harsh requisition (to stop the British trade,) came from the British representative," "and the guardian of British interests, on this side the Pacific inflicted, with his own hands, the losses, &c.;" after this he tells you, in the article under review, that the English residents, having made their election to retire, were bound to stand manfully by the cruel injunctions of the superintendent, in one breath C. R. accuses him of "great official errors," and in the next, he gilds the pill, with a little flattery. Every American in Canton will readily assent to the sentiment of C. R., that the superintendent was particularly considerate to the Americans; thereby proving that he entertained for them a much better feeling than their fellow countryman C. R. did; and notwithstanding the "eager avidity," with which, he says, they began to look on the profits of this illicit gain, they may rest assured that if, C. R. and his cant, were put into the scale against the most humble of the Americans, and Elliot should hold the scales, C. R. would be found wanting. The idea of abandoning the means of procuring cargoes for our American constituents, and of refusing consignments from our English friends, because Elliot had issued precautionary injunctions to keep the crown aloof from further responsibilities, is too supremely rediculous to merit more than one of C. R.'s contemptuous sneers.

As to the opinions of the American commodore, if I had the desire, I would bring forward, at least as strong quotations, in favor of the trade, carried on in American ships as C. R. can against it. The worthy commodore was comparatively a stranger here, and did not profess, as C. R. does, to instruct his countrymen, and all the world

besides, as to what was best to be done with their own affairs In this paragraph the 'cloven foot' shews itself again. C. R. says, (what I must confess I never heard of before,) that the superintendent sanctioned the purchases of British goods, with bills! This is new to me, and I should as soon have thought of asking the superintendent's permission to do this, as of asking him to allow me to consume the produce of England at my table.

As to the feeling of the English towards their American agents, "after they had yielded to their losses, and sent their property within the river:" I am unconscious of any such feeling towards me, but I can easily conceive, that C. R., who had reviled every opium agent, should have imagined, and perhaps justly conceived, that his English friends, with whom he exchanged bills for cotton, should have had a most contemptuous opinion of his principles, which carried him, strait along an imaginary line of his own creating; to go on either side of which, he considered a deadly sin in any other man.

Par. 18th. Is only a register of the consummate vanity of C. R., and requires no notice.

Par. 19th. Is rather a good one, and treats of the blockade notice of the 11th September; the only good results of which, *to Americans*, were the enhanced value of freights, and the opportunity of testing *principle versus profit*, in the person of an intimate friend of C. R. who on that trying occasion had a ship loading at Hongkong.

I pass over article 20th, and come to the 21st. C. R. asserts, what he certainly can have no proof of, and thereby subjects himself to the just imputation of a perverted heart, that "ship after ship was sold for nominal considerations;" this, I fully believe to be false, though I would not charge C. R. with a deliberate intention of uttering so grave an untruth; *I do distinctly charge him with an acrimonious feeling, a petty meddling and jealous disposition;* after giving full vent to these feelings he pounces upon the American consul, and to him, I leave the reply, fully satisfied that he will get his deserts from that gentleman.

Par. 23d. C. R. says, the affair at Chuenpe, "as it threw an additional doubt on the safety of British property, within the grasp of the Chinese, gave a new impulse to transhipments;" the oracle has told you that British property, *only nominally covered*, was illicitly being carried to Whampoa; he must have very strange ideas of the sagacity of the British merchants to suppose, that the *greater the danger* to their property *the more anxious* they should be to put it in jeopardy C R. has told you that the superintendent consented to the

transhipments, and he *now* tells you that the commissioner, had given his consent; wherein then (having the consent of both sides) was the sin of carrying British property to Whampoa? And what would have been the position of British and American trade at this moment, if the Americans had not committed these grievous sins, in the eyes of C. R., *sins only* when they passed the imaginary line drawn by himself. Having expressed his disapprobation of the course of his countrymen, having vilified them with no measured hand, having blended with his statements, just enough of facts, to give them the semblance of reason, he now comes out with his sage advice; beginning with the "American community," and at the head of this, the consul, and next the private residents.

I had determined to let the consul speak for himself, and I feel sure that he will; yet I should regret that his countrymen remain silent on a point involving the honor of that respectable gentleman; it is quite evident that C. R. has some covered and secret motive for decrying him, and this will be shown sooner or later; very probably he would accept the consulship himself, if it were *respectfully solicited of him by our government;* he has probably an eye to the "loaves and fishes," or perhaps he thinks he would acquire more influence with *his friend Lin* were he to come out in the cousular uniform; he could then sport the American flag before his own house, and if the commodores should dare to call on their private friends before they waited on him, he could haul down the flag at his pleasure, as a certain consular vice agent, did on a former occasion.

All I have to say in respect to the consul is, that his countrymen entertain the highest respect for his character, and they will doubtless be ready to resist any and all slanders and aspersions, when they are called upon; while he is at his post, this will be unnecessary, he is fully able to defend himself; and C. R. may consider it a compliment if he deigns to notice his late writings. If he ever refused to present petitions, it must have been because he felt sure they would contain matter offensive to the Americans generally; however, I say again, let the consul speak for himself; I do not profess to be encumbered with diffidence, at the same time, I enter on a few remarks in regard to C. R.'s advice to the American merchants, with some reluctance, feeling aware that there are others here who can much more readily do justice to the vanity and egotism of C. R. I have no authority to speak for the American community, no more right to give their opinions, than C. R. has to school them; I therefore speak for myself, and have only to hope that I speak the sentiments of the Americans generally

The first grave and unfounded accusation is, that the Americans signed the second bond, "without protest, explanation or remonstrance;" *this is false;* the writer has some agency in the matter, and does nor speak without book, as C. R. does. The second bond was objected to most decidedly, and orders went to the ships *expected* (in duplicate) *by dispatch boats,* enclosing the copies of the old bonds, and requesting the captains of the ships then expected, to sign none others; but unfortunately, the "Thomas Coutts" had assented to the new bond, a precedent was thereby established; and the Chinese, with their usual art, presented similar documents to the captains *outside,* and they signed them; finding the step could not be retraced, remonstrance was used without success, and then *protests* were made before the consul, and every captain which the writer has had any control over has been recommended to protest; some have done it, and some have thought it unnecssary. So much for the truth of C. R.'s assertion; and whether he made so grave a charge ignorantly, or maliciously, he deserves censure equally. I have already said that the Americans did not sign the first bond "*to prove their sincerity in abjuring* the opium traffic;" they signed it, to *facilitate their legal and proper business, and because their duty to their constituents and their own interests demanded it;* they gave proof enough to their sincerity in the abandonment of the opium traffic, by issuing circulars to that effect, and above all, by *remaining in Canton.* C. R. assented to the *first bond,* or through his agent precipitated the signature of it, because he had a ship to load; but when the *second bond* was to be signed, he had no ship unsecured. I hold that our remaining in Canton, bond or no bond, gave *a tacit assent* to *any and all the laws of China;* the statement of C. R., that the Americans quietly swallowed the new bond, whatever might have been their opinion of its severity, "without efforts to effect an abatement," *is false.*

C. R. next attempts to put a petition into the mouths of his countrymen, the only sensible clause in which is the 6th; "the wily head of the cohong," would have looked to his safety by refusing *at once* to present such a document; and if C. R. had carried it to the city gates, he might have been sent back with an endorsement of bamboo. I do not offer any very strong objections to his statements in this petition, but one would suppose, that C. R. had just landed in China: what he says would be very well for a *private* letter, in confidence *to his friend Lin;* but officially, it would not do, he would return it as he did certain globes and books unperused; he would no more assent to the terms of C. R.'s petition, than to the absurd idea, which a

friend of "Lin's" endeavored to impose on him, namely, that the world is round and revolves on its axis. Then the idea of this rejected petition being placed in the archives of the province! I really begin to think, as I go on, that I have mistaken my man, and that C. R. is just imported: however, I believe I am not mistaken, and that C. R. can be neither more nor less, than that person who shakes his best friend's hand with the tips of his fingers, as if he would say, with a regal air, "touch but pollute not, this is a hand that never was engaged in any illicit trade." But this is a digression.

C. R. goes on to school the British community, the superintendent, and I dare say, before I get though, I shall find him giving his sage advice to the queen herself, and to congress. I have heard that "whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted," and I hope it is equally true for C. R.'s future welfare, that whose exalteth himself shall be humbled. C. R. gives his counsel to the *British community* "with all the freedom of friendship and sympathy;" they will doubtless say, in relation to this whole paragraph, "*perserve us from our friends.*"

C. R.'s views of the superintendent's conduct, in respect to the armed occupation of Chinese harbors, is very logical; he is truly a most disinterested person, but I suppose he would not have had the superintendent remove his protection from Hongkong, until after the due "exchange of bills for British merchandise" had taken place. Then comes some Latin; here C. R. has the advantage of me; I disclain all knowledge of the dead languages, yet I should like to put a spice of Latin or Greek into this long article. What shall I say? "*Non sine causa*" sounds well enough, and might afford an excuse for inflicting this penance on you. "*E pluribus unum*" looks pretty enough when seen on a golden eagle, and might express the feelling C. R. has of his own power! But to be serious, Mr. Editor, and who, let me ask you, would fail to be so, when noticing the rancorous absurdities of C. R. He tells you again, that the superintendent "hurried the residents from their homes without a sufficient notice," and yet he says just before, that they should manfully have supported him, or in other words "kissed the rod" which was inflicting heavy punishment on them.

I have nothing more to say in reference to Kowlung and the amusing "skrimish," which I had the pleasure of witnessing at a *most safe distance*, than that it is no affair of C. R. or mine. I now come to the last topic of C. R. article: he doubts not, that an American, and perhaps a French, and Dutch envoy, will be sent out; if he lives in China until he sees *either*, he will have had ample time to

repent of his sins, be they few or many. He says, the United States "will exhaust every peaceful recourse rather than leave their citizens, resident in China, longer exposed to loss and *contumely*." I thank thee, C. R. for that last word, it is exactly what *the Americans have received at your hands;* may they never be exposed to more from others, than they reap from your well provided store.

I cannot trespass much longer on your valuable time and space, Mr. Editor, and I shall therefore overlook much of what C. R. says on the opium question, *as it once was;* it is quite sufficient *for me*, that the most enlightened company of merchants, chartered by the most enlightened Christian power, should have given its sanction to the opium trade, to acquit my conscience for having once dealt in the drug. C. R. says truly, that, "all the merchants who gave up their drug last March can ask for, is money," *this is all they want!*

Some of C. R.'s remarks on page 470 are very sane and proper, but as I have not taken up my pen to praise, but to punish, I will not say a word in favor of the sentiments I allude to; my praise would afford him little more satisfaction than my censure. I now come to page 473, where a hope is held out, like a beacon light on a vast desert, that the end of C. R.'s article is close by; this fills me with pleasure, until I turn over, and find, that there are several pages more of sage and learned matter; have a little patience, my good sir, for I will not keep you long. I find nothing in particular upon which to offer a remark, until the first paragraph on page 476 meets my eye. C. R. wants a true copy of the code of laws which govern this empire, and particularly (I presume) that part relating to commerce; he says, that "no diligence of inquiry, no sincerity of *obedience*, no sacrifices, can satisfy his own sense of right, or raise him *above the taunt of the malicious*."

I am not aware of what he alludes to in the last part of this quotation, unless he means to say, that it has been intimated, that *he*, in common with all American merchants at Canton, has evaded (innocently of course) the laws in regard to duties; it has been "maliciously" said perhaps that he has transhipped cargo to Whampoa, with intent to save the duty: or the more heinous crime may have been attributed to him of shipping goods through Macao, for the same illicit end; or the still more unjustifiable accusation may have been brought against him, of having landed goods by night in Canton, for the same purpose, and I am by no means sure that he may not have been unjustly accused of bringing in a much smaller quantity of rice than the law allows. That he has ever given the "malicious" any

grounds for saying thus much, I am not personally aware. I have now come to the last page, and I dare say you are equally glad, Mr Editor. I pass over the first part merely observing, that, if the queen the superintendent, the American consul, the Dutch, and French envoys, the yumchae, the hong merchants, and last not least the British and American merchants, will only consent to put their business into C. R.'s hands, they cannot fail to come out well; notwithstanding it is somewhere said "put not your trust in *princes*." I finish by requesting C. R. to look into his own heart, and his own motives, and to refrain in future from casting the first stone, or courting attack by holding his head too high. Let him, if he sincerely desires the good will of good men, or if he desires to bring "the stray sheep into his fold," put off a little of his lofty tone, and endeavor to assume a respectful lenity towards the faults and foibles of his fellow men. I now take leave of C. R., and offer no apologies for the length, or quality, of my writing; if what I say is not acceptable to my friends here, I shall sincerely regret it; that it will be so to C. R I cannot hope or wish. I am, &c., &c. NON SINE CAUSA

ART. VII. *Official correspondence with regard to her Britannic majesty's ship Hyacinth's entrance into the port of Macao. From the Canton Press, for Feb. 8th.*

No. 1.

H. M. ship Volage. Macao Roads 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I shall not attempt to conceal from your excellency that the atrocious edict lately promulgated by the Chinese authorities, and posted on the walls of Macao, has caused considerable anxiety and alarm to the British community residing there; and as you are well aware that I am charged, under heavy responsibilities, with the protection of the lives and property of H. B. M. subjects, I have felt it incumbent on me, at this momentous crisis, to move one of H. M. ships into the inner harbor,—a position that will not only afford full protection to them, but a place of refuge in case of emergency. As H. M. ship enters the harbor with no hostile intention, I feel assured that this measure will strengthen your excellency's hands in maintaining a strict neutrality, which I am convinced you are most desirous to do, and with the greatest respect, I have the honor to remain, your excellency's

Most obedient bumble servant, H. Smith.

Captain of H. M. S. Volage and senior officer in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 2.

Answer to captain Smith's first note.

Illustrious Sir,— Before I call the senate to meet, which, conjointly with me, is the legal authority to decide on all political matters, I declare to you, that I cannot but look upon the entrance of the sloop of war under your orders, into the port of Macao, as an act of declared hostily to the government of her most faithful majesty, because such entrance has ever been prohibited, nor can you have instructions from your government to attack well known and most ancient rights, no ship of war, even in admiral Drury's time, having ever entered the port of Macao. I therefore protest against you, as regards the consequences that may result from this step taken by you without justifiable motive, since your views were very different in November last, as I shall make known to the respective governments of Great Britain and Her Most Faithful Majesty. May}God protect you.

Macao, 4th February, 1840. A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

No. 3.

H. M. S. Volage. Macao, Roads 4th, February, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date; and I beg leave to put it plainly to your excellency, whether you are inclined to give protection to her Britannic majesty's subjects now residing under the flag of Portugal, or whether you will permit them to be harassed in the manner they have been, during the last six months. If your excellency will have the goodness to say at once that you cannot afford the required protection, and wish the British community to withdraw from Macao, her majesty's ship shall immediately leave the harbor, and I shall lose no time in making your sentiments known to my countrymen.

I have the honor to be with great respect your excellency's,

Most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 4.

Answer to the second note from captian Smith.

Illustrious sir,— With the clearness which it becomes the representative of Her Most Faithful Majesty's government in this country, I shall answer the questions you put in your second note of this day.

This eatablishment is very different from all other possessions of H. M. F. M.; it is only under peculiar circumstances that it can admit strangers, and their simple toleration cannot furnish you with an excuse to expose that establishment to the horrible consequences that threaten it. Have not the English on various occasions of trouble gone on board their ships, and done this notwithstanding the decided protection which, according to my means I was ready to afford them? This is most certain, and no gentleman will deny it, for on one occasion they did so under the recommendation of the British superintendent of commerce, and on another occasion by your own

recommendation, proceeding no doubt from an exact knowledge of the peculiar situation of this establishment, where every thing must perish if the Chinese were to withdraw our means of subsistence; nor need I mention the treaties entered into between the Chinese government, and that of H. M. F. M., treaties well known to you, so much so indeed that no vessel of your nation ever entered the port except for necessary repairs. I therefore require, as representative of H. M. F. M.'s government, that you will cause forthwith the sloop Hyacinth, under your orders, to leave the port, and with the assurance that I shall afford to H. B. M.'s subjects such protection as I am able; I shall not insist on their remaining in this city, should they not think it efficient, (and this besides would be very necessary for the quiet of the city,) for I cannot consent to the treaties which bind us to the Chinese empire being violated, in order to observe the strict neutrality of which you speak in your first note. The circumstances are delicate, and upon you will fall the weight of the enormous responsibility which must accompany the precipitate step you have taken, in opposition to the laws of this establishment.

This is written in the senate, where I am in session with the members that compose it. You point out the hardships suffered by the few British subjects resident here, and do not weigh the heavy losses and great sufferings which have fallen upon 5000 Protuguese inhabitants, to maintain their friendship with the English. Their commerce completely stagnated, since the return of the superintendent, and the heavy duty that has fallen to the Portuguese soldiers to watch over the safety of the English, ought to deserve some consideration on your part, if indeed you do not remember expressions called forth by truth. This government will make known to the whole world, whatever has occurred within the last nine months, and is certain that the whole world will do it that justice which it deserves. I finally impress upon you, that the step you have taken is as hostile to the Portuguese as to the English. May God protect you.

Senate House, 4th February, 1840. A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

No. 5. *Protest.*

The governor and the loyal senate, surprised at the act just committed by capt. Smith, commanding H. B. M.'s ship Volage, in causing the sloop Hyacinth to enter the port of Macao, who could not be ignorant, and ought to have known, that such entrance is denied to all vessels not Protuguese or Spanish from Manila, by virtue of special regulations of this port, based upon ancient treaties with the emperor of China: an entrance which threatens to compromise this city, and which, even were England at war with China ought not to have been made; resulting therefrom that the said commander committed this act of his own will, which can never be approved of by H. B. M. the intimate ally of H. B. F. M.; the government of this city, therefore, impressed with the greatest regret, judge it to be their duty, in order to maintain their own dignity, as well as the rights of the Protuguese nation in this country, and to obviate the responsibilities which follow such entrance,

should the vessel remain in port, to protest, as they hereby solemnly do protest, against all consequences that may result from this proceeding: against the Portuguese being compromised with the Chinese government;—the suspension of the trade, and withholding of provisions to the prejudice of the Portuguese, of strangers and even of those English themselves who are not proscribed, who are here under the protection of the Portuguese government; and against all other sinister consequences that may be foreseen. And as such proceeding of the said commander cannot but be considered as hostile, and directed against the well being of the Portuguese in China; a proceeding which, even under the name of protection, such as it appeared to be in the year 1808, cannot be consented to: a proceeding tending in its effects to disturb the neutrality which this government wishes to maintain; for all these reasons does this government, in the name of Her Most Faithful Majesty, protest solemnly against the forementioned proceeding of the said commander, and against all consequences, present and future, all damage, losses, and perils, public as well as private, and against all and every thing that may directly or indirectly result or have resulted from so arbitrary and impolitic an act; and finally they protest against all who have assisted in this act. And, in order that this protest may produce the due effect, let it be officially made known to the said commander, and also to the superintendent of British trade in China.

Done and extended in session of the loyal senate of Macao, under its seal on the 4th February, 1840. Signed by J. J. Barros, secretary. A. A da Silveira Pinto, governor; M. Gonzalves da Silva; Joam Joze Vieira; J. B. Gularte; F. A. Seabra, F. J. de Paiva; J. V. Jorge.

No. 6. *Edict.*

The loyal senate cannot but make publicly known to all the inhabitants of Macao, that H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth having entered the port of this city without the consent of this government; the governor and the loyal senate have acted under such unheard of proceedings as policy and their duty require, and hoping that the measures adopted will produce the necessary result, they call upon the inhabitants to remain quiet, and that they fully confine in them, the loyal senate, in the certainty that they will act as their national honor and their duty demand. To be posted up for the knowledge of all. Macao, in session, 4th February, 1840. *(Signed as above.)*

No. 7. *Another note from H. E. the governor.*

Illustrious sir,—In order that I may deliberate as circumstances require, it is necessary that you be pleased to answer my second note of this day; having to inform you that I and the loyal senate are in permanent session. May God protect you. Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. M. B. naval force in these seas.

No. 8. H. M. S. Volage, Macao Roads, 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your excellency's second dispatch of this day's date. I trust, sir, that the motives and circumstances under

which her Britanic majesty's ship was ordered into the inner harbor of this settlement, will vindicate the measure in the sight of my government, a satisfaction which it would be vain to hope for, except it can be shown to be consistent with my duty to my own country, and with the sentiments of the deepest respect for her most Faithful Majesty's just rights and authorities at Macao. Having now, however, received from your excellency a demand that the vessel should proceed outside, I hasten to state that orders will immdeiately be issued to that effect, and she will move out tomorrow morning, but I entertain no doubt her appearance within the harbor and removal at your demand, will have produced the salutary effect of strengthening your excellency's hands. Permit me to express the hope that the language in which your excellency will demand the immediate removal of the Chinese forces *declaredly* sent here to seize or destroy my countrymen (to the deep insult of the Portuguese crown) will be not less stringent, and as successful in its operation as that in which your excellency has been pleased to require the withdrawal of the Hyacinth. I will only make the further observation that H. B. Majesty's forces under my command are entirely at your excellency's disposal whenever and however you may see fit to require their services, and sincerely lamenting the sufferings of the settlement, and the injuries and insults cast upon it by the Chinese authorities,

I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To his excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 9. *Answer to captain Smith's third note.*

Illustrious sir,— At the moment of receiving the answer which I had sufficiently anxiously awaited, I hasten to assure you that I did not expect a different proceeding from an officer of your standing, belonging to the British nation, so intimately allied to the nation to which I have the honor to belong. You will have known, that of the Chinese troops who were marching and others that were near the Bar-Pagoda, the former did not proceed, and the latter retired in virtue of the requisition from the Macao authorities, to allow us freely to consider this business; this proceeding will convince you of the good faith of the Macao government. I expect that the sloop will leave at the time you mention, and I can assure you that in so doing a great many evils will be avoided. I equally expect that you will have understood well the second note I addressed to you this day, and that you will allow due weight to all therein advanced. Finally allow me to give you my best thanks for the friendly sentiments you were pleased to address to me. May God protect you.

Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840, at 9. P. M.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

Art. VIII. *Report on the geographical, historical, and political state and relations of Bútan, by captain R. B. Pemberton, envoy to that country, in* 1838.

This volume of 212 pages is the sequel of a report made by the same gentlemen in 1836. His first gave a complete survey of Arracan, Cachar, Munipúr, and Assám, with the regions to the east of them; his second, the one last published, carries us on to the frontier line north of Lower Assám and Bengal Proper, and makes us acquainted with Bútan. It is in two parts, the first of which is divided into three sections.—The notices of the book, which we here give, are abridged from the Friend of India, for Nov. 7th, 14th and 21st, 1839.

The first section furnishes a brief history of the relations between the British government and Bútan and Tibet. In 1772, the rájá of Kúch Behar was compelled, by the aggressions of the Bútías, to seek the assistance of the British government. "His cause was taken up effectively; and his enemies were driven back to their own mountains. In their turn they applied for support to the tíshú lama, the guardian of the grand lama of Tibet; who, in consequence, dispatched a letter to the governor-general, Warren Hastings, requesting a cessation of hostilities against Bútan, and the restoration of the lands of which she had been deprived. A treaty of peace was, in consequence, entered into and ratified on the 25th of April, 1774; and to confirm the amity, Mr. George Bogle, of the civil service, was deputed in May that year, to the court of the tíshú lama. He reached his destination in October, and remained there till the following April. A singular proof of the confidence he had won was given by the tíshú lama, in entrusting to him a considerable sum of money, to be expended in the erection of a temple on the banks of the Hooghly, immediately opposite to Calcutta, for which purpose a grant of land had been made to the lama by a sunud of the British government. In 1779 the lama died at Peking, where he enjoyed high consideration. In 1781 the decease of the lama was communicated to the governor-general, in the expectation of his sympathy with the national sorrow; and soon after, intelligence having been received that the new incarnation of the spiritual chief had been discovered, captain Turner was deputed, in 1783, to convey the congratulations of the governor-general on the auspicious event — a strange commission for a Christian officer to bear. The reception of this mission does not appear to have been so cordial as that of the former. No British mission has since then found its way into Tibet, and none into Bútan till captain Pemberton proceeded thither in 1838. The fact is, that in 1791, the Gúrkhas having invaded Tibet, the aid of the Chinese was called in against them. The Chinese, in consequence, drove back the Gúrkhas to their own country, and brought them into subjection; and then openly assuming the sovereignty of Tibet, which had for years been virtually subject to their rule, they established a line of military posts along the whole southern frontier

of that country. By this means all intercourse between the British government and Tibet was closed. The communication with Bútan has also been exceedingly limited. In 1815, the late Mr. David Scott, when judge in Rungpore, deputed a native officer of his establishment, with the consent of government, to settle some boundary disputies with the deb rájá of Bútan; and since Assám has been added the the British territories, such disputes have multiplied, and at last the necessity arose for captain Pemberton's mission."

The second and third sections of the first part of the report contain a description of those tracts along the frontier of Bútan and the British territories, by which the two states are brought into collision, and a narrative of the chief occasions of dispute. These tracts (*dwars* or passes,) are eighteen in number—7 on the frontier of Assám and 11 on that of Bengal—forming a narrow territory from ten to twenty miles broad, and about 220 miles long from opposite the Dhunsíré river in Assám, to the Tísta in Bengal. The passes on the Bengal boundary are wholly under Bútan authority; and all disputes about their limits were settled in 1834, by lieutenant Brodie, in conjunction with Bútan officers. Those on the Assám boundary are held in various ways: two are subject to British and Bútan rule alternately for six months every year; five are always under Butan authority, but pay a small tribute in recognition of British sovereignity; and two are always under British rule, but pay "a fixed composition for black mail, to certain independent tribes of Bútías and Duphlas, to purchase exemption from their *raids*." The disputes concerning the passes have arisen partly out of arrears of tribute, but much more from the protection given by the authorities of Bútan to gangs of robbers, committing depredations on those under British protection. Letters of remonstrance to the deb rájá were intercepted by the border chiefs who attacked the passes; and hence the rájá himself was compelled to seek a renewal of diplomatic negotiation, which was the occasion of captain Pemberton's mission, an account of which forms the second part of his report.

"Bútan lies between 26° 30′ and 28° of north latitude; and between 88° 45′ and 92° 25′ of east longitude. It is, therefore, about 220 geographical miles in length, and 90 in breadth, and has an area of 19,800 square geog. miles, of which about 6,600 are allowed for the lowland tracts of the *dwars*. Giving to the lowland tracts the average population of Assím, which is ten to the square mile, they will contain 66,000 souls. To the hill country of Bútan, captain Pemberton thinks it a liberal allowance to suppose the population amounts to six to the square mile, or 79,200 in all. He reckons, therefore, that 145,200 must be rather a high estimate of the population of the whole country. The people are divided into classes, which, however, have but little in common wtth the castes of the Hindús. They are eight in number. The first two are denominated the Wang and Kampa, and are considered to be the descendants of the Tibetan conquerors of the country. The highest offices are theoretically reserved for the Wangs. the inferior are enjoyed by the Kampas, but

not to the exclusion of the next two classes, called the Bhutpa and Kúshí. The next three orders, the Rangtang, Sanglah and Tebula, are of very inferior rank; and from the hand of the Tebula it is said none of the others will eat. The eighth is a religious tribe, generally permitted to marry; but those of it who pretend to peculiar sanctity, or undertake sacerdotal functions, repudiate marriage altogether.

"The deb and the dhurma rájáí are, the secular and spiritual princes of Bútan. The former obtains his office by the election of a supreme council, and holds it for three years, or as much longer as by force and intrigue he can keep possession. The dhurma rájá is esteemed a perpetual incarnation of deity, a sort of younger brother to the grand lama of Tibet, whose appearance is recognized a year after the decease of the previous *avatar*, according to certain indications of precocious holiness, which the priesthood are able to recognize. He likewise has his council, which is composed of twelve gylongs or monks, who reside habitually in his palace. The province of the dhurma rájá and his council is to regulate the affairs of religion and literature, or the worship and education of the people. But as they furnish several members to the secular council of the deb rájá, they have ample scope for the same spirit of intrigue which other ecclesiastics generally exhibit. But, in fact, the chief power lies with neither the deb nor the dhurma rájá or their councils. There are two great chieftains who nearly divide the country between themselves, and are too powerful to submit to any controul that crosses their own inclination, and yield such a measure only of regard to the ostensible rulers of the land, as is prudent for their own interests. These are the paro and the tongso pilos; themselves entitled to a seat in the supreme council, whenever they visit the capital. The paro pilo is governor of Western Bútan; and his jurisdiction extends from the Tísta on the west, to the right bank of the Tchinchú, which, under the name of the Godhadur, falls into the Brumhapútra, about twelve miles below Rangamutty, in Bengal. Under him are six zúmpons, in Mahommedan usage called súbahs, with inferior officers called chang dúmpas, and dúmpas; and as the patronage of these appointments belongs to the pilo, and not to the supreme government, all the power derived from the country under his authority is likewise in his hands. The tongso pilo rules over the eastern part of Bútan, and, therefore, has under his authority the dúars on the Assám frontier."

Bútan has nothing that deserves to be called an army: its revenue are extremely limited: the country is poor in every sense — ture of the surface precludes the idea of fertility. The manuf are rude and few in number. In itself, Bútan is of very little tance. "Yet," says the journal from which we quote, "its position on our frontier, and the facilities it might afford to other states to annoy our provinces, gives it a strong claim to consideration." Moreover, "within the last few days, rumors have reached us of proceedings, on the part of Nepál towards Bútan, which give the political relations of that country an immediate interest and importance."

The most intimate relations of Bútan are those which connect it with Tibet and China. Since 1791, Tibet has been a province of China, occupied by its troops, and having its affairs administered by its officers. Once a year, messengers come from Lassa, bearing an imperial mandate from China, addressed to the deb and dhurma rájás of Bútan, and the pilos and zúmpons under their orders, containing instructions to be careful in the government of the country, to quell promptly all internal tumult and rebellion, and report any apprehended invasion from external foes. With this mandate twenty-one gold pieces of coin are sent. A reply is dispatched by special messengers, with presents. Presents also pass between the dhurma rájá of Bútan and the dalai lama of Lassa; and three lamas, on the part of Bútan, are constantly in attendance at Lassa. Immediately to the west of Bútan is the little territory of the Sikkim rájá, said to be a tributary of the dalai lama. "We have just heard," says the Friend of India, "that the court of Nepál has actually demanded from our government a passage through Sikkim for its troops, for the conquest of Bútan." "Perhaps the audacity of Nepál may yet be the very means of opening our way to Lassa." There is, doubtless, something worth seeing in that sacred city.

"The information obtained during my residence in Bútan," says captain Pemberton, "would lead to the belief that the agents of Russia have found their way to that celebrated capital of Central Asia, and with what views they have been sent, may be safely inferred from their proceedings in a still more conspicuous field, farther west. Three or four merchants from Lassa, whom I met in Bútan, expressly said that there were foreigners residing there very much like us in dress, appearance and manners; who sat at tables, and were constantly engaged in writting and reading in books, similar to those they saw with the officers of the mission. That they were not Chinese was equally explicitly stated, and the inhabitants of Lassa are too intimately acquainted with their military conquerors, to have been mistaken on this point. No nation of Europe, that we are aware of, has for the last century, sent forth even her messengers of peace to the turbulent races of of Central Asia, und the widely extended diplomatic influence of Russia, may, at this moment, be moving in Lassa the wires which agitate Nepal."

ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences: arrival in Macao of the new intendant of circuit; edict for the expulsion of the English; Chinese new year; entrance of the Hyacinth into the inner harbor; local officers; the Bilbaino; news from England; the Chinese navy; rumors; the opium trade.*

ON the 31st ult. the new intendant, "the taoutae made his entry in Macao, and was received with the honors due to his person. After his arrival at the house of the hoppo on the Praya Pequena, which is reserved for his residence, he was visit-

ed by the procurador, accompanied by the two interpreters, who was very well received. He intimated to the procurador, that his coming to Macao was positively to exclude the English from the city; that he derived orders from his superiors to this end, and that he held an edict from his excellency for publication; in which order it was, that all the Chinese should be made to leave Macao within five days after the suspension of Portuguese commerce; and that he should use force against the English; but that he should give ear to the request of the mandarins to suspend its publication for five days, to give time to the Portuguese to deliberate about making the English retire from the city. At the end of which, he must see to it, that in case of a negative, he must fulfill his orders." From the *Portuguese na China, Feb. 2d.*

Feb. 1st. An edict was published, by the taoutae, ordering the British superintendents and subjects to leave Macao.

Monday the 3d was the Chinese new-year's day; it passed with much less than its usual joy and hilarity.

4th. About noon H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth, captain Warren, moved into the inner harbor of Macao, and anchored near the shore, just off above the temple Amákok. She left the harbor about 10 o'clock next morning.

6th, The late governor, Tang Tingching, left Canton, and was succeeded by Lin Tsihseu, late high imperial commissioner. Several other changes have taken place in the provincial city, and throughout the province.

An envoy from the Spanish government of Manila has arrived in Macao, in order to effect the liberation of two Spanish subjects seized on board the Bilbaino, and to ask reparation for the destruction of that vessel.

The recent news from England has somewhat inspirited the foreign community. A new era, no doubt, is at hand.

The strange project of increasing the Chinese navy, by the purchase and confiscation of foreign ships, seems at last to have exploded: it is said the *Cambridge, Norden,* and *Danske Konge* have been given back to their owners.

Rumors during the month have been current, in Canton, that Tsang Wangyen a native of Heängshan, and now censor in Peking, has recommended to the emperor the suspension of all foreign commerce.

To the editor of the Canton Register we are indebted for some corrections of statements, made in our last number respecting the *opium trade,* "All branches of British trade, to speak in the most favorable terms, are languishing, except one; and that branch the high commissioner was commissioned to root up forever; but H. E.'s proceedings have caused it to *flourish in more than pristine vigor.*" Again, "The opium trade was pushed on outside *with greater vigor and success than it had been for a year previous.*" With these statements before us, in the Register of the 7th ult., supported by current reports from various quarters, we said the number of vessels engaged in the illegal traffic on the coasts was *probably* as great as at any former period, perhaps greater. According to the Register of the 11th inst. there is not *one fourth* the number. We have been told that the vessels now or very recently engaged, are not less than fifteen in number.

The editor of the Register says "the average price for the last six months may be quoted at from seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars" per chest. The amount delivered is, we are told, more than 10,000 chests, since July last.

Further, with regard to the *murder,* the editor of the Register says: "we have made particular inquiries of a party nearly connected with the captain of the vessel whose name has been brought in question in those "rumors," and their origin appears to have been this: some time ago the brokers on board an English vessel pointed out to her captain a Chinese boat, and warned him to beware of her, as she was a *pirate.* After some suspicious manœuvres on the part of the pirate, the captain of the English vessel boarded her; in the act of boarding one of his crew (a Frenchman) was speared through the foot; the Frenchman shot the pirate who speared him. The English then took possession of and burnt the pirate boat, cut off the tails of the pirates, and landed them on their own coast. Such is the origin of the "too well authenticated rumors." The seaman who gave the false information had been discharged from one and received on board another schooner, from which he was also discharged after having been punished.

THE

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ART. I. *Cave of Camoens, in Macao: notices of his life and works, especially of his Lusiad. Communicated for the Repository*, by H. S.

A WRITER, who visited the tree under whose spreading branches Pollok composed the larger portion of his Course of Time, in closing his description of the spot, exclaimed, "I felt that I was in verity on classic ground." Macao, situated on an extreme isthmus of the beautiful island of Heängshan, or the 'Fragrant Hills,' may also be regarded as 'classic ground,' inasmuch as in this city was composed a portion of the rénowned Lusiad; which, though not enriched, like the Course of Time, by the hallowed spirit of religion, will never cease to be admired while genius is respected. It is the production of a master mind, and an invaluable contribution to poetic literature. As in contradistinction to the Iliad and Æneid, the Paradise Lost has been called the epic poem of religion, so the Lusiad may be styled the epic poem of commerce. It celebrates the discovery of India. We have never seen any very complete or satisfactory history of Camoens. Many particulars of his career have been published; but few of them, however, are well authenticated. The following notices we have gathered from various sources. They are brief and incomplete, yet not without interest.

Luis de Camoens is generally known as being the most renowned of the Portuguese poets. He possessed talents of no ordinary character, and on the page of history his name will long live in all the brightness of its deserved glory. He was born at Lisbon, about the

year 1524. His life is noted for the many misfortunes and difficulties to which he was exposed, some of which commenced in his infantile state. His father, to whom he was tenderly devoted, was shipwrecked at Goa; and with his life, the greater part of his property was lost also. Luis, however, was provided for by his widowed mother, who placing a proper estimate on education, felt that it was of the greatest importance to her son; she therefore placed him at the university of Coimbra, where the natural talents with which he was endowed were cultivated with care and assiduity, as his literary productions of after life abundantly testify. He is described as being handsome, of fine form, with eyes glowing full of life. To the natural ardor and vivacity of his disposition, he added the accomplishments of a scholar, and the refinements of a gentleman. After the completion of his studies at the university, he returned to Lisbon.

As he was remarkable for his genius, so was he also for the strong passions of his heart. Unfortunately for him, he aspired above his rank, and bestowed his affections on Catharina de Atayde, to whom (from causes which to us are unknown) he could not be united, and in consequence of his attachment to her he was banished from court. Despair indeed now filled his bosom; but his mind being strong, he rose above its baneful influences. At that time the Portuguese were sending a fleet against Morocco, and he engaged as a soldier. During some hardfought battles, he received many wounds, among which was the loss of an eye. Yet in the midst of all the cares and toils of life, his love for poetry clung most tenaciously to him, and in such situations he composed some very beautiful and striking stanzas. In speaking of himself, on one occasion, he exclaims—

"One hand the *pen*, and one the *sword*, employed."

But the talents of this noble hero were by no means appreciated while he lived; he was envied, and treated with contumely, even by his countrymen, whom he had so indefatigably assisted through so many dangers on the land and on the sea. Jealousy is a monster, and has resentments which know no bounds; and Camoens, finding himself the object of this dire intruder in the human breast, deemed it no less than prudent to abandon his country, which he did in 1553, fully determined in his own mind never again to revisit its shores. Leaving the Tagus he repeated, with indignant emphasis, these words—

"*Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*"

Unacquainted, however, with the evils and privations which await

an isolated individual in a foreign land, he thought that any spot in the wide world would afford him more happiness and peace of mind than the one which gave him birth. After a voyage of nine months, he landed at Goa, and immediately joined an expedition to revenge the king of Cochin on the king of Pimenta. In obtaining the victory, the poet bore a share of the merit. One year afterwards he accompanied Manoel de Vasconcellos, in an expedition to the Red Sea. His sword being useless to him there, he gave all his power and attention to poetry. He visited Mount Felix, and the adjacent regions of Africa, which are so strongly pictured forth in his Lusiad.

After he returned to Goa, the tranquillity, which for a time he enjoyed, was well adapted to his inclination for the muses, and there his epic poem was commenced.* But by his own imprudence this season of tranquillity was soon interrupted. In consequence of some satires which he wrote, he gave offense, and was again banished;† and the place of his banishment was *Macao*. Here his engaging manners and accomplishments soon won for him many true and warm-hearted friends, notwithstanding he was under the disgrace of banishment; and he received an appointment as "Provedor dos Defunctos," and continued his Lusiad with unabated ardor.

The spot where it is said that Camoens used to sit, while composing this poem, is in a beautiful garden, which at present is the property of L. Marques, esq., situated on the elevated ground in the northern part of Macao, just beyond the church of St. Antonio. The retreat of the poet is not a cave, in the common acceptation of the term. On the surface of a gently sloping hill, and between two huge rocks, which seem to have been originally one, but now sundered a few feet apart by some one of nature's freaks, is the spot where Portugal's noblest poet used to sit. Above the cleft rocks, and on them, rests a mass of granite, which served the poet as a covert from the noonday's sun and stormy winds. There have been several additions made about the place. A balustrade has been built on one side of it, and on the top of the upper rock a small quadrangular building has been erected, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country. Towards the east you behold the sea and the blue outlines of Lantao and other islands. Southward and westward you view the Typa and Inner Harbor, with the Portuguese shipping and various native craft. To the

* It has been supposed by some that the Lusiad was commenced before Camoens left Portugal.

† It has been denied that he was the writer of those satires, although they were the cause of his banishment — which he always called '*unjust.*'

north is the Barrier, which forms a line of demarcation between the foreigners and celestials, and beyond it Tseënshan or Caza Branca, a small walled town and military post, where Mr. Flint was imprisoned in 1760–62, and behind which, stretching away in the distance, is a meandering river and innumerable inlets. The little *Ilha Verde* is hardly worthy of its name; however, it has a convenient summer house, and is a pleasant retreat for a hot summer's eve. The scenery altogether is romantic and charming. An ornamented niche now incloses the identical spot where Camoens sat, while the rocky seat itself is decorated with a bronze bust of the poet, upon the base of which, in letters of bold relief, are the records of his birth and death. It may very reasonably be made a question whether it were not better to leave all such spots, rendered notable by the renowned of past ages, just as the occupants themselves left them.

The retreat of Camoens, at present, wears altogether a different aspect to what it did in the days when the "poet hallowed the spot," and the attempted improvements, though well meant, go far to violate our preconceived associations of thought. This spot is often visited by foreigners resident at Macao, who are permitted free access to the garden; and by Mr. Davis, formerly among their number, some neatly written Latin verses were composed on it. These, as they have several times been published, we omit; but instead of the original, we introduce a translation made by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, who visited Macao in May, 1839, as chaplain of the United States frigate Columbia.

Among these recesses of rock and of shade,
Where the sun's mild beams on the rich foliage played,
The genius of Camoens in beautiful verse,
Poured forth its sweet lays which ages will rehearse.

And here the fair marble once breathed in its grace,
To tell of the poet that hallowed the place;
And the seat he loved most, while his eye was yet bright,
Was known by the bust in the cave's mellowed light.

But time with its years has betrayed the fair trust,
And crumbled the rich marble, alas, in the dust;
And stillness now reigns profound as the grave,
Through the rocks and the shades of Camoens' Cave.

But the fame of the poet in brightness is streaming,
And his name on the page of glory is gleaming;
While his works as the models of genius yet live,
And seek not from marble her praises to give.

So ever lives genius through time's crumbling power,
Till ages shall cease to chronicle their hour,
And spurns the crushed marble its story would boast,
And triumphs, yet deathless, when monuments are lost.

But to return to the life of Camoens. He lived happily and contentedly in Macao during the space of five years; during which time he visited some of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and amassed a small fortune; and wishing to add to it, he freighted a ship and embarked in her for Goa; but, ever doomed to misfortune, he was shipwrecked near the river Mekon in Camboja. His little all perished in the waters, and on setting his foot on the unknown shore he found himself possessed of nought but his poem, which fortunately he saved by holding it with one hand above the billows whilst swimming to the shore. The natives, among whom he fell, treated him kindly, as is noticed in the Lusiad. In speaking of his lost property he feelingly says:

"Now blest with all the wealth fond hope could crave,
Soon I beheld that wealth beneath the wave
Forever lost; * * * * *
My life, like Judah's heaven-doomed king of yore,
By miracle prolonged."

After undergoing numerous other difficulties, he felt, what at one time he never expected to feel, pantings for home; and he returned to Lisbon. His Lusiad was not published till 1572. It was dedicated to king Sebastian, who took a lively interest in the gifted author. But the king did not long live to protect him. In the demise of the monarch, all the fond hopes and resources of Camoens, were for ever blasted. He was now reduced to extreme poverty, so much so that an attached servant, who had lived with him many years, was compelled to beg from door to door in order to seek a subsistence for his master. Though in so destitute a condition, almost on the borders of the tomb, his genius for poetry still existed, bright and powerful; and it is said that he wrote some lyric poems which contained bitter and moving complaints. This man of talents, the hero of his country, disregarded and slighted by many, came to his end in the year 1579, in the hospital at Lisbon. No monument told the passing stranger of his worth, till fifteen years after his decease. Now, however, a splendid one perpetuates his memory.

The Lusiad * celebrates the great voyage of Vasco de Gama, in

* Os Lusiades, in the original,—the Lusiads, from Lusus, the Latin name of Portugal, who, Pliny says, was a companion of Bacchus, and who founded a colony in Lusitania (Portugal).

which he discovered the passage to the East Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope. That brilliant achievement laid the train of those mighty events which now link together so intimately the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Although the Lusiad has been termed the 'Epic poem of Commerce,' yet the developments of those discoveries which it describes, are no less interesting to the Christian philanthropist than to the Christian merchant.

After some patriotic addresses to Portugal and her princes, the poem opens with Vasco and his fleet, appearing on the ocean between the Ethiopian coast and the island of Madagascar.

> "Right on they steer by Ethiopia's strand *
> And pastoral Madagascar's verdant land.
> * * * * *
> "Where black-topt islands, to their longing eyes
> Laved by the gentle waves in prospect rise."

From here they —

> "Eastward steer for happier climes:"

When suddenly —

> "A fleet of small canoes the pilot spied."

After many fruitless endeavors to effect a landing on the African coast, they are finally welcomed, and hospitably entertained, by the 'swarthy chief' of Melinda. Vasco relates to the chieftain the adventures of his voyage, and recites an historical account of Europe, and especially of Portugal. He tells the astonished king of a huge and terrific monster, which appeared to the fleet amidst storms and thunders, while doubling the Cape of Good Hope. With a peering head, which reached the clouds, and a countenance of terror, this mighty ocean-phantom ordered Vasco to lead back his invading fleet, and with fearful menaces proclaimed himself as sole guardian of these hitherto unnavigated seas. After telling them of the woful calamities which should befall them if they dared to advance, he with a mighty noise disappeared beneath the raging waters. This is regarded by Mickle and Blair as one of the finest and most striking conceptions of which epic poetry can boast.

Leaving Africa the poem confines itself to the adventures and distresses of the voyagers, their landing and excursions on the coast of Malabar, and finally their return homeward.

Referring to the voyagers, now homeward bound, the poet exclaims in these beautiful lines,—

> "How sweet to view their native land, how sweet
> The father, brother, and the bride to greet!

See Mickle's translation.

While listening round the hoary parent's board.
The wondering kindred glow at every word,
How sweet to tell what woes, what toils they bore,
The tribes and wonders of each various shore!
These thoughts, the traveler's loved reward, employ,
And swell each bosom with unuttered joy."

The following apostrophe to the realms of the Indus and the Ganges, embodies true poetic description, as well as characteristic beauty.

"Vast are the shores of India's wealthful soil;
Southward seagirt she forms a demi-isle:
His cavern'd cliffs with dark-brow'd forests crown'd,
Hemodian Taurus frowns her northern bound:
From Caspia's lake th' enormous mountain spreads,
And bending eastward rears a thousand heads;
Far to extremest sea the ridges thrown,
By various names through various tribes are known:
Here down the waste of Taurus' rocky side,
Two infant rivers pour the crystal tide,
Hindus the one, and one the Ganges named,
Darkly of old through distant nations famed:
One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
One to the west gives his swol'n tide to stray:
Declining southward many a land they lave,
And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
Till the twin offspring of the mountain sire
Both in the Indian deep engulphed expire.
Between these streams, fair smiling to the day,
The Indian lands their wide domains display,
And many a league, far to the south they bend,
From the broad region where the rivers end,
Till where the shores to Ceylon's isle oppose,
In conic form the Indian regions close."

That Camoens should so frequently associate Christian and pagan ideas is a source of just censure — often giving to the latter the pre-eminence, although he celebrates the voyage of his hero as a Christian enterprise against Mohammedanism. Blair, in his analysis, points out several defects in the Lusiad. It has been translated into many of the European languages, and has been received with great popularity. Voltaire's criticisms have been shown by Mickle to be perfectly absurd and unjust. One of the best editions in the original language is that published by J. M. S. Borelho, 1809. The first English translation was by sir Richard Fanshaw, English embassador to

the court of Lisbon, in 1655, but it is said to be by no means faithful. Mickle's translation of 1776 is very spirited, and no doubt fairly accurate. Of the various French translations of the Lusiad, that by J. B. F. Millie, Paris, 1825, in 2 vols. is said to be the best. There are four Spanish, and two Italian translations of the Lusiad. It was translated into Latin by Thomas de Faria, bishop of Targa in Africa; but in what year we are not informed. A learned Jew named Luzzetto, who died in the Holy Land, is said to have translated it into Hebrew with great elegance. Memoirs of the life and writings of Camoens were published in London, in 2 volumes, in 1820, by John Adamson.

ART. II. *Proposal presented to the emperor by Tsang Wangyen to stop the whole foreign trade with China, excepting that of the Portuguese.*

AN express from the Board of War has brought a dispatch from the high ministers of the general council, addressed to the governor of the two Kwang, Lin, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, E, the naval commander-in-chief, Kwan, and the commander-in-chief of the land forces, Kwŏ, by them to be enjoined on Yukwan, the superintendent of maritime customs. It is to this effect:

"Upon the 4th of Jan. 1840, we received the following imperial commands.

"'This day a memorial has been presented, by Tsang Wangyen, on the fickleness of the foreign character, and requesting that the ports be closed, and that sea-going be prohibited, that measures also of extermination be adopted, in order to purify the source where our evils spring forth. And, in a supplementary memorial, he further requests, that the interchange of goods by the foreigners of Macao be placed under determinate restrictive enactments.

"'Let Lin and his colleagues give their whole minds to the careful consideration hereof, and then report thereon. And let a copy of the memorial be made, and sent for their perusal.—Make these commands known to Lin, E, Kwan, and Kwŏ, to be also enjoined by them on Yukwan, that he may know them. Respect this.'

"In obedience to the imperial pleasure, we (the ministers of the council) send this dispatch."

MEMORIAL of Tsang Wangyen, showing the fickleness of the foreign character, and requesting that the port may be closed, that seagoing may be prohibited, and that measures of extermination may be adopted, in order to put an end to all covetous expectations, and to purify the source whence our evils spring forth,—on which respectful statement of his servant's views it is humbly solicited that his majesty's sacred glance may be cast.

Opium, it seems to him, had flowed onward, in a baneful stream, within as well as without the empire, until the evil was almost beyond remedy or cure. To our august sovereign all eyes were then turned, trusting in him, in his celestial penetration, singly to determine. His ministers of the various Boards received his commands to deliberate in reference to the enactment of severe ordinances; and the several governors and lieutenant-governors exerted their utmost strength in searching after and apprehending offenders. . . For a year past, fear and alarm have become universal among the natives of the empire, and eight or nine in every ten have already learned to abstain and wean themselves from the use of opium.

A high imperial commissioner was also specially named, and directed to proceed with speed to Kwangtung, to examine into and arrange the affairs of the seaports. . . In the days of his first arrival, the foreigners, trembling with dread at the celestial terrors, delivered up more than twenty thousand chests of opium, and gave voluntary bonds that they would not dare again to come. It seemed as though these foreigners were very loyal and dutiful, and that there was no ground for fearing any further and unlooked for evil.

But your minister has heard, that the English foreign chief, Elliot, upon the new arrival this year of the foreign vessels, kept back in the outer seas those having opium, instead of requiring them to deliver it up; and has continually had vessels of war cruising about within the inner seas, even presuming to join battle with the governmental forces. This makes it plain, that the said foreigners, when before they gave the voluntary bonds, viewed them as mere empty forms; and that their real purpose and design were, to scheme and contrive to give a specious gloss to their conduct for the time, waiting till the high imperial commissioner should leave Kwangtung, then to resume the introduction of opium, for sale to depraved people of the inner land. This crafty and deceitful purpose is plainly to be seen. But when they found that the prohibitions were most strictly enforced by examinations, and that unless the opium should be delivered up, no admission into the port could be obtained, they then gave

free license to their irregular and perverse dispositions, casting off all obedience to restraints, and even presuming to fire at and wound our officers and soldiery. Such offenses would be punished too lightly even by death.

It is stated, that the vessels with cargoes, several tens in number, are still anchored at Hongkong, in the outer seas, looking about in the indulgence of idle expectations, and not going away. Their idea is, that, the duties of the maritime customs of Kwangtung being a million and some hundreds of thousands, all the ministers of government on the spot will of a surety be solicitous about the national imposts, and may perhaps contrive to bend things to conform to their wishes. They know not our celestial empire, endued with all the wealth that is contained within the four seas, superabounding and most affluent in productions!—have we indeed to borrow the petty, dribbling dues paid by these foreigners, in order to meet our expenditure? But what is *essential* to these foreigners for their lives' sake, what they cannot for a day dispense with, is the tea and the rhubarb of China.

According, then, to your minister's poor obscure views of the important measures to be adopted, the first thing should be, the closing of the ports, not allowing mercantile intercourse with any of whatever nation the foreign ships may be. These, then, when they find the goods, brought by a hundred and some scores of vessels, all unsaleable, and long on hand, must become excited in mind; and, by utterly withholding from them the rhubarb and tea, not allowing our merchants and people to have dealings with them, we shall still further be able to hold their lives in our power: they will then be, beyond doubt and exception, brought in terror to seek unto us.

Is it said, that the depraved foreigners have long been feeding their scheming purposes; and that the rhubarb and tea before taken away by them will suffice for the consumption of ten years or more? It is replied,—the objector forgets, that, though rhubarb may indeed be kept for a long time, tea, however, never fails, after two or three years, to become musty and lose its flavor, so as to be useless.

Again, is it said, that it is the English alone who have not yielded obedience to restraints, and that the foreign vessels of other countries should yet be allowed to trade? It is replied,—the objector must be ignorant that there is no nation whose vessels have not brought opium; and if the vessels of all other nations be allowed to trade, how shall it be known, that they do not bring opium, and leave it on board English vessels, in the same manner as it was before the prac-

tice to leave it on board the store-ships at Lintin? And when they take their goods into the port, and bring our tea and rhubarb out, how shall we assure ourselves that they are not merely carriers for the English?

It is right and fit to solicit our august sovereign to grant distinct commands, that whatever nation it may be that shall bring any opium in its vessels, it shall not be allowed any commercial intercourse. Thus shall all, within and without, ministers and people, fully perceive, that the sacred purpose is fixed, and that the entire cutting off of the source of the incoming opium is sworn to; that the confirmed evil *shall* forcibly be removed; and that the petty dribbling custom-dues, can without difficulty be entirely remitted and relinquished.

The ports being closed, however, if the interdicts against sea-going be not strictly put in operation, it will be as though the ports were not closed.

Your minister has been informed, that, in the seas of all the provinces along the coasts, thieves and robbers have not yet been entirely put in fear and quieted: and that in Kwangtung there has hitherto been a class of 'crab-boats,' of which it is the special employ to smuggle. In the days of commercial intercourse between the Chinese and foreigners, these lawless folk dared to give themselves all license, fearless of the laws; and recently, it is said, since the very severe measures for the discovery and seizure of those connected with opium have been adopted, all that are life-forfeited and desperate put themselves into these fast-crab boats, and go out to sea, robbing and plundering the merchant traveler, and clandestinely bringing rice and flour, to supply the depraved foreigner. If utmost efforts be not directed to their utter extermination, then these lawless folk will be enticed by the depraved foreigner, will all become his instruments, and will be the bringing forth of some great disaster.

It is right and fit to solicit that the imperial pleasure be declared to the governors, lieutenant-governors, generals-in-chief, and commanders-in-chief of the provinces of Kwangtung, Fuhkeën, Chĕkeäng, Keängsoo, Shantung, and Fungteën, requiring them strictly to direct the naval vessels, that they use their determined exertions to destroy or seize, in the first instance all the piratical folk; and, at the same time, to select and appoint high officers, generals of divisions, or intendants of circuits, for the strict observation of the sea-ports, who, excepting from prohibitions, the vessels sailing to and fro *within* the ports, shall lay an interdict on all other vessels of every kind, large or small, forbidding them to go to sea; and allowing

those even whose livelihood is found in fishing, to fish only in the more adjacent waters. If they discover that any, taking shelter under a pretended character, clandestinely go forth to give supplies to the foreign vessels, let such be immediately apprehended and executed. And let any naval officers or men who shall receive bribes to shelter and connive at them, be punished in like manner. Further, let them learn at what places along the coasts fresh water is to be obtained, and there set a station of military to hold possession thereof, not permitting the foreign vessels to get of the water to drink. The people residing in villages and hamlets near the sea, should be collected into bands, composed of their choice valiant men, for their self-defense; that whenever any foreigners land they may immediately attack them. Should any clandestinely hold intercourse with them, the offense should be severely punished. And these measures should not be confined to the one province of Kwangtung, but should be extended, in likewise, to all the provinces along the coast: all should be equally strict and closely-guarded; and then, the channel of supplies to these foreigners being cut off, fuel and water too being no longer procurable, they will be brought to repentance, and with downcast head will attend to our commands.

Should there yet be any remaining indulgence of idle expectation, restraining from submission, should they dare yet to offer resistance, —our measures must look to what they put confidence in—the height, and size, and strength of their vessels, their skill in gunnery, and long habitude to the seas, things which induce the fear that our naval vessels must fail of efficiency should they go far out to cut off or make seizures. But are we ignorant that the craft and guile, the pride and presumption of these foreigners, have led them habitually to look with contempt on the laws of government, and to refuse obedience to restraints, till in Kwangtung the soldiery and people have consequently long felt strong animosity towards them, regarding them as enemies, and every one desiring to wreak on them his heart's content? The successive governors and lieutenant-governors, fearful of giving rise to a frontier conflict, have strictly withheld the soldiery and people from going forth to meet them in contest; and thus they have borne their grudge in secret until now.

Your minister's humble opinion is, that, we being lords, they but guests,—we being on shore, they merely in ships,—it is unnecessary that the naval vessels should be required to go far out to combat with them. These foreigners, when their intercourse shall be wholly cut off, and their supplies rendered scanty, will not find it possible to

remain long anchored in the outer seas, and will be led to come cruising about in the inner seas, to spy about them. We may entice them by our naval vessels still farther, and causing that a previous call should be made upon the people residing on the coast — such of them as are expert in swimming, and possessed of courage and strength, some hundreds in number,— these may be sent off at night, in separate parties, to pass through the water and straightway ascend the vessels, so taking them at unawares, and cutting off and killing them without sparing. Or several hundred fire-vessels may be prepared, and manned in like manner with men expert in swimming; and, taking advantage of a fair wind, these may be allowed to run before it, the naval vessels following close in their wake.

Proclamations, too, might be issued beforehand to the soldiery and people, telling them that if they should make seizure of any foreign vessel, all the goods in her should be given to them as a reward. Then none will fail to jump and run, contending to be foremost; and what confidence will longer be left to those foreigners, that they should still refuse to fear?

May it be permitted to solicit the expression of the imperial pleasure to the high commissioner, and to the governor and lieutenant-governor of Canton, that, acting in accordance with what circumstances shall dictate, they adopt some such plan of extermination? Can there be any of the foreigners that will not come begging to us with fear and trembling?

Then, after this, on ascertaining that they have really learned with sincerity to repent them of their misdeeds, the celestial favor may again be implored, permitting them to trade and hold commercial intercourse once more. Still should rhubarb and tea be regulated by restrictions, not permitting more than a certain quantity to be exported: thus they will be held, as it were by *nippers*. Should they yet again introduce opium,—on the one hand, it would be to be requested that the new law should be put in operation against them, on the other hand their trade should be again prohibited and cut off. Thus it is to be hoped their clandestine covetous seekings will be disappointed, and the source of collected evils will be for ever cleansed.

The correctness or otherwise of your minister's humble, feeble, views, are submitted to his august sovereign, imploring a sacred glance to be cast on this respectful memorial.

Supplementary Memorial.

Further,—it appears that the Portuguese foreigners, residing at Macao in the district of Heängshan, have, for more than two hun-

dred years, enjoyed during successive ages the tender care of the celestial empire. And these foreigners gain their livelihood by trade alone, having no other employment. If in cutting off wholly the commerce of the English and other nations, we do not permit *these* either to trade, it is to be feared these foreigners will have no means of livelihood left; and this is surely not the way to show a just compassion. If however they are negligently left free from restrictive regulations, it will be hard to prevent them from becoming carriers for the English and other bad foreigners. It is right and fit then to request, that henceforward all such articles as are found in the commerce of Macao should be placed under restrictive regulations, not allowing any excess beyond the amount that may be fixed. If the said foreigners plainly are guilty of offense in the clandestine furnishing of supplies to the various outer foreigners, then let the mercantile people in Macao be called on at once to disperse and retire, and to hold no commerce with them.

It has further occurred to your minister, that, when these affairs shall be settled and put to rest, should the foreigners of the English and other countries indeed learn to repent, and pay the homage of sincerity, these Macao foreigners should then be made to become sureties (or guaranties) for them. And should they yet again bring opium with their other goods, at the same time that the foreigners offending should be punished according to law, and be denied commerce, these Macao foreigners should also be cut off from trading, and driven away back to their country. If the laws be rendered thus severe, these Macao foreigners, who have so long had their houses, families, wives, and children, remaining in the country, will infallibly look well to themselves, and will not venture on offering any contumacious resistance.

May it be requested that the imperial pleasure be declared to the governor and lt.-governor of Kwangtung, requiring them to determine carefully on the regulations proper to be adopted as fixed enactments, humbly awaiting the sacred discrimination of them? Respectfully is this supplementary memorial addressed.

Corrections in the translation of a part of the imperial reply to the report made of the action at Chuenpe, on the 3d of November, 1839. See page 486.

(The marginal comments were misunderstood, from the circumstance of the emperor's comments being made to precede the extracts from the memorial, of those passages commented on by him: and the want of pronouns, and distinctions of number and tense, countenanced this error, until it was pointed out by a Chinese. Of these marginal comments the subjoined is a corrected version.)

"This is in the highest degree praiseworthy"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"The admiral himself remained standing by the mast."

"It should not so be, lest the dignity of government be lost sight of"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"If they become repentant they may be allowed to return again."

"Such violent proceedings will not be found well adapted for long continuance"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"Then strengthening our force, and making firm our bulwarks, we quietly waited for them, and like them also took our stand upon our strength."

"The views taken are very right; in proceeding thereupon there cannot, however, but be a liability to contradictory conduct"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"Those obeying the laws shall be drawn towards us; *those who break them, repelled.*"*

"Though there be exhibited the different dispositions of dutiful compliance and contumacious resistance, yet the men being all of the same nation, matters should not so be arranged"—(is the imperial comment on the remark that:)—"We commanded our subordinates to find out whither she (the Royal Saxon) had gone, and to bring her up to Whampoa." M.

* So underlined by the emperor. (Copyist's note.)

ART. III. *Catholic missions in Corea. From the 'Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.'* Communicated for the Repository, by J. T. D., Singapore.

THE Coreans are supposed to be of Tartar origin, though their manners, their customs, their arts and sciences, are the same with those of China. They have also the same religion, and the same written character, but differently pronounced.[1] They preserve the ancient costumes of China, as they were under the former dynasty, and have never admitted the changes introduced by the Mantchou Tartars. They wear their hair like the Cochinchinese.[2] The king of Corea is a vassal and tributary of the emperor of China. He does not assume the name of king till the emperor has conferred investiture. Every year he is required to send embassadors to Peking, to do homage to his *suzerain*, and present the customary tribute.[3] With this exception he is an absolute sovereign, and accounts to no one for the exercise of his power.[4] It is impossible to ascertain the number of inhabitants. The estimates that have been made have varied from twelve to twenty millions.

The gospel was published for the first time in Corea towards the close of the sixteenth century. When Taiko sama, emperor of Japan, invaded the country, the greater part of the generals and soldiers of his army were Christians. These zealous converts, after having subdued the Coreans by their valor, undertook to subject them to the gospel by their instruction.* The kindness and the correct conduct of the chiefs and soldiers made a deep impression upon the minds of the Coreans, and gave weight to the preaching of the missionaries; a considerable number were converted, but the light of the gospel was soon extinguished. The ferocious emperors Xogun sama and To-Xogun sama, persisted in the massacre of their Christian subjects, who had reached the number of two millions, till Christianity was extirpated.[5] It is probable that those among the Coreans who had professed the same religion were included in this proscription.

About a hundred and sixty years after this period, Christianity reappeared in Corea, under circumstances of peculiar interest. In 1784, a young Corean noble of the name of Li, came to Peking with his father, who was embassador from the king to the emperor. This young man having an inclination for mathematical studies, applied to the European missionaries for books. The missionaries, in furnishing him, took advantage of the occasion to place Christian books, with those on mathematics, in his hands. Struck with the sublime doctrines and the pure morals of Christianity, he wished to examine this new religion to its foundations. Under the influence of divine grace the instructions of the missionaries completed what his reading had began. He desired to be admitted to the church. When told that a Christian could have but one wife, he replied that he had but one, and that if he had several, he would have relinquished them all, if he could not have been a Christian on any other condition. At length he was baptized, taking the name of Peter. The neophyte Peter was soon transformed into an apostle. Returning home, he sought to render his countrymen partakers of the grace he had received. He preached Christianity, and his relatives and friends were his first disciples. These in their turn became preachers, the females showing as much zeal as the men, and in less than five years the number of Christians in the capital and in the country amounted to four thousand. Christianity was preached openly; it was preached at court and in the provinces; and among the nobility a large number were worshipers of the true God.

In 1788 the governor of the capital city arrested a Christian nam-

* See Chinese Repository, vol. VI. pages 465, 466.

ed Thomas King because he preached a foreign religion. (It is here worthy of remark that throughout the east, Christianity has been recognized as good, and has been condemned only because of its being foreign.[6]) This arrest being known, several others presented themselves before the governor, declaring that they also were Christians, and preachers of this foreign religion. The governor astonished at their number, sent them away, and condemned Thomas King to exile, who proceeded to his place of banishment and died there the same year. The Christians far from being intimidated by this commencement of persecution, only became the more bold. The faith made rapid progress. Meanwhile, doubts had been raised which the Christians knew not how to resolve, and there were certain articles which they did not understand. In this uncertainty they found no other way than to send to Peking and consult the bishop. Paul In was entrusted with this commission. During his stay at Peking, Paul received the sacraments of confirmation and of the eucharist. He brought back the pastoral letter of the bishop, written upon silk, the better to elude the vigilance of the guards. After his return, he did not fail to recount to his countrymen what he had seen at Peking. He spoke of the beauty and decoration of the churches which he had seen, of the imposing appearance of the ceremonies, of the solemnity of the sacred rites, of the sacraments he had received, and of the missionaries who had come from the far distant west. The Coreans, inflamed by these accounts, were anxious, at whatever cost, to obtain priests and to participate in the holy mysteries. They again deputed Paul In and a catechumen to go to the bishop and ask for a missionary. The prelate showed himself ready to satisfy their desires. He gave them all that was necessary to celebrate the mass, teaching them how to make wine for this purpose, and promised them a priest, whom the Coreans were to come and receive on the frontier at a place designated. The priest set out for Corea in the beginning of the year 1791, and proceeded to the rendezvous, but no one made his appearance to guide him into the country. The cause of this disappointment was not understood, until it was known at Peking that a persecution, more severe than the first, had broken out. The occasion of it was this. The mother of Thomas In and James Kuan, being at the point of death, besought her children not to permit any superstitious ceremony at her funeral. They promised and kept their word. The relatives of the deceased having assembled to attend the funeral rites, demanded the ancestral tablets. Paul replied without hesitation that he had burnt them. At these words

the relations were in a rage, and launched out into blasphemies against the Christian religion. Paul and James, far from being frightened by their vociferations, replied to them mildly: "We are Christians. Our mother was a Christian, our religion forbids us to render superstitious worship to ancestors. By her orders we have burnt the tablets, and we cannot again erect them. We will die rather than change our resolution." The relations, unable to contain themselves longer, immediately conducted the two brothers before the governor, as persons guilty of impiety. Paul acknowledged the pretended crime of which he was accused, but pointed out the truth of Christianity, and the folly of worship rendered to ancestors. The governor, a declared enemy of the family of Paul, was careful not to lose so favorable an opportunity of gratifying his private ill-will. Giving to the case the form of a crime, he prepared a slanderous report and forwarded it to the court. The king, naturally mild but timid, was alarmed, and appointed a commissioner to give information against all persons professing the Christian religion. The two brothers were brought before the new judge, and being interrogated respecting their impiety, as it was called, replied as before: "It is true we have thrown the tablets into the fire, because our mother directed us to do so, and because this worship is superstitious. We wish to live and to die Christians. We shall always be ready to obey the king, and the laws of the kingdom when not contrary to the laws of God." The judge, not satisfied with this reply, put them to the torture, but neither cruelties nor caresses could subdue the constancy of these intrepid confessors. At length, the exasperated judge condemned them to death as sectaries of a foreign religion. The sentence being presented to the king for his signature, he was moved with grief, for Paul was dear to him, as well on account of his personal worth, as because his family was highly esteemed at court. He sent officers to the prison to persuade the two brothers, for his sake, to erect the tablets, but they refused. Thinking that they meant to set him at defiance, he confirmed the sentence, and preparation was immediately made for execution. James Kuan was reduced to a pitiable state by the torture he had endured, and could with difficulty pronounce the holy names of Jesus and Mary. Paul, as he passed along in the procession, preached to the pagans, who were assembled in great numbers to witness this novel spectacle. Having arrived at the place of punishment, they were again solicited to offer the sacrifices to their ancestors and renounce the new religion; but their reply being in the negative, the officer commanded Paul to read

the sentence inscribed upon a tablet. Paul took and read it with a loud and firm voice, then laid his head upon the block, pronounced several times the names of Jesus and Mary, and made a sign to the executioner to strike the blow. Thus were they both beheaded, on the 7th of December, 1791.

The missionary, who made an attempt to enter Corea, but without success, died some time after. The bishop of Peking selected another, a young Chinese priest, who set out for Corea in 1794. Having arrived at the frontier, he met with obstacles which for some time he could not surmount. The next year, however, he succeeded in entering the country, and was received with great joy. He administered the sacraments, and applied himself with diligence to the study of the language. The government were soon aware of his arrival, but for three years he was able by means of the zealous efforts of the Christians to elude his pursuers. The search being ineffectual, two Christians who had received the foreigner into their houses, and Paul In[7] who had introduced him into the country, were apprehended, and died under the torture, refusing to reveal anything respecting the priest.

The placable king, unwilling to order a general persecution, was satisfied with dismissing the civil mandarins, and degrading some of the military officers who had embraced Christianity. Peter Li, the first apostle of Corea, was banished. But the moderation of the prince did not restrain the persecuting spirit of the mandarins of the provinces. Several of the converts abandoned their houses and their property, and retired to the deserts and mountains to escape the fury of these subaltern tyrants. A few apostatized, and some relaxed from the strictness of their profession; but the greater number remained firm, and sacrificed all for their religion. Meanwhile Christianity made progress, and in 1800 there were ten thousand converts. The missionary was about to establish a mission in the mountains, when the king died and was succeeded by his son still a child, the queen-mother being regent. The mandarins had sufficient influence, during the minority, to kindle a general persecution, which became extremely severe. Several mandarins who had adopted the new religion were apprehended. Peter Li, who had been recalled from exile, was again seized. The tribunals were in session day and night. "During a year that these procedures continued," say the Coreans in their account transmitted to the bishop at Peking, "the most horrible torments were resorted to, to subdue the constancy of the confessors. Modes of torture were invented which were before unknown, and for

which no name can be found. The deaths were so numerous, and the amount of torture so great, that, in the judgment of all, nothing equal to it has ever been known since the existence of the kingdom; ministers, courtiers, literary men, nobles, citizens, artisans, laborers, merchants, traders, women, children — in a word persons of every rank and condition — were among the sufferers, so that all the people were in affliction, and murmured against this cruel oppression, to which they saw no prospect of a termination."

The danger of the missionary was daily increasing, and at length, in April 1801, he came to the conclusion to surrender himself to the government. He was examined, and presented an explanation of the Christian religion, in the form of an apology. He declared that he came to Corea only for the glory of God, and the salvation of men. On the 21st of May, 1801, he suffered martyrdom with the firmness of an apostle. The death of the missionary diminished not the zeal of the converts. Persecution still continued. A deputation was sent to Peking to request another priest, but he was arrested at the frontier and searched. Several letters were thus found, which put the persecutors in possession of the relations existing between the bishop of Peking and the Corean Christians. The deputy and two other Christians who accompanied him were immediately conducted to the court. They continued steadfast in the faith, and were beheaded. The government was alarmed, and imagined that all Europe was in motion and about to invade Corea. They wrote to the emperor of China, and requested him to aid them with troops, assuring him that a hundred vessels would soon make a descent upon their country. Fortunately the emperor did not take the thing to heart, but ridiculed their fears. He replied to them that the European missionaries were trustworthy men, that they had been two centuries in China, and that their conduct had been without reproach. At length the persecution gradually subsided, and all the prisoners of the lower class were set at liberty. More than a *hundred and forty* persons suffered martyrdom during this persecution, without counting those who were put to death during the two preceding ones. Some were cut up piecemeal; others died upon the rack; but the greater number were either strangled or beheaded. More than four hundred were banished. The number of those who were released after having been tortured, and those who languished long in prison, cannot be determined. There were rumors of other persecutions after this, but nothing definite can be learned respecting them. It should be observed that hitherto there had been no European missionary in Corea,

and only one Chinese priest. All had been accomplished by the zeal and firmness of the natives. From this time till 1832, a period of thirty years, the Coreans continued to write to Peking and to Rome for a priest. They applied also to the bishop of Shensc, and likewise to the bishop of Nanking, but without success, until, in 1832, M. Bruguière offered himself for this mission, and was appointed bishop. (An interesting account of his travels through China and Chinese Tartary may be found in the Repository for 1837, vol. VI., page 287.) Having reached the borders of Corea, a severe attack of disease put an end to his life.

Upon the appointment of M. Bruguiere to the Corean mission, a Chinese priest named Le, who had been educated at the Chinese college at Naples, was placed under his charge. The bishop sent this man before him to prepare the way, and he succeeded in penetrating into the country. His report, addressed to the *procureur* of the propaganda at * * *, was written in Latin, and must therefore take a sufficiently roundabout course in getting to the English reader, having been translated first from Latin into French, and now from French into English. The thoughts must not be expected to retain their Chinese air, after having passed through three languages so different from the one in which they were conceived. We give a few short extracts from his report, which is dated Corea, November 1st, 1834.

"At length we entered the first town in Corea, but in great anxiety, not knowing where to go for a lodging. But Providence delivered us from embarrassment, and conducted us to an inn, where as it happened there were at the time no travelers. One of our guides, whom I had sent before, soon joined me with a few Christians. The next day, although much snow had fallen during the night, we procured three horses, and I started in company with six Christians for the capital, which I reached after a journey of thirteen days. Here I was concealed in a very small house, and from that time was ill for a long time, and could not go out. At present I am better, and am occupied night and day in instructing the Christians. I have as yet admitted to the sacraments not much over a hundred. I am slow in admitting them, because I wish first to prove them well. I have learned that in the former persecutions more than four hundred were put to death, while five or six hundred were sent into exile. The present number of Christians is said to be twenty thousand, but I know not yet if this estimate be correct. The language of Corea is very difficult for strangers, because it varies according to the rank to

which one belongs. There are three principal divisions or ranks, but these are again subdivided, and each grade has its peculiar mode of expression, so that the rank of a person may be known from the language he uses. For myself, my life, since I have been here, has been passed in the midst of fears, and privations of every sort. I have this consolation alone, that I came hither by the will of God.

"In 1825 the emperor of Japan wrote to the king of Corea, informing him that six Japanese, who were worshipers of Jesus, had escaped in a small bark. 'If they are in your country,' he added, 'I beg you to seize them and send them to me.' From this fact we may suppose that there are still Christians in Japan. Every three years, presents are exchanged between the courts of Corea and Japan. Three hundred Japanese, and as many Coreans, are stationed on the coasts of their respective states to prevent quarrels arising between the people of the countries."

After Christianity had been kept alive in Corea more than fifty years, with no assistance from abroad, except the presence for five or six years of a Chinese priest, at length M. Chastan, under date of May 1st, 1836, announces the entrance into Corea of the first European missionary,[8] M. Maubant, effected by the efforts of the faithful Joseph, the indefatigable guide of the bishop. Joseph had returned to Peking where he was preparing to receive holy orders and to conduct M. Chastan into Corea. The latest intelligence from the Corean mission is found in No. 59 of the *Annales*, for July, 1838, in which it is stated that news had been received from Mgr. Imbert, one of the oldest missionaries of Szechuen, who had been appointed bishop apostolic of Corea in place of the late Mgr. Bruguière, and was on his way to the mission accompanied by two Chinese catechists.

P. S. M. Maubant reached Corea in December 1835; M. Chastan, in 1836; and the bishop Imbert, in 1836. Two others have been appointed to that mission, who have not yet reached their field of labor. The number of adults baptized during the year 1838 was little less than two thousand.

Notes. Unwilling to alter the text of this very interesting paper, kindly furnished us by our correspondent at Singapore, we take the liberty of adding the following notes.

1. The Coreans do indeed use the Chinese written character; but they have also one of their own, "similar in theory to the Japanese syllabic system." For an account of it the reader is referred to our first volume.

2. That there are, in the habits of the Coreans, resemblances to the former Ming dynasty, is doubtless true; but we can hardly receive the unqualified affirmation, that "they preserve the ancient costumes of China," wholly unchanged.

3. There is, we believe, according to the laws and statutes of the reigning dynasty, a quarterly contribution of tribute, from the king of Corea to the emperor of China; there is also an annual mission, accompanied with tribute; perhaps the quarterly tribute is reserved for the annual visit, and the whole presented together, and only once in the year.

4. The emperor of China is able to control the king of Corea at all times, but does not usually interfere with his internal arrangements; but should the king presume to open any intercourse with foreigners, no doubt the emperor would immediately interfere.

5. Xogun sama is not the proper name of any emperor, but merely a title; it is also written seogun or djogoun, with or without *sama*, which means simply lord. The two emperors who exerted themselves most to eradicate Christianity from Japan were Fide-fada and Yeye-mitsou.

6. In China and Japan there are political fears, not solely because of its being a foreign religion, but because of its *social* character — because, as a social system, it joins men close together in universal brotherhood. Were it otherwise, wholly unsocial, forbidding all mutual sympathy, it is very probable its foreign origin would not have greatly interfered to its hurt. Though admitted to be good, objections have been made to the accounts of its miracles, and to some of the rites and ceremonies which have usually accompanied it in the east.

7. Who this second Paul In is does not appear, and we are unable to give the requisite information. The former Paul In was beheaded in 1791.

8. The *first* during the lapse of many years, but not, we believe, the first that *ever* entered that country.

ART. IV. *Account of the Battaks. Extracted from the Tydschrift for Netherlands India.* By a correspondent at Batavia.

THE religion of the Battaks consists principally of certain superstitious ceremonies, and the worship of their more celebrated forefathers, of which one is assigned to each particular district; these gods or spirits wander about the woods and hills, and were, according to the natives, some celebrated chiefs of former times, who after death remained to protect the regions were they once dwelt, and are denominated *bego*.

More feared for their anger than depended on for their protection, the *bego* are worshiped in all seasons of difficulty, while men seek to appease their wrath by various offerings. They are consulted also in all important undertakings, which are generally preceded by a feast. Formerly, on such occasions, before they came into contact with the sect of the Mohammedan Padries,* swine were offered, but

* For some notices of these people, called *Orang Puti* in Malay see Chinese Repository, Nov. 1834, vol. III. page 320.

now generally a buffalo or a goat is slaughtered. They imagine that the *bego*, who is adored, holds communion with his worshipers, through the medium of the oldest man of the company (called *orang batuah* or *si basso*), who then foretells future events, propounds various wonderful similitudes, pretends to be beside himself as long as the spirit resides in him, and after his departure remembers nothing of what has happened. Prayers and praises, either daily, or on certain fixed periods during the year, are never offered up to these gods.

At Toba, one of the districts of the Battak country, a cruel custom prevails, which seems to have originated in their superstitions. They have there certain prognosticators of evil, who discover future calamities in the following manner: a boy, about 13 or 14 years of age, is buried up to his neck in the earth, and, by means of divers threatenings, constrained to promise that after his death he will forewarn the people of any misfortunes likely to come upon them. He is then killed, his body is burned, and the ashes are deposited in a bamboo, which is hung up over the council chamber of the village, and consulted on all important occasions. They imagine that whenever a motion is perceived in the bamboo, or a howling noise heard, that a warning is afforded them of some threatened calamity, treachery, or hostile attack, just then impending over them, and against which they take the most watchful precautions.

Whenever they take an oath, they betake themselves to the *bego;* on which occasions they hold a musket ball before their heads while they either confirm or deny the transaction in question, and hope that if they swear falsely the *bego* will bring them to some unhappy end, or cause them to fall in the first contest in which they engage. Notwithstanding which, however, they are not very true to their oaths.

Such of the Battaks as, in the later years, have come into contact with the Padries, have received some of the tenets of the Mohammedan religion, although they find it difficult to form any idea of the existence of one God; and the impression they have is in general so slight, that during the temporary absence of the Padries they give up their profession. Those who are immediately under the government of the Padries, hate that sect the more, because since their coming all the pigs have been made away with, and thus the Battaks have been deprived of a useful and much loved dish which they seek to provide themselves with elsewhere.

Each village has its patriarchal magistracy, who must guard against any misdeeds that may be perpetrated in their district, while the inha-

bitants pay all fines and reparations that are upon them, to the persons who have suffered injury, or to their heirs. It frequently happens, among the Battaks, that some of them, who fancy that they have been much oppressed or misused, withdraw themselves from the community, wander about in the woods, call themselves *harimu*, or tigers, and perpetrate all sorts of cruelty and wickedness, in order to avenge themselves for the fancied wrong. But the village, where the individual resided, must be answerable for all the acts of violence committed, while he is declared an outlaw, and it becomes the duty of his village, to offer a price for his head. It is permitted to any one, finding a thief in the act of stealing to put him instantly to death, but once apprehended his life is respected. Manslaughter is punished as heavily as murder, and no difference is perceived between them.

Matters of justice, and the punishment of offenders are generally left to the judgment of the whole people, though the law of the strongest usually prevails. The complainant or the injured makes a demand, and if he happens to be a person of influence, then the lot of the defendant may be considered pitiable; nothing will exonerate him. Having no code of laws, all is managed according to the customs, which are handed down by tradition, and respecting which the oldest among them are first consulted. What alteration or improvements these customs have undergone in the course of years, it is not easy to discover. Bribery everywhere prevails; everything can be accomplished by money; even murder can be bought off. People may be forgiven for stealing, by the restoration of thrice the amount stolen, or the offense must be expiated by slavery or death. Should the accused be rich, or connected with powerful relations, who will stand in the breach for him, he can buy off his offense; but when the accuser is a person of importance, the offender is sold, and the proceeds pass into the hands of the complainant. If an offender escapes, the blame falls upon his brothers or children, who pay the penalty instead; and in default of nearer relations, the punishment is visited upon individuals of the third generation.

The crime of treason is most severely punished, in which case the horrible custom, still in use among the Buttaks, of devouring human flesh, is put in practice. The criminal is brought to an open place, and bound fast, when each of the bystanders cuts off a piece of his flesh, which whilst the miserable wretch yet lives is roasted and eaten by his inhuman executioners. The Battaks of Mandeling carry this cruelty, so disgraceful to humanity, not so far as those who

reside more to the northward, who delight in human flesh, and buy slaves in the market for the slaughter, just like beasts: whilst among those of Mandeling it is only practiced as a punishment for great offenses, or on enemies taken in war, by whom their relations may have suffered injury or death,

Marriage among the Battaks is very simple, and unaccompanied with ceremonies. The man purchases his wife from her family, by presents according to his rank, consisting of a certain number of buffaloes, or some gold dust. The meeting that follows takes place without any solemnity, while religious services are not on such occasions considered requisite. The betrothed go together to the river, to cleanse themselves, and the union is complete; while the woman gives the man a *sarong* or cloth, which in case of separation is restored. The woman remains the lawful property of the man, and his relations. The husband is allowed in case of his obtaining no male issue to exchange her for a sister, if there happen to be one, and she pleases him: and if not, the parents are obliged to provide him with another woman out of their family, or to restore the dowry. Should the husband die, the wife falls into the hands of the brother or nearest of kin, who comes into all his rights, and who also takes care of the children. If the widow is not thus settled, she can never marry again, and remains the slave of her husband's relations.

Should the woman be dissatisfied, she can separate from her partner, but then everything given by the latter to her parents on occasion of the marriage must be restored, on which account it seldom happens that the wife seeks a divorce from her husband; while on the other hand, it is lawful for the latter to send his partner back to her parents, with the restoration of the cloth, without having any claim upon the dowry which is retained by the parents, as their own property.

Polygamy is permitted among the Battaks, and the number of wives each man takes is restricted by no law. The common people, however, do not make much use of this privilege, and keep themselves mostly to one wife, while the chiefs seldom exceed the number of two or three. All live in the same house, because it is not the custom among them to have more than one dwelling for each household: sometimes indeed several families reside under the same roof, particularly if they happen to be the relations of the owner. The oldest women, or the one of most respectable origin, possesses some kind of authority over the rest of the women. Concubines, or slaves who are used as such, do not obtain thereby any right or privileges: however,

a Battak seldom does these things openly, and looks upon such practices as degrading, particularly if he happen to be of a great family.

On the death of the husband, the greatest respect is paid to his remains, and more care is taken of the dead body, than of suffering rich or poor relations. No sooner is the breath out of the body, than the same is proclaimed by the firing of guns. The corpse is embraced by weeping females, who increase their lamentations, in proportion to the number of spectators. The dead body is then dressed in the best apparel, and embalmed with camphor and certain vegetable preparations. It is then deposited in a chest, made out of two large pieces of timber, on a layer of raw Indian corn, and burnt rice, mixed with a decoction of turmeric. The coffin remains several days open, while the body lies in state; the death of the individual is in meantime made known all around, and some buffaloes are killed, for the entertainment of visitors; the bones of which are sent to all the head people throughout the district, who replace the same, at the time of interment by a living buffalo. After this, the coffin is fastened down and well caulked, when it is kept in the hall of the house for a period of from six to eighteen months, during which time, it is guarded by young women and maids, night and day, with flambeaux. One month before the funeral, the same is made known to the friends, and especially to those who had previously received the bones of the slaughtered buffalo, who each appear before the house of the deceased with a living buffalo, which according to the custom of the country they are required to pay. When the day of burial has arrived, the whole herd of buffaloes, which in case the deceased was a person of consideration amount to several hundreds, is arranged before the house of mourning, blindfolded, ornamented with gomuti and cotton, and tied to posts, the greatest in the midst. The whole family then arrange themselves, with all their slaves after them, and walk seven times round, all screaming as they go, when they place themselves before the largest buffalo, which has its head sprinkled over with yellow rice, by the oldest wife, out of an earthen pot which she holds in her hand. Then addressing the buffalo, in a loud voice, as though it were her husband, she takes final leave of him, and breaks the pot over his head, in which pot, in order to insure its fracture, a stone is bound up; because the failing to break it in one blow would be considered as a great disgrace to the family. As soon as the pot is broken, the oldest woman, together with the other wives and concubines, began to scream as loud as they can, while they dance and jump, and scratch themselves so severely in the face and body, that

not only the blood gushes out, but the skin is torn off, for which tyeh are prepared by a very light clothing, only just concealing their shame. Followed by all their slaves, with umbrellas over their heads, they then betake themselves to the river, where they wash and return clothed to the house; upon which a champion, dressed in red, steps forth, and having paraded seven times round the buffaloes, he fetches each one a slap and a blow with his lance. The buffaloes are then slaughtered, and feasted on joyfully by the multitude, who sometimes amount on such occasions to 4000 or 5000. The largest buffalo is kept to the last, and reserved for the relations of the deceased.

Their burial places are mostly in the neighborhood of the villages, on high mounds or hills, so that the interment is accompanied with some difficulty; besides which the scaffold on which the body is borne is built in the form of a pavilion, so great and heavy, that frequently the houses in the village must be broken down, to let the cavalcade pass by; the bier requires more than 200 men to carry it, who are urged on by the drawn swords of numerous chiefs and champions. It not unfrequently happens, nevertheless, that the corpse is left to pass the night at the distance of not more than half a mile from the dwelling. On the occasion of such funerals, there arise very often great disputes, which end in murder and death. The bier is adorned with two or more wooden images, in very indecent attitudes, of which the most lewd are the most prized. The family collect all that they can scrape together to make the funeral as splendid as possible, in which no cost is spared; while they cherish the idea that if there remained any riches of the deceased, the relatives would not be sincerely grieved at their loss. The offering of buffaloes must therefore be tenfold, and hundreds must die at the funeral of a rich man. The horns and jaws of the same ornament the grave, on which also the images are placed which had been fixed over the coffin in the house of the deceased.

The Battaks consider it as the greatest happiness they can obtain to be interred in the graves of their elders: and when they go abroad their chief apprehension is lest they should not obtain this privilege; which makes them sometimes timid in fight. They sometimes, however, put themselves in circumstances of danger, to rescue the dead bodies of their chiefs, the loss of whom they consider the greatest misfortune that could befall them. If the bodies cannot be immediately carried away, or kept in their huts, (the unpleasant smell of which they are content to bear,) they then inter them for the time, and dig them up at some future opportunity, in order to transpor

them to their own land. The greatest mark of honor which they think they can do to those who have died a hero's death is to adorn their graves with the skulls of those enemies, by whom they were killed. When the coffin is let down into the grave, it is once more opened, on which occasion the deceased is furnished with a cloth, plate, bason, dish, &c.

At the death and funeral of women fewer ceremonies are made use of, than for the men. The expense of such funerals dissipates almost all the property which is left by the deceased, and this is one of the principal reasons why most of the chiefs are poor and needy. Their property consists principally of slaves, and these are partly sold off on such occasions. The children of the deceased have all an equal share in the property that may remain. The oldest son claims the right of succession in the authority of the father, but frequently this is infringed, and the custom not followed up. Should either of the younger brothers possess more talents or courage, than the lawful heir, he generally makes himself master of the government, while such a one is sometimes chosen thereto by the father. In default of the eldest the government comes to the youngest son; for according to the custom of the country, the intermediate sons must never take any share in the management of affairs; but through carelessness, it sometimes happens among the Battaks that the worst of their laws are followed up. All come, in a certain sense, into the rights of their fathers, maintain their dignity, and this is the reason for the great number of chiefs which we meet with in the Battak country, so that in one village we find sometimes four or five rulers, who lay claim to the same authority, and who if they had the might would defend their claims by force.

ART. V. *A Peep at China, in Mr. Dunn's Chinese collection; with miscellaneous notices relating to the institutions of the Chinese.* By E. C. WINES, Philadelphia, 1839. 8vo. pp. 103.

WE scarcely know which claims the greater admiration — the speed and comfort with which the traveler can reach those countries, where curiosity or business most powerfully attracts him; or the still greater convenience and safety, with which those who quietly re-

main at home may form the most accurate conceptions of places they never expect to visit. Every friend of humanity has reason for devout thanksgiving to that Being "*whose inspiration giveth understanding*," who, through the *Bezaleels* and *Aholiabs*, and *all the wise-hearted in whom he putteth wisdom*, is bringing the different nations of the earth in proximity with each other, and binding them together by the ties of a common sympathy, so that eventually the blessings of Christianity and civilization, enjoyed in the most favored lands, may become the portion of all. An appeal to divine revelation seems scarcely necessary to impress this conclusion. To admit that God is the source of all the wisdom which his creatures possess, and yet to suppose for a moment that his object in the astonishing results of that wisdom, by which the earth is becoming almost a new theatre of life, is the accomplishment of some mere temporary end, argues a strange forgetfulness of the character of Him in whose sight, "*a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.*"

But it is not simply the locomotive facilities, which have been so astonishingly multiplied within the last few years, and which are improving every day, that claims our gratitude. We are laid under almost equal obligations for the number and adaptation of the means, by which those who cannot avail themselves of these facilities may yet obtain the most minute knowledge of distant countries. It is true the two are intimately connected, and perhaps ought to be viewed as cause and effect. If the former, by reducing time, may be said to annihilate distance; the latter, by presenting exact resemblances — something very nearly allied to *tableaux vivantes* — may be said to approximate places. The character, the habits and customs, and particularly the moral condition of the world, are by the latter brought beneath our immediate observation; while the former opens channels of communication, through which both living and life-giving streams may flow forth to bless the uncivilized and the deceived of mankind. The two combine to realise the prophetic promise, "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." We are well aware that these views are thought to be visionary by many — that neither the projectors of the improvements we have referred to, nor those who avail themselves of the advantages they confer, are harmonious in their opinions in reference to the ultimate designs of Providence. But this, though a subject of deep regret, by no means affects our position. It was not only through the famed conqueror of Babylon, who cheerfully accepted the appointment of God in which he had

been named before his birth, that Jehovah performed his purposes. He also employed, as a rod to punish his hypocritical people, the proud king of Assyria, who disdainfully numbered the God, he was blindly serving among *the idols of Jerusalem.* "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom for I am prudent," was his haughty and insolent declaration. And what was the reply of him, in whose hand his breath was? "Shall the *ax* boast itself against him that heweth therewith, or shall the *saw* magnify itself against him that shaketh it?"

That the number of those who 'acknowledge God in all their ways' is constantly increasing, we are happy to know. That ships are commissioned — voyages and journeys are undertaken — works are written, and curiosities are collected for the highest improvement, and most permanent interests of mankind, are not merely matters of notoriety, but of great and growing promise to the world.

The pamphlet before us, which has elicited the foregoing remarks makes a happy recognition of those providential developments and prophetic disclosures, which daily, by some new and striking coincidence, sustain the attention of those who can "discern the signs of the times."

In his "advertisement," the writer "is free to express the opinion, that Mr. Dunn, in the collection he has made and now offers to public examination, has done *more* than any other man to rectify prevalent errors, and disseminate true information, concerning a nation, every way worthy to be studied by the philosopher who delights in the curious, by the economist who searches into the principles of national prosperity and stability, and by the Christian who desires the universal spread of that gospel, in which are embarked the highest temporal welfare, and the immortal hopes of the human race."

There are several means employed to impart a knowledge of distant and strange countries, which may well be compared to glasses, differing in magnifying power. The most common of these is the simple narrative, or the history of those countries. When illustrated by fine engravings, the places described are brought more distinctly within the field of our vision, and the objects are enlarged. The well-executed panorama takes precedence in this class of optics. Indeed its powers are so great, that the country represented is brought immediately before and around you. It gives as accurate a conception, and may leave as deep and indelible an impression, as the reality. The splendid panorama of London, in that city — of Jerusalem in New York — of Algiers in Paris — of Geneva and many

other places, scattered over Europe fully justify this apparently extravagant assertion.

But the best glass is the one through which Mr. Dunn affords his visitors "a peep at China." It differs from the perspective, just described, in this important particular. That presenting the objects in the group necessarily diminishes many of them into their distant proportions. This places before you all the objects or their fac-similes with the most minute adaptation to the focal distance of your vision. The exhumed cities of Italy do not afford such a living picture of what they once were. Here nothing is defaced — nothing has been resolved into its pristine elements. The visitor must feel as if he were examining a country, where the breath of life and the noise of instruments had suddenly ceased, and every object animate and inanimate had been left unchanged and indiscerptible.

In "the descriptive sketch of the collection," the writer advances a sentiment which *if infallible* shows that China can be studied to more advantage in Philadelphia than in Canton or Macao. "It is well known," he remarks, "that an impassable barrier excludes foreigners from all but a small patch of the celestial empire. Considering these restrictions, and the very limited sphere of observation that can be enjoyed by any stranger not connected with a diplomatic embassy, we have little doubt, that a better idea may be obtained of the *characteristic intelligence and national customs* of the Chinese, from Mr. Dunn's collection than by an actual visit, we do not say to *China*, but to the *small portion of Canton*, which is all that foreigners are permitted to see." As the writer has enjoyed advantages for studying China which are denied to us, poor prisoners, the world will of course adjudge us incompetent to invalidate his testimony. Still we cannot forego the gratification of offering a few commendatory observations, and if we should venture upon a correction or two, we will do so with becoming diffidence. That the collection "cannot be matched elsewhere in any part of the world," we have sufficient reason to believe.

"The many thousands of individual objects which this collection embraces, are not, of course, susceptible of a perfect classification; yet the principal and most instructive of them may be ranged under the following heads:— figures, of the size of life, in full costume, representing Chinese men and women, all of them being real likenesses; implements of various kinds; paintings; specimens of japan and porcelain ware; models of boats and summer-houses; lanterns; natural productions, including birds, minerals, shells, fishes, reptiles,

insects, &c., models of pagodas; with a numerous assemblage of *et cetera*, which refuse to be classed."

The following describes the effect produced upon entering "the spacious hall of collection." "Here, as if touched by the wand of an enchanter, we are compelled to pause, for the purpose of taking a general survey, and giving vent to our admiration. The view is imposing in the highest degree. But it is so unlike anything we are accustomed to behold, that we are at a loss for epithets exactly descriptive of it. Brilliant, splendid, gorgeous, magnificent, superb — all these adjectives are liberally used by visitors, and they are strictly apposite, but they want the proper explicitness; they do not place the scene,— new, strange, and *bizarre* as it is,— distinctly before the mind. The rich screen-work at the two ends of the saloon, the many-shaped and many-colored lamps suspended from the ceiling, the native paintings which cover the walls, the Chinese maxims adorning the columns, the choice silks, gay with a hundred colors, and tastefully displayed over the cases along the north side, and the multitude of cases crowded with rare and interesting sights, form a *tout ensemble*, possessing an interest and a beauty entirely its own, and which must be seen before it can be appreciated."

The writer, not satisfied, as he well knew his readers would not be, with a hasty and general description, conducts them around the room, and minutely describes the curiosities which sucessively meet their attention. Having carefully examined with him the contents of each case, and learned from his lips, "that a large residuum remains in the store-rooms for want of sufficient space in the hall for their convenient display," we cannot but express our surprise at the multiplicity of the objects, and no less so at the taste displayed by the proprieter in their collection and arrangement.

As could scarcely be avoided, where accounts are various, and the writer has not had the opportunity of testing their relative claims to accuracy, by personal observation (we ask his pardon), and some acquaintance with the language, a few minor errors appear in parts of his pamphlet.

The opinions of our highly esteemed friend Mr. Dunn, whose heart is evidently swayed by a charity the most beneficial in its tendencies, because it *hopeth* and *believeth all things*, are, we think, a little too favorable respecting the principles of the Chinese, particularly the common honesty of the people, and the official integrity of their rulers. We have lately had some new chapters on these subjects, which are explicit and decisive, especially on the last mentioned point.

There is a mistake in the sentiment, that "only parents of the wealthier sort can afford to their daughters the luxury of small feet." The fashion is aped by all classes, as the streets and houses of Canton and Macao abundantly testify. Among the poor, where the service of this member is sometimes considered indispensable to gaining a livelihood, the feet are permitted to attain their natural size; but even the poor have another mode of calculating the profit and loss of this speculation. As they generally receive a sum from the bridegroom when their daughters are given in marriage, "the golden lilies" come in at such a time as a matter of pecuniary consideration. Many of those who have submitted to the torture until marriage, are obliged to unloose the bandages, when they find that they are compelled to assist their husbands in the plodding pursuits of the fields and gardens. This accounts for the great variety of size and shape, which foreigners remark in the feet of the numerous women seen in the accessible parts of the empire.

Another slight error refers to gambling. Although it is considered in China both disreputable and immoral, we cannot affirm, with the writer, that "the governmental officers, and the more respectable of the people are free from this taint." Among the common people, it is open and almost universal; with the classes referred to, it is secret, and resorted to as an amusement with friends in their own houses.

A far more glaring inaccuracy respects the Confucianists. The writer affirms that this sect has "no temples and no regular worship;" now from one of the native books it appears there are upwards of 1500 temples, dedicated to Confucius, and more than 60,000 bullocks, pigs, sheep, and deer, are annually offered to the manes of the sage. Not only every province, but every minor district, of which there are more than seventy in some of the provinces, has a temple dedicated to the philosopher, where sacrifices are offered by the officers of government, scholars, and others. Indeed Confucius is not the only distinguished personage of Chinese origin who is adored in the empire. There are temples erected to a host of canonized worthies—some of whom, as Kwan footsze, the patron spirit of the reigning dynasty, are invoked as gods, able to succor. These are all the deities formally acknowledged by the literati or Confucianists, and by the government and its officers, although you rarely meet an individual who does not pay adoration also to the gods and saints recognized in the calendars of Budha and Laoutsze.

The author says "with the exception of Christianity and Mohammedanism, Budhism is more widely disseminated (in the world) than

any other religion." The first exception we fear, is not tenable: would that it were—the other of course is still more incorrect. We cannot subscribe to the declaration that all the Budhistic priests are "veritable mendicants, ignorant, groveling, lazy, and without influence." Among our acquaintances are some who are respectable and highly respected.

The writer errs in supposing that "wheel carriages are not used in China." At Peking and in its vicinity, they are employed for the benefit of travelers,—in other places, where they are generally drawn by bullocks, they are used for agricultural purposes. That men and women are more frequently attached to the plough than buffaloes is, we opine, rather fanciful. There are a few other statements which we could not indorse, but they are scarcely of sufficient importance to demand a distinct notice.

As the pamphlet is intended as a picture of China, it is evidently defective in coloring. The deepest shades do not appear. Still, with these few deductions, we are happy to express our full assent to the general descriptions, and our cordial congratulation to our friend, whose laudable desire to gratify his countrymen has proved so eminently successful. Though the pamphlet is indebted to the museum for its chief worth, it quite discharges its obligations by adding items of intelligence which the latter could not possibly represent.

The spirit of the writer is worthy of commendation, and we trust that Mr. Dunn by means of his collection, and Mr. Wines through his description, will have the happiness of seeing large accessions to the number of those, who in the language of the latter "most devoutly long for the auspicious day, when the pure religion, that distilled from the heart, and was embodied in the life of Jesus, shall shed its sacred influences on every human being. When the missionary shall find an auxiliary in the stainless life of every compatriot who visits the scene of his labors for purposes of pleasure or of gain,—when he can point not only to the pure maxims and sublime doctrines proclaimed by the Founder of his faith, but to the clustering graces that adorn its professors,—then indeed will the day dawn, and the day-star of the millenium arise upon the world!"

ART. VI. *Notices of captain Maxwell's attack on the batteries at the Bocca Tigris, on the 12th of November*, 1816. By captain BASIL HALL, R. N., F. R. S.

LORD Macartney's embassy sailed from England in September, 1792; reached Peking in August, 1793; and returned after an absence of little less than two years. Lord Amherst's sailed in February, 1816: reached the capital in August of the same year, and returned to England in October, 1817, after an absence of twenty months. This latter mission came out in H. B. M. S. *Alceste*, captain Murray Maxwell, accompanied by the *General Hewitt*, Indiaman, and the *Lyra*, a ten-gun brig, commanded by captain Hall. After leaving the embassador at Takoo near the mouth of the Pei ho, capt. Maxwell visited the coasts of Leaoutung, Corea, and Lewchew, and anchored off Lintin early in November. There he received dispatches from the British factory, announcing the unsuccessful issue of the embassy, and the expected return of lord Amherst. The failure of the mission, it appeared, "had disposed the Chinese authorities at Canton to treat the interests of the British factory with great contempt, and in several instances to visit his majesty's peacable subjects with insult and direct injury." The governor of Canton had issued a proclamation, declaring the embassador would not be allowed to embark in the river, but must find his way as he best could to the ships, which were to remain at anchor among the Ladrone islands, almost in the open sea. "The hostile sentiments of the governor towards all foreigners, and especially the English, had long been well-known;" and, under such circumstances, "these proceedings were precisely what had been anticipated; and great anxiety was felt by all the foreign residents, as to the line of conduct which captain Maxwell would adopt on the occasion." It should be borne in mind, that, some time before this, an imperial edict had been published, requiring that the present embassy should be treated exactly as the former (Macartney's) had been.

"Shortly after the ships had come to an anchor off Lintin, a mandarin, in command of a fleet of war junks, came on board the Alceste. He said a pilot would be soon sent, together with the usual permit, or chop as it is called, sanctioning the entry of the ships into the river. But on the 7th, three days afterwards, a mandarin of much higher rank came to the frigate, expressly directed, he said, by the viceroy, to order us to remain where we were, and on account presume to approach nearer the river's mouth.

Captain Maxwell expressed great surprise at this rude message, and argued the question the more earnestly, as this mandarin said he was in confidential communication with the viceroy, and authorized by him to make arrangements. It was in vain represented, that the proceeding alluded to would be highly indecorous, not only on account of the inconvenience and difficulty of communicating with the ships anchored so far off; but, being directly in the teeth of an established precedent in the case of Macartney, such a line of conduct would be a palpable insult to the present embassador. * *

"The whole of this interview," continues captain Hall, "was interesting and curious in a very high degree; for it was evidently a sort of experiment on the part of the Chinese, to discover what manner of man they had to deal with; and captain Maxwell, who had an important duty to fulfill, may be supposed to have been feeling his way likewise, and endeavoring to discover to what lengths fair words would reach, and how far, in the event of the worst, it might be necessary to bring the argument within the range of cannon shot. It was as fair a diplomatic skirmish, therefore, as could be, and to a spectator like myself, amusing beyond description. The conversation was carried on principally through the medium of a Chinese interpreter, or linguist; but the mandarin himself also understood some English, and more than once showed, by the expression of his countenance, that he knew what was meant, even before the interpreter had time to render the words. When captain Maxwell asked how it happened that the commander of the fleet, who had visited him on the 3d instant, had undertaken to procure pilots, chops, and so on, if not duly authorized? 'Oh,' replied the viceroy's envoy, 'the officer happens to be partly a fool, and partly a wit; he was acting the latter character when he came to you, and merely wished to make sport; he was only quizzing, I assure you, and had no authority.' 'Well,' said captain Maxwell in reply, 'it may be very well for such a fellow to take these liberties; but,' added he, in a tone and manner which made the mandarin's button wag on the top of his bonnet, 'I advise his excellency the viceroy not to take example from his admiral, and attempt to pass any such humors on me!' Our Chinese diplomatists exchanged expressive glances, and for sometime all was allowed to go on smoothly."

The necessity of having a security merchant for the Alceste was the next subject of conversation.

"The mandarin, not duly warned by the tone and manner of captain Maxwell's first reply about the facetious admiral, or more probably being misled by his uncommon gentleness of manner, said it was the intention of the viceroy not to allow the ships to remain longer, even at their present anchorage, unless they procured a hong-merchant forthwith to answer for their good behavior. 'What is it you mean?' said captain Maxwell, warming a little; 'let me hear that again, if you please.' The Chinese, not altogether at his ease, repeated that security must immediately be lodged for the good behavior of the ships. 'Are you aware,' said captain Maxwell, 'that this is a ship of war — king George the third of England's frigate, the

Alceste!'—'I did not distinctly understand,' stammered out the mandarin, who saw too late that he was in a scrape, and knew not for his life how to get out of it; 'I wished to be better informed—I wished merely to learn from you what cargo you brought—what kind of goods to dispose of.'—'Cargo!—goods to dispose of!' exclaimed captain Maxwell, rising and striking the table with his clenched hand, in admirable feigned anger—'cargo, did you say!—Powder and shot, sir, are the cargo of a British man-of-war! Did you see his majesty's pendant flying at the mast-head? If you did not, I desire you will take a good look at it on your way to Canton, where you may tell the viceroy you have seen a flag that has never yet been dishonored—and please God, while it waves over my head, it never shall!' When captain Maxwell began this address, the mandarin opened his eyes, and stared amazedly at him; then rose half off his seat, and presently with his hands shaking, as if the cold fit of an ague had overtaken him, doffed his cap of office, and gave a glance over his shoulder towards the stern windows, to see whether, in extremity, he had any chance of making his escape. As captain Maxwell approached his climax about the flag, and struck the table a second time, the mandarin and interpreter both retreated, step by step, as far as the cabin permitted them, where they stood with uplifted hands, quite aghast, and in an ecstasy of terror." * * *

"Matters, however, were soon apparently readjusted, by captain Maxwell's ringing the bell, and ordering some cherry brandy, which the terrified mandarin relished vastly more than the gunpowder speeches he had just been treated with; and I could see him more than once cast a side glance to the racks, suspended under the guns, each holding a dozen of twenty-four pound shot. A desultory conversation ensued, during which all official business was sedulously avoided for a time; but captain Maxwell, whose object was to be fully understood, would not allow the unhappy worshiper of Fo to leave the ship without something so explicit, that even the acuteness of Chinese diplomacy should not be able to evade or misconstrue it. He accordingly resumed the subject by asking the mandarin, now he was aware what the frigate's cargo consisted of, whether he thought the viceroy would grant the proper chop. 'I have no sort of doubt of it,' he replied eagerly; 'and if you only consent to wait till the twenty-third day of the moon, four days hence, you may rely upon it that a free permission, a grand chop of the first order, will be sent to you, together with pilots, refreshments, and all you require.'—'Be it so,' said captain Maxwell; 'I am the last man in the world to do anything in a hurry;—I have not the least wish to do what is offensive or contrary to the usages of any country. But understand me, once for all; I am perfectly resolved that neither the embassador, nor the flag of my nation, shall be insulted in the manner alluded to in the viceroy's communication; and if, on or before the twenty-third day of the moon, a free permission to enter the river does not arrive, I most certainly shall proceed in this ship without it; and shall not stop till I have reached the spot occupied by the his Britannic majesty's ships employed on the former embassy. You regulate

all things in this celestial empire of yours by precedent, you tell me, and it shall go hard but I will furnish you with one that will serve you for many years to come.' The mandarin thus schooled was in a great hurry to be off, and carrying with him the linguist as a witness to bear him out in the strange story he had to tell, made all sail towards the city."

Captain Maxwell had before him a well-established precedent in the case of the *Lion*, lord Macartney's ship, which was permitted to proceed to Whampoa; "and in proportion to the advantage supposed to be gained upon that occasion, he considered the loss would now be great if this point were to be given up." He thought (rightly), "that if he sailed resolutely up, and took the station which, according to precedent, he was entitled to claim, such a step might show the Chinese, that however the embassy might have failed in obtaining farther advantages, the English nation was in no humor to relinquish those which it already possessed." Accordingly, such being his views and feelings, he prepared to carry them into execution without delay.

"The twenty-third day of the moon came accordingly, without any reply from the viceroy: neither pilot nor chop making its appearance. The Lyra in the meantime was dispatched for provisions to the Portuguese settlement of Macao, in the immediate neighborhood. But captain Maxwell wishing to give ample time, and above all unwilling to do anything precipitate, waited four and twenty hours later than the day specified; at the end of which period, on the 12th of November, he weighed and proceeded to Chuenpe, an anchorage a few miles below the narrow entrance called the Bogue or Mouth, the Bocca of the Portuguese navigators. Here a fleet consisting of seventeen large men-of-war junks, each mounting from four to six guns, with a complement of sixty men, was drawn up in line of battle to oppose the farther progress of the frigate. The numerous batteries along shore were also observed to be filled with men: indeed the whole scene indicated a resolution of resisting the intention of the strangers to pass the prescribed limits. A small boat, or as it is called a sampan, was now seen to put off from the admiral's junk, and make towards the frigate. This boat was rowed by a single old woman, which ridiculous circumstance, though not uncommon in the upper parts of the river, was certainly now intended as an additional indignity. On her coming alongside, the same interpreter who had accompanied the mandarin at the memorable interview of the 7th, made his appearance on the quarter-deck, along which he strode with an air of much greater confidence than he had shown in the cabin a few days before. He was the bearer of an order as he expressed it, from the commander-in-chief of the emperor's war junks, for the frigate to anchor instantly. Captain Maxwell, whom nothing could irritate or discompose, answered this impertinent mandate by jocularly asking in the broken English used by the interpreter, 'Suppose no do — what then?' 'Then, I thinkee,' retorted the linguist, with a

very significant wink of his small red eye,—'I thinkee that my mandarin there sinkee your ship!' And sure enough, while they were still in conversation, the admiral fired first one gun, then another, and so on along the whole line. Although these guns were all shotted, captain Maxwell, with good humor and presence of mind, called out that he was greatly obliged to the admiral for his salute, and ordered three guns to be fired with powder only, in return for the compliment, but continued his course onwards under sail. The mandarin soon put this mistake to rights by firing more shot, in which example he was followed by the whole fleet. Their guns were worked with considerable spirit and rapidity; but somehow or other, not only the admiral, but all the officers under his orders, managed never to strike the frigate, or even to fire directly over her, taking care to pitch their shot either just ahead or just astern. It is not fair, perhaps, to insinuate what motives influenced this gallant officer on the occasion; it was sufficient for captain Maxwell's purpose that no shot actually hit his ship, and he sailed on without taking the smallest notice of the uncivil cannonading in his rear.

"When the frigate had reached nearly to the Bogue, or entrance, and almost within range of the battery called Annunghoy, the light wind which had carried her so far, gradually died away, and the tide, setting strongly out, rendered it necessary to drop the anchor. The Chinese fleet brought up likewise, but continued firing away as briskly as before. Captain Maxwell, whose attention had hitherto been occupied by piloting the frigate, was now at leisure to attend to the warlike admiral. He accordingly loaded one of the quarter-deck guns, and a two and thirty pound carronade, and having directed it and primed the lock all with his own hands, drew the trigger himself. The gun was aimed so that the shot should pass over the centre of the commander-in-chief's junk. The effect was instantaneous, and most ludicrous; the crews, not only of this vessel, but of the whole line, fell flat on their faces, as captain Maxwell described it in his letter to me, 'like Persians at sunrise,' while the admiral in person was seen for a moment actually in the air, into which he had leaped in the extremity of his amaze, and in the next instant he lay prostrate on the deck. So remarkable was this exhibition, that captain Maxwell at first feared he had pointed the gun too low, and actually killed the poor mandarin; while the sailors, who were in ecstasies with the sight, exclaimed that the captain had shot away the China admiral's head. Without any such serious issue, the effect was quite as complete, for the firing instantly ceased.

"It is an invariable rule in China, whenever a casualty happens in consequence of guns fired from any foreign ship, to insist upon the man who actually fired the gun being given up, not the officer who gave the order; as if the guilt rested with the mere agent, rather than with the chief at whose instigation he has acted. Captain Maxwell was therefore determined, at all events, to simplify the present question, by loading and firing the first gun with his own hand, and thus to make himself, in every sense of the word, Chinese as well as European, the responsible person. This incident

may perhaps appear a trifle to some persons, but it was one strictly in character with the whole of these proceedings; and the anecdote is worthy of being borne in the recollection of every officer in command, who, as he shares all, or nearly all, the credit of successful enterprise, should be ready to take upon himself the whole weight of censure, should the consequences be disastrous. About half past eight of the same evening, a breeze sprung up, which admitted of the ship steering through the Bogue. The anchor was instantly weighed; but so vigilant were the Chinese, that the topsails were hardly sheeted home before a flight of rockets, and a signal gun from the fleet, announced that night or day the passage was to be disputed. In the next instant there was a simultaneous flash of light from one end to the other of the batteries on both sides of the river, sky-rockets were thrown up in every direction, and all the embrasures were illuminated in the most brilliant manner. 'The boatswain's pipe,' to use captain Maxwell's own expression, 'did not man the Alceste's guns more smartly than these signals did the Chinese batteries. The very first shot they fired,' to continue the extract from a letter I received some days afterwards, 'hit us very hard in the bows, and pretty low down; the second cut away one of the mizen-shrouds, and went through the spanker; in short, they went on remarkably well. It really put us quite in mind of old times again. My orders were that not a shot should be fired until one was heard from the quarter-deck, the trigger of which I pulled myself when within less than half-musket shot of Anunghoy, the battery at the Bogue; and then the main-deck and forecastle very speedily put out all John Chinaman's lights. It really was a very fine and spirited scene while it lasted. But the best effect of the whole is,' continues captain Maxwell, 'that the viceroy has quite recovered his good breeding, and become remarkably civil. A mandarin of much higher rank than our former visitor was sent down to where the ship had anchored in the river, after passing the batteries, to say that I might come as far as I pleased; that the Lyra might also enter the river when I pleased; all boats might pass and repass the Bogue when I pleased; in short everything is to be done according to my pleasure; and what is amusing enough, a chop, or edict, has been published in Canton, stating that the Alceste had entered and come up the river by the viceroy's express permission, the same manner as the ships of the former embassy.'"

ART. VII. *Literary notices: Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum, primitus inceptum ab P. J. Pigneaux, dein absolutum et editum à J. L. Taberd. Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum, auctore J. L. Taberd. Serampore*, 1838. 2 *tomi.*

COCHINCHINA, or, as it is here called, Anam, was formerly among the least powerful of the various nations occupying the tract of country that lies between China, the Malayan peninsula, and India. It is now the ruler over several of those states, and in wealth and power it

probably takes precedence of all. By the Chinese, to whom it has been at various times subject, it was named in the sixteenth century Keaouche, or Kiaochi. This name, by a little corruption—Kaochi, Cochi—appeared to the Portuguese identical with Cach'chi, now called Cochin, on the Malabar coast; and they therefore named this state Chinese Cochi, or Cochinchina. Ciampa or Champa, to the south, and Camboja or Cambodj, to the southwest, were, at the time when this name was given, independent states of considerable importance. To the north, Thunhkinh, or Tonquin, (so named from its then capital, Tungking, the eastern metropolis,) was also independent, in fact had usually been the paramount power;—having once been a province of China, it had received the name Annan, or Anam, the peaceful south. Both the paramount authority and the name Anam have in later years been transferred to Cochinchina; and the empire that has been formed by the union of the other three states, Tungking, Champa, and Camboja, with itself, has been named the Anamitic empire. A change of dynasty caused an alteration of the name Anam, to Yuĕnan (in Chinese), or Vietnam (as it is pronounced in the vernacular tongue): but this change is more classical than popular—Yuĕ, or Viet, seeming to be the most ancient name of these southern people, while Anam is now the generally recognized name of the nation.—The people of these four states appear to have been originally of one race; on the southwest, the Shans and perhaps also some tribes from Hindustan have mingled with them; on the north, in Tungking and Cochinchina Proper, the Chinese have given them a literature, and have greatly modified their language and character. But in the mountainous regions to the westward, are still various wild tribes, probably of less mixed race, and preserving, it is likely, more of an original language.

What this original language was, it is now vain to inquire. The prevalence of the Chinese language and literature among the educated of Tungking and Cochinchina, has been already alluded to: from them it has descended to the lower classes, though greatly intermingled with words, which, as they are not traceable to a Chinese origin, are probably remains of the aboriginal tongue. The people, before their subjection to the Chinese, appear to have had no written language of their own; and the Chinese characters have therefore been adopted, but with numerous modifications, and even new formations, to adapt them to such words as acknowledged no Chinese parentage. Hence, as in Europe during the middle ages, there are *two languages of writing*, commonly to be met with. Like the Latin, Chinese seems among the well-educated, to be universally understood: it is made use of,—little, if at all, corrupted,—in many of their books, and also, we believe, in most official documents. But a modification of it (somewhat as, in England, a modified Roman alphabet) is employed by the masses of the people, with manifold corruptions, for the writing of the mixed native language or dialect.

Confining our attention to this vernacular language, we find in it, also, a distinction of dialects. As in Europe the same Latin word—

manus, for instance — is pronounced one way in England, another in Italy ;— so in Cochinchina, Chinese words, even when uncorrupted, are not pronounced precisely as they are in China. Hence originate *two dialects:* that of *reading*, in which all words that are purely Chinese are pronounced not *very* differently from what they are in China; and that of *speaking*, in which all analogy with Chinese is disregarded,—and, while many words are not at all of Chinese derivation, many others, though originally derived from Chinese, are yet considerably altered from the primary form. Our meaning may be illustrated by a reference again to Latin and English, the former standing in place of the Chinese, the latter in place of the Anamitic language. *Mens* and *mind* are evidently the same in origin, as in sense, but, in deriving the one from the other, we observe considerable alteration in form. Had we no alphabet — but a writing originating in symbols, the hieroglyph for heart, or the Chinese character might be called by us *mens*, while yet in speaking, the symbol not being before us, we should say, *mind.* Add to many words so circumstanced, a large number also not of Latin origin, and not ordinarily to be found written, and we should have, like the Cochinchinese, a dialect of reading, and another of speaking. It is the same with some other languages — those of Tungking, Fuhkeën, &c., and in a less perceptible degree, it is probably to be found wherever there are remains of a primary tongue, without the facilities that an alphabet affords for mingling them in writing with the words of a borrowed language.

This want of mingling of the two is, however, only partial. We have said, that there are many modifications of the Chinese characters as well as new formations, for the purpose of intermingling the two languages. These last, if correctly formed by combination of two or more already existing, are the best additions to the language: but the coining of such new words should be carefully limited. The modifications of characters, too, when made with a regard to sense as well as sound, and with some slight mark of distinction attached, do not detract from the purity of the language: but it is rarely that these provisoes are attended to. Sometimes a Chinese word will, without any distinguishing mark, be taken to denote a sense completely alien to the sense which it has originally denoted. At other times, this injurious corruption will be accompanied with the further evil of using it, also, to express the same sense as in the original tongue, still without any distinguishing mark,— leaving it to the connection alone to inform the reader in which of two senses, nowise similar, he is to accept it. There are not a few of such corrupt modifications, or rather adoptions, of characters in the provincial dialects of China: and there are some words in the general language, the almost *opposite* senses of which can hardly be explained, except by the supposition that similar corruptions have crept into it, perhaps from the dialects. But the greatest evil, arising from such a mode of *adoption* of characters, is that, in a language, the monosyllabic nature of which causes many words to resemble others so much in

sound (indeed there are some that do not differ at all), one person will adopt one character of like sound to denote an unwritten word, while others will adopt for the same word other characters: the effect of which is much like the various spellings of a little cultivated language; or, better still, like the various spellings of foreign names.

We have chosen rather to draw for ourselves this slight and imperfect sketch, than to copy that given us in the prefatory remarks attached to the work before us,— because we deemed it advantageous to trace the origin of the offshoot from its parent stem, rather than to trace the connection, inversely, upwards from the branch. Of the uncorrupted Chinese language, Msgr. Taberd seems to know hardly more than we do of its somewhat spurious offspring of Cochinchina and of the adjoining regions. We include the regions adjoining, because their dialects are analogous to, though considerably varying from, that of Cochinchina proper, the language illustrated in the dictionary before us.

The first volume of this dictionary was compiled, in great measure, by the late J. G. P. Pigneaux, bishop of Adran, and vicar-apostolic of Cochinchina, Cambodja, and Ciampa. The autograph work of Pigneaux having perished in a fire which destroyed the 'college of Anam,' in seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, and a complete copy not being procurable, its completion was undertaken by J. L. Taberd, bishop of Isauropolis, and successor to the see of Cochinchina. Besides adding many words, he has annexed to the work, a grammatical compendium, a tractate on the particles, an essay on Anamese versification, a flora (or rather a simple list of plants, for philological more than for botanical use), and an index of characters according to the arrangement by radicals, the arrangement of the dictionary being alphabetical. The second volume is entirely the work of Msgr. Taberd: prefixed to it are treatises on the Latin language, written in Anamese, using Roman letters in place of the native characters, as is common among the Christians of those regions. So far, the object in view with the editor and author has been (as he himself states), the affording assistance to the missionaries and their alumni; thus he would still pursue the labors of a bishop, though in exile from his episcopal see. For the advantage of the merchant and traveler, he has, however, appended to the second volume, a vocabulary, French, English, Latin, and Cochinchinese, ranged in parallel columns, the French words, in alphabetical order, forming the index column. A few paragraphs follow, also in the four languages, on Anamese notation, weights and measures, money, divisions of time, &c.; lastly, is annexed, a map of the Cochinchinese empire, drawn up by the author, partly from his own observation, partly from information of natives.

The work is well printed, being the production of the excellent press of Serampore, under the charge of Mr. Marshman, the able editor of the Friend of India. The characters employed in the first volume are neatly cut: great numbers of them must have been graved for the work, being peculiar to the language of Anam, and the print-

ing of this volume must therefore have cost much in labor and expense. The philologist would have been gratified had the explanations of each word been more ample: the elucidations, however, given in the form of dissyllabic combinations, and phrases of two or three words, are numerous. In the second volume, no characters are employed: their pronunciation alone is given in Roman letters, the orthography being that first introduced by the Portuguese, and now (with little alteration) employed by most of the native Christians, and by all Europeans who study Cochinchinese.

We may recall attention to this work at another time, by the extracts from the introductory matter, or by a fuller exposition of the physiology of the language than it is now in our power to give. It is much to be desired, that the language should be carefully studied by some one previously acquainted with Chinese: and a knowledge of several of the Shan and of the Laos dialects would be an additional advantage. A comparison of these various tongues and dialects would probably throw much light on the early history of the extra-Gangetic, or Indo-Chinese, races.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: Hingtae's debts; price of opium; rumor of murder; foreign commerce; Canton; Whampoa; Tungkoo; military operations; tsotang of Macao; Portuguese trade; robberies; the Bilbaino; rumors from abroad; the Druid; Bangkok; Sandwich Islands; Japanese shipwrecked; death of the empress.*

ALL proceedings which touch and influence great public interests are, happily in our day, regarded as fit subjects for the periodical press. Accordingly we have, with others, here and elsewhere, freely remarked on the use of opium and the traffic in it. And if in trying to dissuade from that use and that traffic, we may chance at any time, through inadvertence, to state untruth, we trust our friends in their candor will hold us excused — provided always the proper corrections are made on our part, whenever any untruth or false averments are pointed out. To do this we shall always regard as our duty, and it will ever be a pleasure.

There are three points which we have now to correct, in statements made in our numbers for January and February — the case of the Hingtae hong — the price of opium on the coast — and the murder of Chinese officers.

(1) In our last number Hingtae's case was introduced solely for the purpose of illustrating the manner of smoking opium. We never intended to intimate, what we did not believe, that the use of opium was among the *principal* causes of that hong's bankruptcy. It may have contributed somewhat to that unfortunate event; but even this we did not mean to aver, as we had no evidence that such was the fact. The case of the hong seems fairly stated in the Canton Press of the 14th, and in it we fully concur.

(2) In our number of January, we stated that "during the last six months it (the price of opium) had generally ranged from $700 to $1200 per chest." This was too high. The following are actual returns. October, average price for Patna $670; November, Malwa $655; December, Benares unsaleable. In January 1840, in consequence of the great scarcity, "chiefly caused by the British cruisers, and not by the Chinese war-boats," a few

chests sold for $880. In February the price fell to $750 and 700. Now (March 27th) all sorts are selling freely at $450. On the east coast, in consequence of the increased expenses of the ships at the present time, the sum of about sventy dollars per chest, besides the usual commission, is to be deducted before the proceeds reach the hands of the owner.—The preceding statement we give on testimony of undoubted authority, and believe it true.

(3) Concerning the rumor of the murder of Chinese officers, given by a correspondent in our number for January, we are now able to lay before our readers a circumstantial account, kindly furnished by a friend, who assures us that he has perfect reliance on its truth. And as such we give the following "Note of events connected with the destruction of a Chinese piratical boat on the *west* coast."

"The narrator of these events desires that it should be distinctly understood, that the affair took place directly after the attempt, by the Chinese, to seize the Ann, after the burning of the Bilbaino, and after the horrid cruelty committed on the Black Joke. The crews of all vessels on the coast were highly excited against the Chinese, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the commanders of more than one vessel, restrained their sailors from acts of aggression against the Chinese. Two vessels were in company, and had been engaged on the high seas for sometime, in selling opium: neither of the vessels, taken separately were very powerful, though safe, aiding each other. Their operations had been watched by a very powerful and swift sailing Chinese pirate boat, pulling more than 50 oars on each side; this boat had repeatedly intercepted the parties who dealt with these two vessels, and robbed them of their purchases. She was what they call a *tythune* boat, that is, bearing a mandarin pass, but herself private property, and not carrying any mandarin on board. Her audacity at last aimed to the pitch of attempting to cut off a boat, towed at the stern of one of these vessels. She was fired at in vain with great guns, but being a faster sailer than either of the vessels, was making her escape, when boats were let down from the two foreign ships, manned and armed, and she was pursued, boarded, and taken. In boarding the vessel, two or three Chinese at the gangway resisted; a musket was fired, and a Chinese killed dead; they then succeeded in getting on the deck of the boat, when a struggle took place; in which a Spanish sailor was severely wounded by a pike; he used his knife against a Chinese and severely wounded him; this wounded man received medical assistance on board the foreign vessel, and was ultimately put on shore, recovering. No other loss of life took place. The Chinese sailors, except those who swam on shore and to other Chinese boats, were all carried on board one of the foreign vessels, where, as a warning to future pirates, the two captains determined to cut off their tails; this was ordered to be done by one of the sailors; he did it very roughly, pulling out some of the hairs, instead of cutting them clear off; upon which, the captain took a sharp knife, and with his own hands, without pain, cut off every tail; the men were then put into foreign boats, and sent on shore. When on the deck of the ship, an attempt was made to ill use the Chinese, by the sailors, which was instantly put a stop to, by a man being punished therefor. The men being sent on shore, the captains, their officers, the Chinese shroffs, and some customers who had been dealing with them, held a council what to do with the captured boat, when they unanimously came to the resolution, that her repeated acts of piracy deserved destruction, and she was accordingly burned."

We have only to add, that if our former statements have done injury to any one, we are sorry for it; while for the future greater care shall be taken to prevent the recurrence of any such injury. To the gentlemen who have assisted us in making these corrections, we offer our best thanks.

Foreign commerce with China has undergone a most remarkable revolution, during the last year; and without foreign interference and protection, for aught we can see, it must soon become extinct. The proposal of Tsang Wangyen is still under consideration.—To some of our local readers we may seem to have been regardless of their welfare, and indifferent to the long series of annoyances to which their commerce here has been subjected. The distressing and ruinous occurrences of the last twelve months have been viewed by us with deep con-

cern. We have observed carefully and felt keenly the injuries sustained by the foreign community. Long before the late crisis came on, we often pleaded for the interposition of western governments, and urged the necessity of treating directly with the imperial government. Had such a line of policy been early adopted, no doubt many of the last year's disasters would have been avoided.

At Canton the number of residents is still small, and their position is not likely to improve. A spacious brick building is now rapidly being built on 'the Point,' in front of the factories, and will be a great eye-sore to their occupants. New *duties*, moreover, are in contemplation to pay the soldiery! And another new bond has been required, certifying that there has been no intercourse with the English; the penalties are confiscation of ship and cargo, and 'personal punishment.'

At Whampoa there has been another serious affray between the local officers and the town folks, who resisted their authority. The disturbance originated in the measures on foot to suppress gambling.

At Tungkoo some anxiety has been felt for the shipping, occasioned partly by rumors of a fleet of fire-ships being collected, and partly by an edict published at Canton, prohibiting the ships of other nations from anchoring with the English.

Military and naval operations are in progress, at various places in this vicinity. Some three or four thousand recruits are being drilled near Canton; fire-rafts and boats are being prepared; and a dozen or two of guns, of various calibers have been collected at the temple Leënhwa, beyond Mongha near the Barrier.

March 1*st*, the late tsotang, or assistant magistrate of Macao, left for a higher post in Canton. He was escorted out of town by a large and very respectable assemblage of native gentry, accompanied by the Portuguese band and guard of honor, and saluted with the usual compliment of guns from the Monte fort.

On the 6*th, an edict re-opening the Portuguese trade* was issued. The following translation is from the Canton Press of the 21st.

"Lin, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c., E, fooyuen of Kwangtung, and Yu hoppo of Canton, &c., &c., hereby conjointly issue this proclamation that all men may know and understand. Whereas on a previous occasion the English foreigners continued to reside at Macao and would not submit to be expelled, and whereas the Portuguese foreigners dared of their own accord to harbor the said English (against our express commands), therefore it was that at that time we declared the place shut, and stopped their trade. But now it appears that the civil and military mandarins of Macao have petitioned us stating that the Portuguese foreigners, after receiving our previous proclamation, were filled with penitence and fear, and that even now all the English are already driven out of Macao. And it further appears that the Portuguese 'barbarian eye' or wei-le-to (i. e. procurador) has stated (to the mandarin) face to face, that after this they will never to all eternity dare to permit the English to enter Macao, or to harbor them there, thus opposing the laws, &c., &c., &c. Now this coming before us, the said viceroy, fooyuen, and hoppo, and we having duly examined the same, find from what the civil and military native authorities have petitioned us, that, from the dipositions and circumstances of the Portuguese, these foreigners still cherish some fear of the laws at heart, for which reason we ought to permit them to resume their commercial intercourse as of old, thereby to manifest (celestial) compassion. Wherefore we now conjointly issue this our proclamation, addressed to all the shopkeepers of Macao, to all the traders and people of the other provinces, and to all those employed in stowing and transporting cargo &c., &c., that they may thoroughly know and understand: all ye who are engaged in transporting up or down the cargo or merchandize of the Portuguese foreigners whether export or import, after the issuing of this proclamation, it is permitted you to carry on your intercourse as heretofore, in due submission to the fixed regulations, by which the said merchandise must be sent to the custom-house, there to be duly inspected and taxed for duty, after which it may be conveyed away for consumption: — but ye are not permitted clandestinely to convey any goods or merchandise belonging to

the English foreigners, or illicitly mix them up with others to go in or out thereby trying to deceive us, which will lead to a very severe investigation."

The robberies, so frequent during the last month, have been checked, by repeated edicts from the new officers — the intendant and sub-prefect. One of the principal offenders apprehended, has been placed in the pillory, and exposed to the public gaze in the streets of Macao.

The case of the unfortunate Spanish brig, the *Bilbaino*, has been again brought to the notice of the Chinese authorities by captain J. M. Halcon, R.N. special envoy from the governor-general of the Philippines. On the 24th an interview was held between the envoy and the intendant and other Chinese officers, in the presence of the procurador of Macao. From what we have heard of the interview, it would appear that the case is likely at last to be amicably adjusted. The mate, one of the two Spaniards who was taken from the brig, the morning she was burnt, and since then held in custody of the Chinese, has been very sick in Canton. By permission of governor Lin, obtained by Howqua, Dr. Parker was allowed to go into the city on the 20th, and subsequently to attend on the sick man; and we are happy to hear that he is recovering from his illness.

Rumors from abroad, not in a very questionable shape, at length, leave no doubt that the *Lion* of the west is waking up. The *Dragon* too is rousing; and to himself is seeming to be secure in his greatness. A meeting is inevitable, and the onset will be watched with anxiety. We hope it may not be a mere trial of brute force. Both are reputed sagacious; it is, therefore, to be hoped, that wisdom and reason will, with both, be the order of the day. But, seriously, the question at issue is of the gravest kind, and one of the most difficult (we think) that ever exercised the councils of men. Regard must be had, at once, to the past, the present, and the future. The welfare of kingdoms and empires is at stake. At such a momentous juncture, how devoutly ought the subject to bow to the Lord Paramount, who alone is the ruler of princes, and from whom all power emanates. But whereas he has given to *man* the dominion of the earth, there are rights universal, not to be usurped and monopolized even by the dragon's power. Let but truth and justice be maintained, and surely all good men's hearts will wish success to the Queen of Isles. "*Let but truth and justice be maintained*," we say, for only then can the blessing of the Almighty be invoked and vouchsafed.

The *Druid*, H. B. M. ship, 44 guns, lord J. A. S. Churchill commander, arrived off Macao on the 24th; exchanged salutes with the Portuguese next morning, and proceeded to Tungkoo.

From the Sandwich Islands we have received an account (in a pamphlet of 63 pages) of the visit of the French frigate L'Artemise, in July last. The pamphlet was prepared by Mr. Samuel N. Castle of Honolulu, and a thousand copies of it were printed and circulated by the direction and at the expense of lieutenants Magrudar, Foot, Turk, Turner, Palmer, Thomson, Kilty, Minor, and eight other gentlemen, officers belonging to the U. S. ships Columbia and John Adams, which arrived at Honolulu in October. It contains, among other official documents, a long letter from the king Tamehameha III., to the United States' consul P. A. Brinsmade, esq.; the king peremptorily denies the charges brought against certain American citizens. The subject has been referred to Congress.

March 21st. We extract the following from letters received to-day from Bangkok, dated in January last. "There have been some disturbances in some of the northern provinces tributary to Siam. One or two small towns have been retaken by the Cambojans, five days distant from here. One Madras nacodah, an English subject, is now in irons by order of his Siamese majesty, for having engaged in the opium traffic. He was imprisoned three days ago."

Seven Japanese were taken from a wreck, June 6th, 1839, in long. 174° 15′ east, lat. 30 2 north, by captain Cathcart of the James Lapee. It was a large junk, bound from Matsumai to Yédo; she had been out five or six months; and of ten men on board, three had died; the others were brought to the Sandwich Islands, where one of them, said to be owner of the vessel, has since died. Our correspondent, who writes from Lahainaluna, January 24th, 1840, says they seemed intelligent, and had with them some Japanese books, coin, &c.

The empress of China, on the 13th ultimo, at about one o'clock in the morning, left the imperial court and went "to ramble among the immortals." Mourning usual on such occasions has been ordered by an edict from her bereaved consort.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Persecutions of Catholics in Cochinchina and Tungking, from* 1626 *to the present time.* Communicated for the Repository by J. T. D., Singapore.*

THE Catholic missions in Tungking and Cochinchina are divided into three vicarships, that of Eastern Tungking, that of Western Tungking, and that of Cochinchina. Where the succession of the Catholic hierarchy has not been established, as in pagan countries, the bishops are known by the name of *vicars apostolic.* A vicar apostolic is not necessarily a bishop, though generally he is, and as it is thought expedient that he should take the title of the see which he administers, he receives the title of some ancient bishopric, now in the hands of infidels, and is called a bishop *in partibus infidelium,* which is often abbreviated and written, bishop *in partibus.* Thus the official title of the bishop of Cochinchina is "John Louis, bishop of Isauropolis, vicar apostolic of Cochinchina." The vicarship of Eastern Tungking is occupied by the Spanish Dominicans, while the two others are supplied by French missionaries. In 1830, there were in the whole kingdom twenty European missionaries, including bishops, viz., five Spanish Dominicans in Eastern Tungking, seven French in Western Tungking, and in Cochinchina seven Frenchmen and one

* The authority from which this article is prepared, (with an exception or two of little importance,) is the "*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.*" A large portion of it is merely a translation of extracts from letters and other documents scattered through the different nnmber of that work. Some account of the missions in Tungking were given the Repository for Nov. 1839, see page 329.

Italian Franciscan. Each of the three missions had two bishops, a principal and an assistant, except the diocese of Cochinchina, which had a bishop, but no assistant bishop. These twenty Europeans had under their superintendence a considerable number of native priests. The number of Christians being large, (amounting to about four hundred thousand,) and the number of missionaries, as we have seen, small, the efforts of the missions were directed chiefly to the care of those already converted, though the number of adult pagans received into the church was several hundreds each year. In the vicarship of Western Tungking, there were two Latin schools, at some distance from each other, for educating native priests and catechists. In one of these schools there were sixty students, and in the other forty. The larger school was taught by a European priest, and four native masters, and was divided into five classes. The boys were required to talk Latin in the school, in order that they might become familiar with it. The assistant bishop had a higher school, consisting of twenty students in theology. There were two similar seminaries in the vicarship of Cochinchina.

From the year 1626, when an Italian Jesuit, Baldinotti, first introduced Christianity into Tungking, till the present time, few years have passed without more or less of persecution. We find notices, at different periods, of nine missionaries who have been publicly executed for preaching Christianity, whilst others have died in prison, and others in exile. Those missionaries who have suffered martyrdom have been obliged usually to keep themselves in concealment, and to pass their lives amid great privations and hardships. Their story furnishes scenes of touching interest, not surpassed in the history of the ancient martyrs. Among the native Christians, martyrs have not been wanting, though they have not been very numerous. This has not been owing to a want of firmness on the part of the converts when put to the test, but to the policy of the government, which has reserved the severer forms of punishment for the priests, European and native, while the bamboo and the exaction of money have been resorted to with the common people.

Before speaking of the persecution at present existing, we advert for a moment to the political condition of the country. The Cochinchinese and Tungkingese are substantially the same people, and are now under the same government, although in former times they have usually existed as two distinct nations. In the year 1774, when Cochinchina was nominally subject to Tungking, a rebellion broke out, which led to a state of anarchy that continued till 1802, when Gia-

long, the legitimate king of Cochinchina, assisted by a few Frenchmen and other foreigners, whom he had called in to aid him in disciplining his army and in erecting fortifications, succeeded in subjecting the whole of Tungking, as well as Cochinchina, his hereditary kingdom. Two Frenchmen, M. Chaigneau and M. Vannier, were raised to the rank of mandarins, and remained at court till 1825, when they took their departure, M. Vannier taking with him to France the Cochinchinese wife whom he had married. During the reign of Gia-long, Christianity was partially tolerated, in gratitude probably for the judicious counsels and important services rendered to him in the days of his adversity by the bishop of Adran. In 1819, Gia-long was succeeded by the present king Ming-ming, who has never shown himself otherwise than unfriendly to Christianity, and to foreign priests in particular, though he did not institute a severe persecution till 1833, when he issued an edict dated Jan. 6th, of which the following is a part.

"For many years, men from the west have preached the Christian religion and deceived the lower class of people, to whom they declare there is a place of supreme happiness and a prison of frightful misery. They do not respect the god Phat [Budha], nor adore ancestors, which are certainly great crimes against the prevailing religion. Besides they build houses of worship, where they receive a great number of persons that they may seduce women and young girls. We therefore command all who follow this religion, from the mandarin to the lowest of the people, to renounce it. We require that all officers examine carefully all Christians living in the territories under their jurisdiction, ascertaining whether they are disposed to obey our commands, and constraining them to trample the cross under their feet in the presence of the officers. If they will do this, let favor be shown them. Let cognizance be taken of the houses of worship and of the houses of the priests, that they may be demolished. Hereafter, if any one is found professing these abominable customs, he shall be punished with extreme rigor, in order that this religion may be destroyed to the root."

It soon appeared that this edict was not an idle threat. It was everywhere carried into execution, though with different degrees of severity in the different provinces and districts, according to the disposition of the local officers. "The high mandarins of the province of Nghé-an," says one of the missionaries, "manifested a zeal against us that was truly diabolical. They even went far beyond what the royal edict required They were determined to make

every Christian apostatize. Fortunately, most of their subalterns manifested either a weaker zeal, or a stronger love of money, so that the great majority of our Christians bought themselves off from appearing before the higher officers, saying that they were Christians, and could not on any consideration abandon their religion. Thus scarcely any appeared before these high mandarins, except those who had already been a disgrace to religion by their unchristian conduct. There were about a hundred of them, out of the twenty-four thousand Christians in this province. Of this hundred, ten only stood firm, and bore the torture courageously. They were then put in prison with the cangue about their necks, and their feet in the stocks. There they still remain. One of these brave confessors was a convert whom I had baptized only fourteen days before. The apostates, although false hearted Christians, did not altogether abandon us except externally. Several of them wrote to me offering to do penance, and reminding me of St. Peter's denial of Christ; for they all have this story by heart. Besides, some of the mandarins had the art to put them in mind of it. From the commencement of the persecution, one of these cunning officers, has addressed all Christians whom he has met with after this fashion: 'You are very foolish to expose yourselves to such sufferings. Do you suppose you can resist the king's edict? Consider now, religion is an affair of the heart, and does not lie in externals. Renounce it, then, for two or three months, and after that you can return to it again. Look at your St. Peter, who denied his religion three times, and yet to what a high dignity he was raised.'"

Soon after the commencement of the persecution, Peter Tuy, a native priest, was apprehended and condemned to death. The officer, the soldiers, and the great crowd of spectators who accompanied him to the place of punishment, declared they had never seen a man go to his execution with such firmness. "It was because they had never before seen a man die for Jesus Christ." The presiding mandarin offered him a small sum of money, the usual largess bestowed by the king upon condemned persons, who commonly make use of it to intoxicate themselves. But Tuy replied that he wanting nothing, and his head was immediately struck off. After the death of this martyr, a considerable number of men with their wives and children were seized and imprisoned, each one wearing the cangue. "It should be known that to be thrown into prison in Tongking is a punishment of no ordinary severity. Imagine to yourself three hundred persons confined in a room by no means large, and with no

opening but the door. All carry a heavy cangue, and at night all have their feet in the stocks, so that they cannot move, whatever necessity there may be for going out. In the daytime, they can sometimes prevail upon the guards to let them leave the room for a moment. With this exception, they are not only kept in this single crowded room, but each one in the very spot assigned him. You can imagine the pestilential exhalations of such a place. The prisoners must not only lie on the bare ground, but in the most loathsome filth. Add to this the biting of the vermin with which every cangue is covered; and to this again add, the hunger with which they are tormented, since those who are imprisoned for only a short term, and those whose sentence is not yet pronounced, are obliged to get their food as they can. The others who have received their sentence, are supplied with a little rice and salt, the half of which is retained by the men charged with the distribution. Such is the punishment for the lighter crimes. Those doomed to death are put into a prison still more horrible, from which they never go out night or day. They are loaded with chains, and a cangue of great weight, and are constantly in the stocks. The door of this dreadful place is never opened except to lead some victim forth to execution. Once in three days a little rice is passed in through a small opening, barely enough to make the sufferers feel the horrors of hunger, and to keep them alive for greater sufferings."

The following extract from a letter of the missionary M. Marette, will show how far the edict was observed in a district in which the governor was himself a Christian. "The western district which I occupy is divided into four parishes, each parish having two native priests. The parishes have each about three or four thousand Christians, distributed into thirty communities, so that my disirict embraces in all some fifteen thousand Christians, scattered among a hundred and twenty communities or churches. Some of these communities consist of not over twenty persons, while others have six hundred. Sixty out of the hundred and twenty possess each a church, sixteen have a priest's house, and fifteen have a temporary building for lodging the priest when he comes to hold services. In the other communities the priest lodges with some of the people. There are also five convents, having each about fifteen inmates. Each parish has about thirty persons for the service of the priests and the care of the Christians. Most of these are young persons, except four or five who are catechists. I come now to speak of the persecution in the district. Although the edict was issued on the 6th of January, I

had no knowledge of it till the 29th of the same month. I had just come from visiting several churches, and had been joined by M. Cornay, a missionary destined for China. I thought first of concealing myself with my companion in the village where we then were, but I found it necessary to seek a hiding-place elsewhere. That night I descended the river and reached a place of security, my companion being lodged on the opposite shore of the river. Here I waited the progress of events. The edict was soon published in all the villages; and each village, whether Christian or pagan, was obliged to buy a copy; for the mandarins give nothing to the people without pay, not even the orders of the king, nor their own. Almost everywhere the Christians hastened to pull down their churches and the houses of the priests, hiding the materials, as these buildings were all of wood. They then leveled the ground and ploughed it up, and after a few days all wore the appearance of a garden. I had consulted the governor who is a Christian, and was told by him to leave nothing standing. There remain in this district but two churches, which owe their preservation to their having the external form of private houses. Soon after the publication of the edict, the officers of each local mandarin appeared in the different villages to enforce its execution. These underlings began by exacting a sum of money for exhibiting the order of the mandarin, and on going away, after having been liberally entertained for several days at the expense of the village, they extorted a ransom larger or smaller according to the ability of the people. It is generally necessary also to subsidize the local mandarins, this being usually the easiest plan to avert mischief. None of them are anxious to execute the orders of the king, but all seize greedily upon the occasion to wring from the poor Christians, their morsel of food. But difficulty arises when the mandarin is not only covetous, but also an enemy to their religion, and aims both at their money and their faith. Commonly, however, religion may be saved by the sacrifice of property, for money is the great thing with the mandarins. I know of but one mandarin in this district who has resorted to violence. Although he owes his place to the Christian governor, still he has apprehended the leading Christians under his jurisdiction, subjecting them to the cangue and the bamboo until they have signed a writing of apostacy, and even then not releasing them till he has obtained a ransom of two or three thousand francs. The cupidity of his officers was so great that they hunted out some families of Christians in the pagan villages, and visited the remote communities ensconced among the mountains. We have three hun-

dred Christians in a wild region whose inhabitants are called savages (though this word is applicable only to the country and not to the people). Eighty-eight Christians of one of these hamlets could not procure their redemption with a less sum than eleven hundred francs, which they borrowed at so high a rate of interest, (even legal interest in Tungking is thirty per cent.,) that they will probably be ruined. I suppose that the Christians of my district have paid not less than fifteen or twenty thousand francs, an exorbitant sum here, especially the present year, when the taxes had already impoverished the people.

"It remains to speak of the revolt which followed the edict of persecution. Every one, Christian and pagan, as soon as he heard of the edict, recalling the experience of the past, predicted a revolt and the fall of the king. In fact, at this crisis, the enemies of the king, already in motion, promised themselves victory, and continued with new ardor their preparation for war by sea and land. It is said that the cross is borne upon the flag of the rebel fleet. The rebel chiefs do not exactly pretend to honor the cross, but to make use of it rather as a bugbear to alarm the king. I am not aware that this proceeding has been the occasion of the presecution, since the king does not charge the Christians with the crime of rebellion. The point aimed at by the rebels is to restore the ancient dynasty, which lost the throne forty years since, or perhaps to elevate the legitimate successor of Gia-long, who was set aside. I have not been able to ascertain precisely what is their design. I am disposed to think that the ancient dynasty of Tungking, called Le, can hardly be expected to succeed, although this would please the Tungkingese. But the pretender of the Cochinchinese dynasty, named Hoang-ton, whose rights were disregarded, might possibly be raised to the throne. This change would satisfy the Cochinchinese but not the Tungkingese, who wish to recover their lost power over Cochinchina, and to restore their own princes, whose government the old men love to praise. In 1829, the king required the people of Tungking to assume the costume of Cochinchina, an act which greatly alienated the hearts of the Tungkingese. The women especially were exasperated when obliged to wear trowsers after the fashion of the Cochinchinese."

Our next extract is from a report of the assistant bishop of Western Tungking, Mgr. Havard.

"We have found it difficult to preserve our college, consisting of more than sixty Latin scholars. The edict required the destruction of every college and ecclesiastical house. It was, thus, impossible to keep these scholars together in one place, nor could we dis-

miss them all to their homes without inflicting a mortal blow upon the Annamitic church, the preservation of which depends upon a native clergy, who alone can go and come in times of persecution, when Europeans can with difficulty leave their places of retreat. But without a college a native clergy could not long be maintained. Therefore, after imploring direction from the Holy Spirit, I called to me the different teachers of the seminary, and spoke to them thus: 'now is the time to display a generous courage, and to sacrifice yourselves for the interest of the church. Go with confidence in the power and protection of the Great Master who has chosen you to be his disciples; go take with you each twelve pupils, and lead them about with you from place to place according to circumstances, when pursued in one village, flee to another. Thus charge yourselves with the education of these young men, and leave the rest to me.' These words filled them with a courage which I did not expect. They all declared they were ready to die at their post. I then sent them away, each master with twelve scholars, to different villages, not far from the one in which I live, and our college has thus been kept alive nearly a year. I have the pleasure of seeing three and sometimes four classes come to attend my mass on Sundays at midnight, and to hear the instructions which I then give them. Their courage, their joy, their diligence, and the progress they make, afford me great consolation in these critical times, when every one stands in fear for his head, or for his property, or for both together. Life with us is every moment in danger. We cannot count upon a day, or upon a night of repose. We are constantly on the watch. Two or three underground retreats are prepared where we may hide, but they are much of the time full of water. Privations of every sort, hunger, and death, we are familiar with. But we fear not death. Happy to suffer in so good a cause, we have a quiet mind. Our sacrifice is presented. The victim is ready. Come executioner when thou wilt. For myself, I would not exchange my place for the best situation in the world. There are pleasures in that condition in which one puts himself entirely in the hands of Providence, and has nothing to hope for in the wide world except from God whom he serves."

Some time after the edict of persecution, which we have quoted, was published, it was discovered that a considerable part of the edict had been kept secret, having been communicated only to the high officers. A copy of the entire edict was afterwards obtained from one of the chief mandarins favorably disposed toward the Christians, and a translation made, from which we take a few sentences: "Since

the number who have embraced this doctrine is very great, the work of drawing away the people from their error cannot be accomplished at once; for if the laws should be strictly enforced, it would be necessary to put to death a great multitude." After directing that the common people should be instructed and warned in respect to their error, and that all the information possible should be collected respecting churches, houses of priests, &c., the edict proceeds thus: "Seize upon the leaders of this religion, making use of stratagem rather than force. With regard to the Europeans, they must be sent immediately to the capital, under pretext of receiving our orders to translate European documents. The native priests you will retain in the chief towns of the provinces, under strict guard, that there may be no communication between them and the people. But watch carefully over the inferior officers, that they do not take advantage of the occasion to arrest the Christians without distinction. Publish not this edict." It thus appears to have been the design of the king to exercise his severity upon the leaders and priests, and we shall soon see that his anger was directed particularly against the foreign priests. M. Gagelin, missionary apostolic, from the commencement of the persecution had been driven from one hiding-place to another. Concluding, at length, that he should not be able to escape his pursuers, and unwilling to endanger the Christians who afforded him a retreat, he determined to present himself voluntarily before the judge of the district, in the hope that an explanation with the magistrate would put him out of danger. But he was mistaken. The mandarin, wishing to secure to himself credit with the governor of the province, reported that he had apprehended a missionary. M. Gagelin was immediately sent to Hué, the capital, and thrown into prison. The Christians contrived to keep up an intercourse with him while in prison, and through them a correspondence was carried on with M. Jaccard, another missionary, who at first succeeded in visiting M. Gagelin, but was afterwards cut off from all intercourse with his suffering friend except by letter. These letters happened to be preserved, and do honor to both the writers. One of the letters of M. Gagelin we here present somewhat abridged. It is worthy of a man who had lived well, and was about to die well.

"My dear brother,—The intelligence you send me that I am irrevocably condemned to death, gives me great joy. The mandarins know of no pleasure like mine. *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi: in domum Domini ibimus.* Martyrdom, though I am unworthy of it, I have desired from my infancy. In a little while I shall appear before

my Judge to give account of my sins; for the evil I have done, and for the good I have left undone. If the rigor of his justice makes me fear, on the other hand his mercy makes me hope. I forgive all who have injured me, and desire the pardon of all whom I have offended. Write a few words in my name to my relatives. I have two sisters, an uncle, and an aunt, I shall not forget them in heaven, where we shall meet again I hope. I leave the world without regret. The view of Jesus crucified is my consolation under whatever of bitterness there may be in death. *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* I have but one other wish: it is that I may meet you and father Odorico for the last time." F. GAGELIN. Hué, 14th Oct., 1833.

On the 17th he was taken from prison and strangled. The sentence pronounced against him, as he was proceeding to the place of execution, was in these words: "The European Tay-Hoai-Hoa is guilty of having preached and spread the religion of Jesus Christ in several parts of this kingdom, and in consequence is condemned to be strangled."

On the 23d of the same month, Paul Doi-Buong, captain of the royal guards, suffered martyrdom. M. Jaccard and M. Odorico, who had been apprehended, were exiled to a district in the northwestern part of the kingdom, where M. Odorico died under his sufferings. M. Jaccard was afterwards brought back to Hué, and there kept in prison. What was his fate we have not learned.

We have now to present, in the martyrdom of M. Marchand, a case of suffering that cannot fail to excite sympathy. The account contained in the *Annales* is from the letters of M.M. De la Motte and Marette. We have only room for an abridged narration.

M. Marchand left France in 1829, and came to the southern part of Cochinchina. When the persecution commenced in 1833, he concealed himself in the houses of the Christians, though he was more than once obliged to retire to caves and jungles. In the meantime a rebellion broke out in that part of the kingdom, and at the same time the Siamese took advantage of this revolt to make an incursion into the Annamitic territory. Their success was limited to taking prisoners a considerable number of Cochinchinese, among whom were M. Régéreau, several native priests with their pupils, and about fifteen hundred Christians. M. Marchand fell into the hands of the insurgents, who in the hope of strengthening themselves by attaching the Christians to their party, permitted the missionary to perform publicly the services of his religion. After this nothing was heard from him for two years and a half, as all communication, even

by letter, was cut off. The rebels, under their chief Khoi, had shut themselves up in the citadel of Gia-dinh, formerly the royal residence, and here defended themselves against the power of Ming-ming, until September, 1835, when the king succeeded in taking the place by assault. Twelve hundred persons were found in the citadel, all of whom except six were put to the sword. Among the six thus reserved was M. Marchand, who was to be distinguished by a punishment of dreadful cruelty. Enclosed in a cage, he was carried to Hué, and there examined, surrounded by instruments of torture. "Are you Phu-Koai-Ohon?" (the appellation given to the bishop by the king.) "No," replied the missionary. "Where is he?" "I do not know." "Are you acquainted with him?" "I am, but I have not seen him for a long time." "How many years have you been in this kingdom?" "Five." "Did you assist the rebel Khoi in carrying on the war?" "Khoi took me prisoner and carried me by force to Gia-dinh, where he kept me strictly guarded, in a place from which he did not permit me to go out. There I was the whole time, occupied in praying to God and celebrating the mass: I know nothing of the art of war." "Did you send letters to Siam and to the Christians of Dong-nai to persuade them to come to the assistance of the rebels?" "Khoi ordered me to do so, but I refused, declaring that my religion would not permit me, and that I would rather die than do so. He brought letters to sign, which I took and burnt in his presence. He was enraged and confined me more closely than ever." As the missionary persisted in denying the charges brought against him by some of the rebel chiefs, who when examined accused him of being an accomplice, with a view probably to please the king and lighten their own punishment, he was put to the torture, and the flesh was burnt and torn from his thighs with redhot pincers. After this he was put into a cage, so short that he could not lie down, and so low that he could not sit up, and here was kept for a month and a half. The amount of suffering inflicted upon the missionary was greater than that to which the rebel chiefs were subjected, as if to prove that the king had other reasons for proceeding as he did with the foreigner, than the pretended crime of connection with insurgents.—The scene which we are next to exhibit was witnessed by a catechist who made report to M. Marette.

M. Marchand was brought to the place of torture, and when he looked in and saw the fire and the bellows, and the men heating the irons which had already been applied to his flesh, and inflicted wounds that were not yet healed, he started with an involuntary feeling of

horror. The executioners took hold of his legs with a firm hand and extended them. At the signal of the criminal mandarin, five other executioners seized five large pieces of redhot iron, each a foot and a half long, and placed them upon the flesh of his legs and thighs in five different places. At the moment he raised a piercing cry of agony. For a long time the irons were held upon the flesh, which was consumed little by little, until the irons were cold, when they were again placed in the furnace for the second stage of torture. Soldiers were stationed behind the executioners to beat them, in case they showed any feeling of pity or humanity. We pass over a part of the painful details, and hasten to the closing scene. "Arrived at the execution ground, two men with cutlasses, standing on each side, seize hold of the sufferer by the breast and cut off two large pieces of flesh which they throw upon the ground, and then from his back they slice still longer pieces, and next they descend to the legs and repeat the operation. But nature can bear no more. The head of the victim hangs down—death has come to his relief. The body was then divided into four quarters, and the head cut off. The head was sent through the whole kingdom and exposd to view everywhere, after which it was broken up in a mortar, and the remains thrown into the sea, as had before been done with the body." The execution occurred on the 30th of Nov. 1835.

The latest intelligence we have from these interesting and afflicted missions is contained in No. 59 of the *Annales* for July, 1838, in which it is stated that the persecution was still continued, and that on the 27th of Aug. 1837, another missionary, M. Cornay was beheaded

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P. S. Since the preceding paper reached us, we have received the Friend of India, from which we take extracts of two letters published in the Bengal Catholic Expositor. See Friend of India, Jan. 23d, 1840, page 59. The first, is from P. Andre, dated 7th July, 1829; the second, is from Mgr. Cuenad, bishop of Metellopolis; and both are addressed to Mgr. D'Isauropolis. By reference to a former page (337), our readers will perceive that M. Jaccard suffered death September 21st, 1838. The persecution seems to rage unabated. Several suffered death in 1839; and two native priests were executed in January, 1840. One of the late number of the Annales contains a letter from M. Jaccard, dated at Cam-lo May 9th, 1836, in which he says:

"I wrote you the 16th of last May from my retirement in Ai-Lao; since that date, I have been recalled to the plains of High Cochin-

china, to be again occupied in the service of his majesty, who in spite of the need there is of my ministry, is not ashamed to keep me prisoner, confounded with brigands. * * * Do you wish to know how he employs me? Always in translating. From the month of September to the end of January, I have explained the maps of the five quarters of the globe. He requires the minutest details on the extent, the population, the forces, the manners, and the religious of all countries. It is a difficult and very delicate task. However, he can thus see that the most barbarous people are idolaters like himself; and that even India, from whence his gods came, is not the land of philosophers. You will easily perceive that Ming-ming has not permitted me to say the holy mass; there was one time when he would not let me have any books. It is now about three months since he seized some books in my house near the capital, and sent me a part of them." The following are the two extracts.

(1.) "I have to announce to you the death of two Tungkingese, who here shed their blood for the faith on the 12th of June of this year 1839. They were beheaded near the port of Cua-thuan-an, the principal port of Hué. Their bodies were first cut into five pieces, and then cast into the sea. I present you an abridged account of what concerns these two martyrs. In 1836, in the persecction which took place in the prefecture of Thanh-dinh, at the period when the prefect was examining those who belonged to the religion of Jesus, these two men were both soldiers, and served in the canton of Hai-duong. Many of the soldiers yielded to the violence of the tortures, but three from amongst them, in spite of the most cruel torments, remained firm, and the scourges, torture, and heated pincers of the executioner found them unshaken. The artful caresses of the mandarins gained no more than these torments. Conquered at length by these heroes of the faith, the mandarin wrote to the king, that he had employed every means to subdue them, but that he had not been able to succeed in making them obey the king or apostatize from their faith. The king, irritated at the information, severely chid the mandarin: "What!" he wrote in reply, "have the mandarins of the other provinces been able to make my orders listened to, and cannot you do so too?" The king afterwards charged him to try to seduce the martyrs by persuasion; to give them money, to cheer them up, and to induce them to obey him. Docile to the orders of the king, the mandarin faithfully executed his wishes; he put every resource into action, he called them to him in private one after another; nevertheless he could obtain nothing from them. At last the mandarin ordered ten ligatures to be given to them, saying, "take each of you these ten ligatures and go your ways. If any body asks you the reason why the mandarin has pardoned you, answer him: 'Our affair is terminated.'" Our three companions having gone out, began to say amongst themselves, we have received this money from the king, and though we have not trampled on the holy cross, people will not fail to look upon us as apos-

tates who have trampled on it: perhaps even the mandarin will write to the king, and say that we have obeyed his orders. With this, the three valiant champions took up each his ten ligatures, and carrying them back to the mandarin, surrendered them, saying, "We have not trampled on the holy cross; why then does the mandarin give us these ligatures? The mandarin will announce to the king, that we have apostatized; we cry out against this falsehood; and we will go and present ourselves before his majesty, to belie this untruth, for fear his majesty should be imposed upon." The mandarin seeing the firm resolution of these brave soldiers, and fearing lest they might execute their project, and that thus he himself might he accused of having deceived the king, endeavored by sweet words to engage them to return to their homes. Arrived there, they resolved to repair to the capital Hué, to protest before the throne of his majesty, that they had not abandoned the religion of Jesus Christ, and that they had not taken the money which the mandarin wished to give them in the king's name. Thus then about the month of May, two of them repaired to the capital, the third was stopped and confined at home by his relations. The other two also had been stopped by their friends, but during the night they escaped and set out. These two confessors presented themselves at the audience of the mandarin of the grand criminal tribunal, and to the interrogations of the mandarin, they always replied with the same firmness which they had displayed before. The king being informed of their resistance, gave orders to the officers to gain them by persuasion, to give them money in recompense if they obeyed his will, and to send them back to their own province. Our two champions were insensible to all these fine promises. At length, on the anniversary of the king's birthday, the twenty-third of the fourth month (4th of June), his majesty ordered new efforts to be made to persuade them to obey, and added, if they are still rebellious to my orders, let their bodies be cut in pieces and thrown into the sea. The two heroes of the faith replied, "this is the accomplishment of our most ardent desire." Thus, then, on the 2d of the 5th month, (June 12th), they were beheaded at the port of Thuan-an, which is at the entrance of the river that leads to the capital. One of them was about fifty years of age, the other near forty: the former was named Nicholas The, the latter Augustin Huy. They were born in the canton of Duong-hai, in the perfectship of Thanh-dinh, in the kingdom of Tung-king. These two valiant soldiers are a model that covers many others with confusion."

(2.) "July 29th, 1839.— Last year I sent you an account of the project of the mandarin Xuan Can so famous in our annals. (This project was a kind of agrarian law or division of land which Can proposed.) The king at first rejected the project, but this mandarin having been recalled to Hué, and having been raised to a still higher dignity, presented his project once more, and the king has now accepted it. The edict on this subject has already arrived at the prefecture, but is not yet published. Of ten parts of land, eight are taken away, and two left to the original possessor. Those who have only

five perches of land, are left undisturbed, but eight tenths are taken of what is above five perches. In consequence, we lose all that here remained to us. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum.* I have received letters from Lower Cochinchina; father Linh is gone to visit the Christians of Camboja. The exiles from Duong Son are still there to the number of five. (There are not more than fifty Christians in that part which borders on Cochinchina.) A new edict has been published against the Catholic religion this month, and if it is executed with rigor, M. De la Motte, will be exceedingly embarrassed. I am much afraid that the affair will end in his arrest. He wrote to me on the 29th of May, that the village of An-do had again accused the village of Di-loan of observing our religion, of holding assemblies, and of concealing a chief of the faith. One of the first prefects of the province summoned the Christians before him and said to them: 'Prepare yourselves; we shall come some day to make you a visit.' This same mandarin, before the new edict, threatened to make a new examination of the disciples of the religion of Jesus Christ."

ART. II. *Thoughts on the conduct of the Chinese government toward the Honorable E. I. Company's servants at Canton.* By the late DR. MORRISON.

THE grievances under which the persons labor who carry on the English commerce in China, are not singly of that flagrant kind, that the bare mention of any one of them immediately shows their weight and pressure; they must be viewed collectively. They arise from a well-digested system of oppression which artfully assumes a specious show of reason and argument, but by all the lies and crooked wiles of an impostor. For instance, they do not acknowledge that which is the fact, viz., that the trade is a reciprocal exchange of benefits; that they open a market to sell their commodities. No, for then there would be an equality in carrying on the trade, there would be reciprocal rights betwixt the buyer and seller. If they were not much obliged to the buyer, yet, at the lowest rate the buyer would have a right to civil treatment both from the merchant and the government, and also to be fully heard in his own cause. They are aware of these reasonable inferences, and from policy, not from vanity alone, they perch themselves on the summit of a lofty preëminence, and from the celestial empire promulgate the idea that they are perfectly indifferent to the commerce; that they would rather not have

it; that from motives of compassion and benevolence alone they permit the trade; they are benefactors, and, therefore, foreign merchants, the recipients of their bounty, have no rights; there are no reciprocal obligations, it is all compassion and benevolence on the one hand, and there should be nothing but gratitude and submission on the other. This artful mode of proceeding runs through the whole of the government. They assume a false principle in reasoning, or untruth in fact, and then flourish away in argument to the astonishment and complete discomfiture of all their opponents. They often make a specious appeal to the reason and common sense of those they address. Having acquired the art of false reasoning, that is, reasoning from false principles or false facts, and possessing the power in their own hands, they always prevail. The applicant for justice is struck dumb. The people say, proverbially, "the mandarins have the largest mouths." They carry on real tyranny and oppression, under the semblance of justice and equality; and hence persons in England not finding all sense and reason outraged in Chinese documents, judge erroneously of the slow, grinding, galling oppression of the Chinese government. It were endless to state all the particular acts of injustice and ill-usage to which Englishmen are subject in China. The contemptuous manner in which their persons, their employers, their country, and their king, are treated in official documents, is not easily borne, at the same time that it is not an evil easily tangible by persons who in England are so widely removed from its immediate contact. To be styled to their face, barbarians, demons, official staters of untruth; to hear his majesty's officers and ships stigmatized with the name of plunderers, must all be submitted to. In writing official documents to the Chinese, they are not allowed to call their employers honorable, nor the king of England an independent sovereign. The native domestics of the Company's servants are fined and punished for the simple act of serving them; the honorable Company's trade is interrupted, and a fleet delayed, on the most frivolous pretences, perhaps for a fee unpaid by some native merchant, with which the English have not the slightest connection.

These are some of the constant, regular, daily, evils. Occasional acts of injustice of a more serious nature are not unfrequent; as for instance, the imprisonment of a Company's servant for being the bearer of a document from the committee to the government; the strangling an English seamen for killing a Chinese accidentally; the detaining a fleet on account of a man being killed in an affray,

when it was impossible to identify the guilty person; the transportation of two hong merchants, who were, by the assistance of the Company, and the previous permission of the government, endeavoring to retrieve their circumstances; many false accusations brought against the chief on this account, and also an effort made to drive him from the duties of his employers, to their detriment, and his own personal injury; haughtily refusing provisions to his majesty's ships, whilst the cruisers of the enemies of England were received into their ports and plentifully supplied; an absolute refusal to receive from the committee official statements of facts, whilst charges from the Chinese government were issued detrimental to the trade and honor of England.

These are some of the grievances of which there is reason to complain. Perhaps a complete removal of them is not to be expected all at once. However, they may probably be considerably lessened by gradually intrenching on the Chinese plea of vast superiority. This would be to lay the ax at the root of the evil. Might not the chief of the factory be invested with the powers of a magistrate, or perhaps it would be still better to appoint a judge-advocate to reside at Canton, with civil authority over the English, and to be the accredited organ of intercourse in all affairs not purely commercial. The Chinese civil officers would then be met by an English officer on terms of equality.

The probable utility of the last proposition is further confirmed by the following considerations.

There are from two to three thousand Englishmen, or persons subject to the English flag, who annually visit China, and remain there six or seven months. So large a number of persons have occasional intercourse with some of the worst of the Chinese community, collected in the suburbs of a great seaport town, where it is impossible to prevent totally the commission of crimes. That there will be occasionally acts of fraud, and violence, and murder, is to be expected. The Chinese do not give the protection of their laws to foreigners. Almost annually, Englishmen lose their lives, or are robbed without commonly any investigation being made; or if made, universally without success. The government rigorously requires life for life, whenever any of their own people are killed, and this with so little regard to justice, that they practically care not whether he be an innocent man, or the murderer, whose life they take; hence the great difficulty of resigning an Englishman to their power. But Englishmen sometimes commit acts of violence for which they deserve an equitable punishment However, to give them to the Chi-

nese government is not to give them up to justice, but to certain death, whether guilty or not. To prevent the lives of Englishmen being taken unjustly, offenders are screened when in China, and when brought to England they are not punishable for crimes committed under another government. A murder committed by an English subject on an English subject, is not noticed by the Chinese government, and is not punishable in India or in England. Thus several thousand persons are left for a considerable length of time without the benefit of any law. Petty frauds are sometimes practiced on Chinese shopmen, to redress which they have no other means than waylaying and cudgelling the offender, in which case they themselves sometimes suffer. Since the Chinese government is so remiss as not to give the protection of its laws, and so unjust that it is certain ruin to be amenable to them, would it not be advisable to appoint a judge-advocate to hear all causes, and punish or protect Englishmen, as well as to be the medium of intercourse in all affairs, not purely commercial, or even in these if the chief shall see proper to request his interference? It is probable the Chinese would not object to this mode, for it is their practice to give back foreign offenders to the neighboring states to be punished, and to require their own people to be given back to them. If there be insuperable objections to the appointment of a judge-advocate, let the powers of a magistrate be vested with the chief. These powers for the punishment of crimes are what give a person high respectability in the sight of the Chinese, and without these, the lowest district officer in China considers himself superior to the chief agent of the English commerce. The great evil of this fancied superiority is felt at all times, but most so when any negotiation takes place. An adherence to the old plan will perpetuate the evil; a trial of that now proposed would be running no risk, and might be highly beneficial. A permanent embassador at court, the Chinese will not accept of. If a judge-advocate were appointed, he could pay a triennial visit to Peking to offer the king of England's congratulations to the emperor, and, from such frequent opportunities of being at court, would be a check on the Canton government. The reasonableness of having such an officer, for the prevention and punishment of crimes among our own people, would more easily overcome objections to his stay than any other character which he could sustain. The Chinese, like all other earthly empires, have considerable financial difficulties. They have during this year (1814) been put to many shifts. Rebellion and bad harvests have, in the northern provinces, done them immense injury; merchants in

various parts are in vast arrears to the government. The husbandman is unable to pay his tax in kind, or even refund to the government the grain which had been lent him for seed. Government has required contributions from wealthy individuals, has required the higher officers to resign their salaries for the service of the state, and has reduced the price of purchased honors, to induce a crowd of buyers to come forward. This is intended to show that they are not raised far above the usual sources of revenue; it is not designed to insinuate that they would be ruined by the loss of any one source, or that they would resign their dominion, or risk it, for the sake of European commerce. No, this is not required of them. All that is asked, is that they would be just, and equitable, and civil.

Note. The foregoing article is extracted from the second volume of the Memoirs of Morrison, to which it has been annexed, with some other papers, as an appendix. It had not, previously, we believe, been published. It is worthy of careful perusal, by all who wish to obtain accurate views of Chinese character. The lapse of six-and-twenty years, since it was written, has served to prove the correctness of the opinions then formed — opinions in which most, if not all, foreigners well acquainted with the Chinese will concur.

ART. III. *On the causes of rupture between England and China. A letter to the editor.*

MY dear Editor,—To discuss with you personally the causes of rupture between China and England, has been to me at all times easy and pleasing. To talk with you of what seems to be, at this juncture, the duty of England, I have been no less readily disposed. For our opinions were expressed only to friendly ears, and mistakes in them could always with friendliness be rectified.

But you ask me to *write* to you on these subjects: in this you lay on me a task far more difficult. My letters may meet eyes less friendly; my opinions be judged of by men less considerate, less ready to excuse error. I bow to your wishes, only because some points there are, on which I am anxious to arrest your attention: on some portions of the field that we have so often rapidly traversed, I am desirous that you should stand and carefully consider the ground.

It is an error, I think, to suppose, that, with slender knowledge

and by a cursory inspection, the advantages and disadvantages of the ground can be fully comprehended.—The great political and moral influences involved in the dispute between England and China are not to be estimated, but by the light of an extensive acquaintance with human nature, a deep insight into many of the arcana of social science.—This consideration causes me to pause: can I pretend to anything beyond a slender amount of knowledge? or have I qualifications for other than a slight inspection? Assuredly, no. What then am I attempting? Simply, to point out some of the views to which my own attention has been particularly directed; and to offer, for the judgment of those better qualified, a few of the opinions that have occurred to my mind. Believe my aim to be thus humble, expect from me nothing more, and, in company with you, I will proceed.

. . . . . .

Here, first, let us stop and look around. See you that mount? Observe the fortress erected on its summit. Its garrison, in the arrogance of their presumption, believed it impregnable; they feared no successful attack on it; self-confident, they sallied forth on us, and in a moment unlucky for us, they sorely hurt and despoiled us. For this, do they not merit punishment from those able to inflict it? Should not their fortress of strength be torn down?

Yes, from that mount of their greatness, must be torn down the fortress of their pride and arrogance, that they may no more habitually injure and annoy, as a castle robber-chief, the country around.

You are yourself, indeed, disposed to think so: but many object, 'that the fault was our own, that we constantly invaded their rights, that we were the first to injure them, that till our hands are pure, we must leave them unpunished.'—Stay. That we have not been free from blame, I sorrowfully, but candidly, admit: but that we were the first to injure them, I as strenuously deny. They had, often and long, from that high tower, vexed and harassed us: by their heavy burdens, by their continued annoyances, they excited in us feelings of strong indignation, it may be of animosity. In these things, more than in aught else, originated our misdeeds. The choice for us lay between aggression, and such a degree of submission, as was equivalent to and must end in an entire relinquishment of the advantages of our situation. *This*, the high aspirations implanted in the breast of man, the innate sense of equality with his fellow-men, the inexpugnable hatred of oppression, all joined to forbid: to *that*, the other portion of the alternative, personal and pecuniary interests earnestly beckoned onward. Could the result hang, for a moment, doubtful?

Could any one that has carefully perused the volume of history wonder thereat? Or can any such greatly condemn the resisting, and unreservedly absolve the oppressor?

That I have not misstated the case, you can hardly require of me to prove by the citing of a multitude of facts. Every page of the story of foreign intercourse with China affords it confirmation. Often as the country has been torn by intestine commotion, often as it has fallen a prey to the external enemy, the Chinese empire has yet never been, for any long-continued period, disruptured. Not unjustly proud of their country, her people and her rulers have believed her impregnably strong: adopting but little of the wisdom of other lands, and adopting that little in a native garb, they have thought themselves first among the nations, in knowledge, as well as in more material power. They have displayed to foreigners, in all their intercourse with them, the petty tyranny of the self-sufficient pedagogue, and have frequently laid on them the strong hand of the unrestrained despot. The petty tyranny, though noisome, may long be suffered: the strong hand of oppression will be borne only by those who feel unequal to cope with it.

While the outward intercourse of the Chinese was confined to the people of adjacent countries, conscious of inferiority, both moral and physical, and, at home, habituated to submission to the despot's yoke, the irritation naturally resulting from such conduct was rarely shown, was perhaps not often felt. But far otherwise was it, from the moment that the commercial visitants of China came to be men from western lands, men full of the spirit of liberty and resistance to oppression,—conscious too of power, and of minds daily enlarging with knowledge and wisdom.

From that instant, collision, between 'guests' so confident, so presumptuous, and 'hosts' so arrogant and imperious, was inevitable, and became a thing of frequent occurrence. Had more home-felt European wars not filled the hands of western powers, or had the interests of an always-valuable commerce not bound them over to keep the peace, war with China, on the part of some one or other of the nations of Christendom, might have been an early consequence. On the other hand, had the true principle of government, the good of the people,—and the fundamental doctrine of international law and right, that not alone bare justice, but friendly aid also, is due from nation to nation, as from man to man,—had these things been generally understood and acknowledged by rulers in the west, we should not then have seen such large interests as those of commerce with India and

with China committed to daring and often unprincipled adventurers; or, in later days, to mercantile corporations or individuals, who, however free from purposes of wrong-doing, could not but regard their personal, rather than any national, interests, even had they been well-instructed in the nature of these last: we should, in that case, have found means, possibly peaceful ones, long ere this to have established our intercourse upon an honorable and therefore a sure basis.

It would demand from me many long letters, (I might say, using the common phrase, 'it would require volumes,') should I attempt to substantiate my case by an appeal to each important fact recorded in the annals of foreign intercourse with China. This therefore I will not attempt; but I will confine myself to the statement of a broad principle: a TRUTH, I deem it; but you, if you yet require conviction, may call it an *hypothesis*, until such time as you can satisfy yourself of its substantiality by an appeal to facts of the nature I have pointed out to you.

The principle, thus established in my mind, is this:—that the SINGLE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE of the rupture between England, or (to speak more accurately) between Christendom, and China, is—the arrogant assumption of superiority and supremacy by the Chinese government over western, in common with all foreign, powers. Observe that I say not only superiority, but supremacy also: for the pretension to the former might be suffered; the assumption of the latter is unbearable. That may for ever confine itself to harmless speech: indeed what nation is there that makes no such pretension? This must, of necessity, go, from time to time, into action. That it *must* be so, we already see: hitherto, indeed, China had been generally content to assert, in words only, her supremacy; she had exercised little, if any, of it, in her proceedings towards western governments; she had done nothing, probably, but what might be construed (though not always without violence of interpretation) into the justifiable acts of a government towards individuals dwelling under its shadow. But the force of circumstances has now pushed her beyond this measured policy: and she has commenced acting boldly as a supreme power,—wholly regardless of, nay altogether refusing to recognize, the claims to justice, to honorable treatment, to courtesy, of the nations holding intercourse, even through acknowledged official channels, with her.

This I again affirm to be the foundation of our present disputes, even the arrogant assumption of supremacy on the part of China over foreigners. Upon this basis, and this only, can just demands on China be erected: other things may be brought forward to support and

prop up these demands; other things too may be brought to overthrow them: but upon this foundation — here, on this spot to which I first directed your attention — our claims may be so firmly erected, as neither to need other support, nor to fear aught that can be set up against them.

Or, rather, if I may be allowed to meet the Chinese with their own favorite metaphor,— this assumed supremacy is the 'SOURCE of the evils' affecting their country, so far as these evils arise from foreign intercourse and commerce. Other streamlets may have joined the torrent in its early course; other torrents, rushing onwards, may have mingled their waters with its own, as uninterruptedly it pursued its way. But this is the main stream; it is also the most impure. Cleanse it at its springs. The purifying of any other streams, while *it* remains the same, will effect no important change in the waters of the river as it mingles them with the sea.

But opium! Why, you ask me, have I said nothing of opium? Nothing of the so much talked-of opium?

In the first place, my dear Editor, I have not spoken of it, because the trade in opium has not, in my estimation, been a *cause* of rupture between western governments and China: of this, I have said that the cause is ONE — the Chinese assumption, in act and not merely in word, of a supremacy over us. The trade in opium has been as a rapid torrent; it has descended suddenly upon a low and fertile plain; spreading wide its waters, it has seemed (but only seemed), where it falls in with the other stream, to be the greater of the two. The Chinese, and others also, have erroneously attributed to it the superiority: but this is because they have never traced the larger stream to its source. So great, it seems to me, is the error they have committed,— that were the opium-stream to be dried up at once, as in past times it had not begun to be, the greater number of the evils, attending the intercourse of China with the western 'islands of the sea,' would remain unaltered, unabated.

In the second place, I have avoided any special allusion to opium, because the consideration of its moral effects as a strong stimulant — a consideration so often brought into the general argument — forms a subject apart from what we are now discussing. These moral effects are to be considered (if advantageously, by men far more intimately acquainted with the deep things of moral science than I am,) as a part of the question regarding all highly-stimulating and intoxicating food, food for mind, or for body,— whether it be well to partake of such even temperately,— whether it be not better to abstain

from the use thereof utterly. So far as regards opium, the Chinese government has answered the latter half of this question in the affirmative; for the present, the use of opium is forbidden: consequently the trade in it is contraband and illicit. No foreign government, then, can have a right to interfere on this point, otherwise than with advice. A discussion of it is therefore somewhat irrelevant to the general matter of the duty of the western governments, as I have just shown that it is to the question of the cause of rupture.

On this matter of *duty*, it is too late for me now to say anything: the *cause* of rupture, such as it is in my view, I think I have already made clear; and as I see no subordinate causes of any powerful efficacy, none that ever would in themselves have been likely to cause aught but official discussions — I conclude with expressing the hope, that, if I have satisfied you of the soundness of my case, you will lose no opportunity to make known the real 'source of the evil.' M.

ART. IV. *Hospital reports of the Medical Missionary Society in China, for the year* 1839.

DR. Parker's tenth report of cases in the Ophthalmic Hospital, at Canton, will occupy the principal portion of the following pages. The committee embrace the occasion of publishing this report, to give to the members and friends of the Society a brief statement, regarding its present conditions and prospects, as well as its proceedings during the past year.

A simple allusion to the disturbed state of affairs here throughout the year, and to the unsettled position of foreigners, will suffice to show why, after the initial meeting in November, 1838, its members and friends have not once, during the year 1839, been assembled.

It might be presumed, from the posture of general political and mercantile affairs, that the proceedings of the Society must have been altogether arrested, since the month of March, last year. This, indeed, for a time was, and partially it continues to be, the case. During the two months of restraint within the foreign factories at Canton — the months, namely, of April and May, the ophthalmic hospital was shut up by the senior hong merchant, acting either under order from the high officers, or in expectation of such order, and in

fear of reprehension. A few cases were, notwithstanding, attended to, in a private manner, at Dr. Parker's own rooms; and after the release of foreigners from their constrained detention in Canton, patients continued to be received in this way, until their increasing numbers rendered some other arrangement necessary.

The removal of the English portion of the community, and with them their medical attendant, from Canton to Macao, to remain at the latter place, left vacant what had been the Canton dispensary. The stay of the American portion of the community (as well as some other foreigners) at Canton, having, at the same time, enabled Dr. Parker to remain and continue the performance of his duties, it was to the Canton dispensary that he proceeded, when he found it impossible longer to receive the increased number of patients in his own house, and the senior hong merchant being still unwilling to allow the place occupied heretofore as the ophthalmic hospital to be again opened. All further details regarding this institution will be found in the report transmitted by the doctor himself to the committee. The summary of the number of cases will point out, that, though diseases of the eye still preponderate, and the original name of the institution is retained, yet it is no longer peculiarly an ophthalmic, but has become a general, hospital.

The hospital at Macao (which had been opened by Dr. Parker in July, and closed, when he returned to Canton, in October, 1838,) remained unoccupied, until the 28th of Feb., 1839, Wm. Lockhart, M. R. C. S., in connection with the London Missionary Society, having then arrived from England, and the offer made by him of his services having been accepted by the committee,—the hospital-house was placed under his charge. Engaged, at first, chiefly in the study of the language, although he occasionally received such patients as demanded immediate care, yet he did not formally open the hospital till the 1st of July, and even then only to admit very limited numbers. It continued thus down to the middle of August, when he was involved in the severities directed in general against the English and those in their employ: the departure of all natives from his premises virtually closed the hospital; and shortly after, at the end of the same month, he was compelled by the Chinese to leave, in common with his countrymen, and embark on board ship. After waiting for half a month, as he saw no speedy prospect of being able quietly to reside again at Macao, and anticipated that for some months there would be increased rather than diminished difficulties in China, he thought it advisable to visit Batavia, and pursue his Chinese studies

under the tuition of Mr. Medhurst, author of the dictionary of the Hokkëèn dialect. He consulted with several individual members of the committee (a meeting, under the circumstances, being out of the question), and with their advice he resolved to do so; requesting Mr. Bridgman, as one of the vice-presidents on shore at Macao, to take charge of the house, until a better aspect of affairs should invite his return. Mr. Bridgman, in consequence, is now temporarily resident there, where he has recently been joined by Wm. B. Diver, M. D. from the United States, and by Benjamin Hobson M. B., M. R. C. S. (with his family), from England, both of whom have signified their intention, at a suitable time, to offer their medical services to the Society. This occupation of the hospital buildings has received the sanction of the committee.

Mr. Lockhart received into the hospital, between the 1st July and the 15th of August, 167 patients. These were, as is usually the case in China, out-patients, attending at such times as was required to let the progress of their cure be observed, or to renew their supply of medicines,— with but a very few exceptions requiring in-door treatment. The committee will leave it to Mr. Lockhart himself, when he shall return to resume his labors, to give such particulars regarding them as may be deemed by him worthy of notice.

It is their hope, that foreign intercourse with China is about to be established on a sounder and more honorable basis than hitherto, and that their opportunities of usefulness, both by the practice of medicine, and by the teaching of its true principles, will erelong be greatly increased.

The committee have found it necessary to make some provisional appointments of officers. Mr. Wetmore who became treasurer on Mr. Archer's departure from China, and Mr. Green, the auditor of accounts, having both returned to their native country, Mr. Snow and Mr. Leslie have been requested to fill their places, and will therefore stand, in conjunction with Mr. Colledge, as trustees of the Society's real estate. Mr. King having also left China, Mr. Brown, of the Morrison Education Society, has been requested to take on him the duties of corresponding secretary. The list of officers, corrected according to these changes, is as follows:

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

President, THOMAS R. COLLEDGE, esq.

Vice-presidents.

REV. PETER PARKER, M. D. ALEXANDER ANDERSON, esq.

WILLIAM JARDINE, esq. G. TRADESCANT LAY, esq.
ROBERT INGLIS, esq. Rev. E. C. BRIDGMAN.

Recording Secretary, JOHN ROBERT MORRISON, esq.
Corresponding Secretary, Rev. S. R. BROWN.
Treasurer, P. W. SNOW, esq.
Auditor of accounts, WILLIAM LESLIE, esq.

TRUSTEES.

THOMAS RICHARDSON COLLEDGE, PETER WANTEN SNOW, and WILLIAM LESLIE, esqs.

Mr. Colledge's return being still possible, and the vice-presidents having no specific duties to perform, it has not appeared necessary to supply the places of Mr. Jardine, Mr. Inglis, and Mr. Lay, although absent from China,—still less to elect another president.

The statement of accounts rendered at the first annual meeting, on the 29th of November, 1838, showed a balance to the Society's credit of $780.71. At Mr. Wetmore's departure from China, on the 20th of August, 1839, this balance had been increased to $2039.71. A further addition of $320 was made between that date and the 31st of December,—making a total of $2359.71. Against this has been charged, for the expenses of the hospital at Canton, $571.26, comprising the following items:—

For board, fuel, repairs, &c. -	$167.63
For native assistants and servants	253.83
For medicines, &c., &c. -	149.80
	$571.26

For the expenses of the hospital at Macao, something is also due: but the account, not having been made up previous to Mr. Lockhart's departure, has not yet been rendered. It appears, then, that on the 1st of January, 1840, the balance in hands of the treasurer was, $1758.45.

It only remains for the committee, in concluding this brief statement, to offer, on behalf of the Society, thankful acknowledgments to its pecuniary supporters; and, also, to Mr. Jardine, for a valuable collection of medical works, lately the property of Mr. Colledge,—to Mr. Lay, for a number of medical books and medicines,—and to Dr. James Jackson of Boston, Massachusetts, and Mr. Richardson, bookseller, of London, for several valuable works on medicine. Particulars of the various contributions will elsewhere appear.

TENTH REPORT
of the
Ophthalmic Hospital, Canton, being for the year 1839.

THE peculiar circumstances under which the modified operations of the physician have been carried on at Canton show, to an extent to which it could not otherwise have been known, the degree of confidence felt by the provincial government itself, in the utility and benevolent purpose of the institution.

The ophthalmic hospital continued much as usual, but with increasing prosperity, up to the 23d of March, when foreigners, one and all, were deprived of their servants, and in a manner of their liberty. At the commencement of this state of things, the few in-door patients were desired by the senior hong-merchant to remove, and the hospital was closed. After a while, however, the officers on guard around the factories began to seek medical aid; and, though they permitted no communication with the people in general, they presently gave admittance, to the physician's house, to men of rank, who were allowed a greater measure of liberty in visiting the factories. On the withdrawal of the soldiery and armed coolies, the number of patients gradually increased, but with a greater preponderance than before of official people: yet others were not wholly restrained from seeking relief for their maladies; females even overpassed the prejudices against entering the factories of foreigners. It was in August, that, finding his private residence too small for the reception of the increased number of patients, and unsuccessful in every endeavor to return to the building formerly occupied, the physician removed to the premises of the Canton dispensary of Messrs. Cox & Anderson.

Commands were issued by the chungheĕ, against any natives passing in front of the factories, be they men, women, or children: this was applied chiefly to females by the subordinate officers, who were anxious, in consequence, that no females should be received as patients. A few days after, however, appeared a young woman of about sixteen years, from the family of the Kwangheĕ. This officer, of like rank with the chungheĕ, both being what we may call brigadiers, was associated with him in the control of the foreign factories; and the breach, by one from his own family, of his colleague's orders, reduced these at once to a dead letter. There was no longer any hindrance to the access of females: they came, however, with more of reserve than formerly; and some begged to be seen in boats before the factories, or at their own residences in the suburbs of the city: so

that the evil of exclusion from the former hospital has not been without its advantages, inasmuch as it has given rise to a more ready and more frequent access into private families than otherwise would have been thought requisite.—The young woman from the Kwangheë's family came with cataract of both eyes; and, though she would not remain as an in-door patient, but returned as soon as the cataracts were operated on, the operation was completely successful.

The smaller number of patients attending, in consequence of various restraints, has happily left more leisure for prosecuting the study of the language, and for acquiring facility of writing it, as well as of translating from it.

Among the more distinguished personages who have, directly or indirectly, availed themselves of the benefits that the institution affords, were—Howqua, the senior hong-merchant,—Tsun, an officer from Yunnan,—Lew, magistrate of Nanhae, and his brother,—Wang, a commissioner or intendant of circuit in Kwangse, son of the Wang tazhin of Macartney's embassy,—the ganchasze, the poochingsze, heads of the judicial and the financial and territorial affairs, of this province,—and, not least, the high imperial commissioner, of whom all have heard so much.

The total number of patients that have been admitted and their names recorded, during the year 1839, has been : the aggregate number since the commencement of the institution in November of 1835,—about 7000.

The following is a tabular statement of the numbers of each disease that came under observation.

Diseases of the eye.	
Granulations	20
Ectropia	2
Entropia	32
Trichiasis	2
Lippitudo	14
Xeroma	4
Excrescence of the lids	1
Obstruction of nasal duct	4
Disease of caruncula lachrymalis	1
Ophthalmia, Acute	47
— Chronic	90
— Purulent	8
Pterygia	27
Nebulæ	37
Ulceration of the cornea	4
Opacity of the cornea	2
Staphyloma	8
Iritis, chronic	13
Synechia anterior,	2
— posterior	4
Cataracts	27
Glaucoma	3
Muscæ volitantes	7
Amaurosis	16
— partial	6
— intermittent	1
Double vision	1
Weak eyes	2
Near sight	2
Night blindness	2
Fungus hæmatodes	2
Loss of one eye	22
Injury of the eye	2

Diseases of the ear.	
Otitis	2
Deafness	27
Otorrhœa	7
Nervous affection	2
Loss of the membranum tympani	5
Deaf-dumbness	2
Diseases of the face and throat.	
Parotitis	2
Tonsilitis	3
Cynanche	1
Aphonia	2
Ulceration and perforation of the palate,	1
Diseases of the organs of circulation.	
Palpitation of the heart	1
Aneurism of the temporal artery	1
Diseases of the respirative organs.	
Bronchitis, chronic	18
Asthma	8
Hæmoptysis	4
Hydrothorax	1
Diseases of the abdominal organs.	
Diarrhæa	2
Dysentery	2
Constipation	3
Gastritis	3
Dyspepsia	16
Ascites	11
Worms	4
Enlargement of spleen	1
Hernia, inguinal	6
Diseases of the generative and pelvic organs.	
Hernia humoralis	3
Enlarged testicles	2
Urinary calculi	1
Injury of the prostate gland	1
Bubo	6
Gonorrhæa	2
Phymosis	1
Paraphymosis	1
Hydrocele	1
Impotence	2
Salacity	5
Hæmorrhoids	6
Fistula (in ano)	2
Diseases of the nervous system.	
Paralysis	9
Idiocy	1
Insanity	2
Epilepsy	3
Hemiplegia	1
Neuralgia	4
Hydrocephalus	1
Cutaneous diseases.	
Acné	3
Tinea Capitis	3
Ichthyosis	1
Scabies	8
Porrigo	7
Vitiligo	3
Lichen circinatus	8
Elephantiasis	2
Lepra nigricans	1
Anomalous	19
General and constitutional diseases.	
Rheumatism	25
Arthritis	7
Fever, intermittent	4
Thrush	1
Anasarca	7
Scrofula	16
Syphilis	7
Dentition	1
Opium-mania	15
Abscesses	14
Furunculus	1
Periostitis of the tibia	1
Ulcers	23
Diseases of the bones.	
Disease of the hip joint	4
Caries of tibia	1
— of os calcis,	1
— of submaxillary	2
— of trochanter major	1
— of ribs	1
Curvature of spine	2
Preternatural and diseased growths.	
Malformation of thorax	1
Nasal polypi	2
Tumors, sarcomatous	11
— cutaneous	1

Tumor abdominal	2	Tendo Achillis partially divided	1
Cancer of the breast	3	Singular enlargement in the left iliac region	1
Injuries.			
Fracture of both bones of the leg	1		

In conformity with past practice, some more particular notice is subjoined of a few cases, chosen, in general, less from any interest attaching to them in a medical point of view, than from circumstances in them illustrative of Chinese character, customs, and habits of thought and action.

No. 6107. Caries of submaxillary and fracture of legs. Ho Che, aged 30, a native of the Pwanyu district of Canton, by profession a fortune-teller. This unfortunate man's case is introduced, to illustrate the permanent ill effects arising from want of surgical aid, in instances where, with it, cure might be most sure. At the age of seven years, he fell from the roof of a house, and by the fall broke the fibula and tibia of both legs, and the femur of each thigh. These bones were never set, and the man became a cripple for life. That he was not entirely deprived of the power of locomotion seems most strange. The fibula and tibia united, at angles of near 45°, and the femur too, at an obtuse angle; so that with the bending of the knee-joints, the legs well-nigh assumed the form of hoops. By means of resting his body on a light stool, the man is able to draw his limbs after him, and so by a sort of vermicular motion to betake himself from place to place. A few minutes of surgical aid, at the time of the accident, would have saved him from incalculable suffering and helplessness. It was for extensive caries of the lower jaw, under which he had been suffering four years, that he applied for relief.

No. 6564. July 25th. Epilepsy. A child of the ganchăsze, or chief judicial officer, of the province Kwantung, aged 4. After all the preliminaries regarding the sitting of the judge, the merchant, and the doctor, had been settled, the ganchăsze sent his child to the commercial house of the senior hong-merchant; being prevented himself from accompanying the little gentleman, as he had intended, a number of friends supplied his place. The particulars of the child's case were, in compliance with the physician's request, written out; and as it may serve to elucidate Chinese ideas of medicine, and to show the extent of their actual knowledge, (or the actual depths of their ignorance,) an English version is here inserted.

"This little child was born in the department of Kweilin, in the province Kwangse, in the 12th month of the 15th year of Taoukwang (1835-36). He was, the next year, vaccinated in the nostrils (that

is, by insertion of vaccine virus in a pledget up the nostrils), and several pustules appeared. After this he continued well, till the spring of the 17th year (1837), when he had intermittent fever, and soon after the measles. The physician mistakingly gave *tingfan*, a powerful bitter, and the child was immediately seized with epilepsy. On this, he gave some tens of doses of a compound of benzoin, amber, and the sulphuret of mercury; but without completely removing the epileptic symptoms. In the 9th month of the same year, the treatment was varied, and medicines for circulating the breath (or 'etherial essence') were employed. The prescription was .... [few of these names of drugs are known, and the whole are therefore omitted.] ..... Of this, one dose was taken daily; after about a hundred doses had been administered, the epilepsy was in a trifling degree relieved the child began to eat a little rice, and in the midsummer of the 18th year he began to walk; but to keep him comfortable it was necessary to continue the daily use of a dose of the above-named medicine. To want it, or to change it for another, occasioned him uneasiness. The symptoms of the disease are now less marked, and the paroxysms, less severe; but the use of the senses is not fully recovered. He is unable to speak: if he wishes to eat he cries; give him food, and he ceases crying. Each day, he eats a teacupfull of rice, as often, perhaps, as twice or thrice; well-flavored viands, fish or flesh, he also eats. He wants understanding to lick with his tongue, or to use his teeth to masticate the food, so that when he eats rice it is requisite that a person feed him, mashing the food for him; anything hard, in however small a degree, he cannot eat; and everything therefore must be carefully examined.—All metallic or mineral remedies *absolutely* retard the recovery. He is in a sense idiotic. Though betel-nut, *howpih*, and rhubarb are daily administered to 'circulate the breath,' yet its passages are not all free. An 'infallible emplastrum,' with a 'never-failing bolus' in its centre, is to be applied, to-morrow, to the abdomen. I do not know if there be any prescription that can heal the child: but I beg the physician of great celebrity to take his case into consideration and let me know."

The reply to this note is here given, in order to introduce the further remarks which it elicited from the father.—"The account of your child's sickness, yesterday given, was very perspicuous. Epilepsy is very difficult to cure, and often the best treatment fails. Commencing at birth, it is seldom cured: if it begin at the time of dentition, recovery is frequent, after the teeth have come out: if caused by worms it is easily cured The most favorable age is be-

tween four and ten years: occurring at the age of fourteen or thereabouts, it is sometimes followed by a spontaneous recovery; but commencing at twenty-five it generally terminates only with life. Supervening upon measles is an unfavorable circumstance.

"This disease is believed to exist in the brain and nervous system. In foreign countries, it is often customary to examine the body after death, and in several hundreds who have died of epilepsy, the cerebellum has been found diseased, the color being changed, and the substance become too soft. Of course this disease cannot be cured in a few days. I cannot give a favorable prognosis in the case of your child, much less promise a perfect recovery; but I will do my best for him. If after one year, the child be not recovered, do not be disappointed. Should he recover, the physician will, next to his parents, be the most happy.—It is favorable that the child is now better than he was, that he can walk, and eat rice. As you inform me that all mineral and metallic substances retard the cure, I will not at present use them, but will commence with those from the vegetable kingdom, such as oils and powders. As to the 'infallible emplastrum,' you can do as you please; but while taking one kind of *medicine* he ought not to take another."

The following are the further remarks elicited by the foregoing reply to the father's first statement:—"The explanation respecting the symptoms of the epileptic disease has been received; it is perspicuous and fully comprehended by me. I have further to remark, whenever heretofore he had a paroxysm, he has invariably grasped his head firmly with both hands, or pressed it against a table, or wall. Usually, his hands are also raised to his throat.

"That the existing disease is seated, as you explain it, in the brain and nervous system, I believe: and having evidence that you have already discriminated the disease, you can truly prescribe medicine in good adaptation to it. That my child, having met a man whom Providence has sent, will surely be healed, I entertain not a doubt."

In answer to oral inquiries of the friends who accompanied the child, some other particulars had been given. When the paroxysms commence, the color of the face does not change: after it has set in, the lips quiver a little, and the child rolls his eyes, inclines his head against a table or chair, and grasps his feet with his hands. In reply to an inquiry regarding the 'aura,' it was said that he has sometimes chills, at other times heats. At times, the saliva flows out at the corner of the mouth. During more than two years and a half, the voiding of only one worm has been observed. He always cries when at stool, and seems to have pain in the abdomen.

The details of the treatment of this interesting child are very prolix, nor is there any peculiarity in the case to merit special attention. Anthelmintics were prescribed in the first instance, and a similar treatment continued, until a considerable number of worms had been expelled from the bowels. Afterwards, the nitrate of silver was employed, with blisters to the back of the head. Laxatives with anthelmintics were continued as required. The improvement in the child has been considerable, and appears quite satisfactory to his fond parents. During six months, he has had but two slight epileptic fits; he appears to have increased in intelligence, and has gained a degree of cheerfulness very pleasing to those who witnessed his previous state.

Some other selections from the father's numerous and minute notes had been marked for insertion: but what has been already given will suffice to show the amount of knowledge that native practitioners had been able to afford him of the disease. It is to be borne in mind, when reading these, that it is the practice of all Chinese, possessing what is deemed among them a liberal education, to philosophize upon the diseases to which they become subject, and therefore to expect from their medical attendants minute explanations of the causes of the disease to be treated: as they often seem to expect the practitioner to prove the reality of his rationale of disease by citing some of the symptoms that have marked it previous to his being called in, these explanations are often very oracular. It may be added, that of the nervous system the Chinese have hardly any correct conceptions, consequently not so much as a name that can be used with propriety: the 'breath,' or ethereal essence, of the circulation of which through the body they so often speak, seems to correspond, though attended by many erroneous or purely imaginary connections, to the nervous fluid or influence.

No. 6316. Jan. 28th. Aneurism. Kan Jooluy, aged 38, of the Nanhae district in Kwangtung. This man had an aneurism on the right side of the top of the head, apparently from anastomosis of the temporal arteries. There were numerous abnormal veins and arteries of preternatural size. The aneurismal sac was flat and not well defined; about an inch deep, and three inches in its transverse diameter. Pulsation distinct; but on pressing upon the temporal arteries for a few minutes it sensibly diminished.

No. 6565. Hernia. Lin Tsihseu, the imperial commissioner, late governor of the two lake provinces (i. e. Hookwang), now of the two wide provinces Kwangtung, and Kwangse Professionally, there

is nothing in this case to make it interesting, indeed the patient was not ever seen, but it is thought that it may not be uninteresting to give some account of intercourse with so distinguished a personage, one whose acts have been the proximate occasion of rupture between two such powers as England and China: the one the most widely combined, the other the most anciently united, and second but to one in extent, on the face of the globe.

His first applications, during the month of July, were not for medical relief, but for translation of some quotations from Vattel's Law of Nations, with which he had been furnished: these were sent through the senior hong-merchant; they related to war, and its accompanying hostile measures, as blockades, embargoes, &c.; they were written out with a Chinese pencil. An exposé of views in regard to opium was also desired, and a general prescription for the cure of those who had become victims to its use. In reply to this, an explanation was written in Chinese, to the effect that opium was classed among the poisons* by scientific men of the west, but at the same time, like arsenic and other powerful articles of the materia medica, is a valuable medicine in the hands of the skillful physician — that, when taken in excessive doses, it is capable of producing death in two ways,—first, by its effects upon the heart and circulating system, producing apoplexy; and secondly, by its influence upon the brain and nervous system. Two instances were cited, in which the physician had been called to attend men who have used opium as a means of self-murder; these were given as affording evidence of the effects upon the circulating system. Some explanation was also afforded, of the manner in which by its gradual influence, the use of opium undermines the whole constitution. And it was then pointed out, that the treatment for recovery of those suffering under its use must vary, according to the quantity taken, the length of time that the habit had been formed, the age and state of constitution of the patient, &c.; and consequently that there was no specific; each case must be treated according to its own particular symptoms. The treatment adopted, it was added, is to pay attention primarily to any existing disorder of the digestive system or lungs (the first, as had been explained, to suffer), not wholly forbidding the accustomed indulgence until the symptoms of disease should begin to yield and the constitution to rally,—then *gradually* to diminish the quantity of opium, till it should be altogether dispensed with. To give weight to

* Vide Silliman's Chemistry, vol. II. page 488 Art *Opium*.

this principle of treatment, a very simple illustration was made use of,—the difference between a child being made, at the risk of life to throw itself down from a giddy and dangerous height, and its being enabled step by step to descend from it, as by a flight of stairs. It was stated, in conclusion that this gradual treatment would ordinarily, if directed against a habit of long standing, require a period extending from two or three months to a year or two; and that some cases would occur for which recovery could not be anticipated.—These explanations did not satisfy the commissioner: he was not content to believe, that there was no specific; and he sent a second time to desire some compound, so many mace or candareens' weight of this and that article, to be taken as a substitute by those addicted to opium, and to be gradually reduced in quantity till perfect rescue from the evil should be effected.

It was about the same time that he first sent to me, through the Nanhae district magistrate and Howqua the senior hong-merchant, for '*medicine* to cure him of hernia.' A full explanation of the nature of the disease was sent in Chinese, and also a *diagram* representing the anatomy of the parts concerned in the case, as well as the mode of treatment by Europeans: it was added, that an instrument for the relief of it could be applied, but it was important to have it first adapted by a surgeon. Here came the difficulty: he was fearful of admitting a foreigner to any approach to intimacy. Immediately afterwards, public duties called his excellency to the Bocca Tigris, and no further applications were made till autumn; when an officer, an old associate at Peking, who had himself been already relieved by the application of a truss, came and requested that he might have one to take to the commissioner also. The importance of its being well adapted was urged, also, that if it were not so, the case might be aggravated: the man shrewdly replied, that he, having worn one so long, might be supposed to understand something about it. . . . A month or two more elapsed, when two young men of the commissioner's suite came to the hospital as patients. One had hernia, the other a cutaneous affection of the head and face. A truss was applied to the former, who was much delighted, and said, he had a friend, a high officer, having a like diseased affection, of immense size — as large, from his representation, as his head; but that, from public engagements, his friend could not come out to see, or be seen by, the physician. Still it was declined to send a truss. The next morning, the comprador, (the responsible head-servant,) came in great alarm, some one having suggested that the two men from the com-

missioner had no disease, but had come out as spies. He was assured that there was no lack of disease, and besides, they had both sent their cards that morning, with a present, and a message that they would call again. While yet speaking, the gentlemen came in, accompanied by the Peking 'interpreter of western languages,' and a *brother* of 'the man who desired a truss,' whose name they wished to conceal. The attempt at concealment, the interpreter was told, was useless, for that months before all particulars of the case had been stated in writing and become well known to the physician. Upon this, the younger brother of the commissioner took up and engrossed the conversation, making particular inquiries about my native country, travels in other countries, &c., &c. He then stated that his brother had a hernia of great dimensions, and, that as he was about his size, a truss that would fit him would fit his brother also: adding that he would like to take away not only the one thought best fitted, but a variety, of which, after selecting one, he would return the rest. It was in vain to persist longer: the only half dozen trusses that remained were given to him,—but have not been returned. The young man, also, who had been fitted with one the day before, said that that which he had received answered admirably, and begged one or two more, to replace it when worn out. Though told that the number of cases of hernia in Canton was great, that he saw all of the trusses that remained, that his would last a year, and that more might be obtained in the meantime, he was little satisfied to be refused.

The truss sent to his excellency, it has been reported, answered tolerably well, excepting that when he coughs the contents of the abdomen are liable to descend. From the account of his symptoms, he also appears to be asthmatic: he has received a little medicine as such, and in acknowledgement has returned a present of fruit, &c. It may be added, that his excellency has inquired particularly regarding the ophthalmic institution, and has been correctly informed with respect to this, as well as like institutions in other countries: he has expressed himself favorably with reference to it; and many of his suite have been in daily attendance at the hospital: the fear that is entertained, however, of deviating from established usages in regard to foreigners, a fear pervading all ranks, is strongly illustrated by the above details, as also the mutual suspicion prevailing between officers of the highest ranks in the empire.

Wang, a taoutae, or intendant of circuit, from Kwangse, and lately acting as judicial commissioner here, who was alluded to in the last

report as being effected with paralysis of the left side, is still a patient. When the foreigners were immured within their factories, and he was unable to obtain foreign aid, he applied to a native practitioner; and, when called to him again, which was not till the 1st of November, he was found in a sad condition. His legs were dropsical, and swollen to an enormous degree, and the old gentleman expressed his anxious fears that he must soon die.

Laxatives and diuretics were immediately prescribed, which removed the swelling of his legs and other dropsical symptoms with almost incredible rapidity; and by careful attention to his diet and regulation of his bowels, his general health has wonderfully improved; general remedies for his palsy have been employed — bleeding from the arm and along the spine, blisters, strychnine continued until the full effects of it were manifested on the system, electricity, &c. The paralysis still continues, however; but excepting that, he is now in good health and eats, drinks, and sleeps, as well as ever.

He is an amusing, talkative, old gentleman, and is very fond of dwelling on the circumstance of his father being one of the legates attending lord Macartney's embassy from Teëntsin to Peking, the Van tazhin of the account of that mission. After Mak'a'rney, S'tan'ton, and Thoma S'tan'ton, (lord Macartney, sir G. Staunton, and his son, then a little boy, the present sir George Thomas Staunton), he has often inquired with interest; he even wears, at this day a pair of spectacles given by sir G. Staunton to his father. For a number of his friends, male and female, in Kwangse, where his family yet remains, medicines have, at his earnestly reiterated intreaties, been prescribed, after careful endeavors to understand from his minute explanations their cases.

In a few days after the departure of most of the English residents from Canton, Chin Tsungloo, aged 53, a member of the Board of Rites at Peking, and lately from Yunnan, visited the factories, to be treated for a neuralgic affection of his head, involving his hearing. He has been much benefited, but is still under treatment, the cure having been interrupted by his absence at Kwangse during a part of the summer.

In concluding the report of cases, a word or two may be deemed necessary to show why the cases of men of rank have appeared so much oftener and more in detail than those of the lower classes. First, from the unrecognized position of foreigners in any other capacity than as merchants, the officers of the government have greater advantages for *forcing* more particular attention, and this state of

things has been enhanced since the tighter drawing of the restrictions by the commissioner during the last year; and secondly, the officers being more instructed, are better qualified to converse and express opinions as to their own diseases, as well as on other things; they also more frequently write down both such opinions and the expressions of their feelings after cure: while the lower classes rarely prepare any descriptions of their cases, but merely answer in few words the inquiries of the physician; and to express their feelings after cure are generally obliged to resort to the mechanical medium of getting a pedantic scribe to draw out a flowery address,—which is indeed not uncommon even with the better classes, who have less excuse for it. In reply to the remark, that the lower classes may often express their real feelings more characteristically in speech, and that while in the house as in-door patients may acquire confidence to converse on many subjects, and may say many things worthy of remembrance,—it must be admitted, that such a proficiency in speaking the language has not yet been attained as to enable the physician to *draw out* much of such conversation, or readily to understand many of the more reflective remarks of patients: it is comparatively easy to talk intelligibly on the ordinary subjects affecting their bodily health or pains; but to discourse of those things that develop mind requires very high attainments in the knowledge of a language. With what is *written*, it is somewhat different, as matter not at first understood can be studied over and over, and with the advantages of native aissstance.

One or two papers which had been marked for translation, as throwing no little light upon Chinese ideas of medicine, are omitted, from want of time sufficient to deal fairly by them.

ART. V. *Illustrations of passages of Scripture, drawn from the manners and customs of the Chinese.*

A NEW illustration of an old and familiar truth sometimes invests that truth with all the charms of novelty; and what had been laid up in the memory, as an undoubted fact indeed, but one that possessed very little interest—stored away in some forgotten niche of the mind, like a mummy in a case—becomes as it were vivified by an exhibition of it in actual life. The important aid which a reference to the

usages of Asiatic nations has often given to the better understanding of passages of Sacred Scripture, showing the justness of the comparisons, and inforcing the truth of the sacred page, induces us to present a few illustrations drawn from the customs of the Chinese. Most of them we have casually noticed; others are abridged from the Indo-chinese Gleaner.

MATT. VI, 7. ***But when ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.***—The following extract from the books of the Budhists shows, in a striking manner, how just is the charge here brought against the Gentiles. It is a canon delivered by Fuh, to be repeated for the exterminating of all misfortunes, and for the attaining of life in the pure land, Tolone; it is to be repeated three times.

Nan-mo O-me-to po-yay, to-ta-keä to-yay, to-te-yay-ta, O-me-le-too po-kwán, O-me-le-to, seĕh-tan-po-kwán, O-me-le-to, kwăn-keä-lan-te O-me-le-to, kwăn-keä-lan-te; keä-me-ne keä-keä-na, chĭh-to-keä-le po-po-ho.

This prayer, or whatever it may be called, is perfectly unintelligible to every Chinese; nor does one out of a hundred of the priests, who daily use it in their devotions, understand the meaning. It is composed of the bare sounds of Sanskrit words, expressed as nearly as they can be by Chinese characters; and as it is thus deprived of the essential requisite of a prayer, the priest contents himself with repeating the sounds as rapidly as they can be enunciated, all the while beating a wooden drum in order to arouse the attention of the god. They are supposed to possess a mystical and most wonderful efficacy for the removal of all evil. The editor of the book from which this is taken, adds: "This prayer is for the use of those who are traveling to life. The god Ometo (or Budha) rests on the top of the heads of those who repeat this, in order to save them from all their enemies, to render them safe and comfortable in life, and to confer upon them any mode of future existence which they may, at the hour of death, desire, When a person has repeated it twenty myriads of times (200,000), then the intelligence of Poote begins to bud within. When he has repeated it thirty myriads of time (300,000), he is at no distance from a personal vision of the face of the god Ometo." In the passage of Scripture which this quotation is intended to illustrate, Jesus condemns the repetitions of the heathen, not merely from their vanity and utter inability to produce any salutary impression upon the heart, or reform in the life, but also from their motive in using them, "because they think they shall be

heard for their much speaking." In the same work are a number of plates representing various forms of Budha, sitting on a lotus flower. Each form is surrounded by six dotted lines shaped like a pear, springing from the lotus at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, which are thus explained. "On the right are nine plates representing the lotus. These 5048 dots, contained within the circling lines, are intended to be marked with a red pencil, one dot for every hundred or thousand repetitions of the name of Budha. After a long time, when the whole is filled up, they are to be again gone over with some other kind of ink; and at the hour of death, the plates thus filled up, are to be burned to ashes, that they may pass into the other world as a testimony in favor of him who used them. Depending on the merit of this virtue, he goes to live in the pure land." "Alas!" will the humble and grateful Christian exclaim, after reading this, "alas! how vain are all the seekings of the human heart to find out God; but what should I have known or done better than this without the Bible!"

PROV. XXV, 3. *The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable.*—The following aphorism from the *Ming sin Paou Keën*, seems to convey a similar idea. "The fish dwell in the bottom of the water, and the eagles in the sides of heaven; the one though high may be reached by an arrow, and the other though deep may be angled for; but the heart of man at only a cubit's distance cannot be known. Heaven can be spanned, earth can be fathomed, but the heart of man cannot be measured."

ISAIAH LVII. 6. *Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot; even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering.*—Of the worship of smooth stones by many heathen nations, there are many testimonies in ancient writers. "They were," says bishop Lowth, "called βαιτυλοι and βαιτυλια, probably from the stone which Jacob erected at Bethel, pouring oil on the top of it. Theophrastus has marked their worship as one strong feature in the character of the superstitious man; 'passing by the anointed stones in the streets, he takes out his vial of oil, and pours it on them; and having fallen on his knees and made his adorations, he departs.'" In China, the *shay shin*, or gods of the land, are represented by a water-worn stone, elevated upon a rude altar, and constantly worshiped by burning incense sticks before it. Every village, and every street of 25 families, erects one of these altars, and, in the spring and autumn, worship the deities

supposed to be enshrined upon it. The agricultural classes, who reverence these gods more particularly, call in the aid of priests, and at certain times, generally on the 2d of the 2d month, invoke a blessing upon the season. The priests, three or four in number, dressed in robes of yellow and green, are accompanied by a few musicians with their instruments. One servant, bearing a tray filled with cakes, preserves, and meats, precedes them, followed by another carrying several small cups and a can of spirits, the whole party attended by their employer. The priests, on approaching the altar, first order the eatables to be presented before the stone, and then make a libation before and upon it of three cups of spirits; after this, there is a flourish upon the gong and trumpet, and then they mumble over the prescribed form, supposed to implore a blessing upon the surrounding fields, but which neither themselves nor any one else can understand by reason of their rapid enunciation. After the prayer is said, the priests and their attendants make a few bows before the altar, sometimes pouring out a second libation, and then pass on to the next altar. During this ceremony, not only the attendants and the idle boys around, are in high spirits, but the priests too, usually manifest great glee, and impress the spectator with the idea that it is all a farce; the landlord is the only serious exception, and, judging from his looks, he seems to be thinking more of the expense incurred than of the good besought.

MARK VII, 11. *But ye say, if a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free.*—The priests of Budha in China profess to take an entire farewell of their parents or other relations; or as they express it, *chŭh kcä*, 'to go out of the family,' and separate themselves from the world. It is no longer their duty 'to do aught for their father or mother,' thus rendering the command of God of none effect. But this tenet is as dissonant with the ethics of Confucius, as it is opposed to the fifth commandment and the plainest dictates of nature, and is consequently practiced by none among the Chinese except the devotees of Budha, nor is it always obeyed even by them. It is rather, as we suppose it was among the Pharisees, an instance of the unnatural doctrines of the sect.

ECC. VII, 6. *For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool.*—On account of the expensiveness of wood for fuel, the poor Chinese cut the coarse grass which grows upon the hill-sides, in the islands about Macao, and use it for purposes of cooking. It consists, for the most part, of a species of Andropogon, and

is cut in the autumn, and bound up in bundles for winter's use. It resembles the dry thorns which were used for fuel in Judea in its unsubstantial nature, and its crackling blaze forms not an unapt simile for the laughter of the fool: making a great flame and noise, but without heat in the burning, or coals in the embers.

MAT. XX, 3. *And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market-place.*—If one passes through the streets of Canton in the morning, he will meet here and there crowds of laborers assembled. These men are porters or coolies waiting to be hired for the day, and in order to be obvious to all, they choose the most public corners, where they assemble in little parties. Each individual, or sometimes each couple, is provided with a carrying pole and a pair of rope slings; and with these they perform all the services which fall to carts, cart-horses, and carters too, in other countries. They are arranged into companies, and claim to do all the porterage in their districts. However, in large towns, where every shopman generally hires his own coolies by the month, these men often stand idle the livelong day, because 'no man calleth them.'

LUKE VI, 38. *Good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.*—The dress of the Japanese and Lewchewans consists of a number of long robes like night-gowns, which overlap in front, and are secured by a girdle at the waist. One of the gowns is adapted to contain articles, and is used very extensively for such a purpose, and the appearance of the bosom of the dress shows how easily it can be thus employed. Among the latter people, we have seen a large supply of paper nose-wipers, a portable Chinese writing apparatus with a quantity of paper, a tobacco-pipe and pouch, carried in this capacious receptacle, to which were easily added a number of presents, without inconveniencing the person. The bosoms of the dress among the Greeks and Hebrews were also used to carry articles in the same manner, and the elegance and appropriateness of the various images of affection and love derived from this circumstance cannot fail to strike the careful observer.

JOHN II, 14. *And the changers of money sitting.*—The practice here alluded to, of persons keeping small tables, where money can be changed, is very common is several Asiatic countries, and perhaps in none more frequent than in China. Those who are itinerant, usually provide themselves with a small table, about three feet long by fifteen inches wide, and establish it on the way-side, at the corners of the streets, before the temples, and in the markets; in short, wherever there is a thoroughfare, the money-changer is generally not

far off. The strings of copper cash are piled on one side, often secured to the table by a chain, and the silver is kept in drawers, with the small ivory yard with which it is weighed, which is more peculiarly the implement of this profession. Their sign is a wooden figure carved in the form of a cylinder to represent a string of cash.

JOB XIX, 23, 24. *O! that my words were even now written down;*
O! that they were engraven upon a table;
With a pen of iron upon lead!
That they were sculptured upon a rock for ever!
Good's translation.

—Engraved rocks are seen in China, though the practice is not carried to the same extent as in Persia, India, and other eastern countries, to commemorate remarkable events, for the literature of the people obviates the necessity. The smoothed surfaces of rocks *in situ* are, however, engraved with characters under the direction of geomancers, or *fungshwuy* doctors, when they lie in spots esteemed lucky; such characters are supposed to have some cabalistic influence upon the fortunes of the surrounding country. The pillars and door-posts of temples, and the entablatures of honorary portals are often inscribed with sentences and names; sometimes to commemorate distinguished or worthy individuals, and sometimes merely for ornament's sake; the skill displayed in cutting these inscriptions is at times almost inimitable. The government also employs this mode of publishing their laws and regulations, just as the Romans anciently published their Twelve Tables, which are, as the officers say, to be kept in everlasting remembrance; the characters are plainly and deeply engraven upon marble, and the slab is afterwards set up in a conspicuous station in such a manner as to preserve it from the effects of the weather. W.

ART. VI. *An account of the visit of the French frigate L'Artemise to the Sandwich Islands, in July,* 1839.

ONE account of this visit has already been noticed, in a preceding number; see page 372; and the pamphlet now before us was mentioned in page 600. We revert to the subject here, for the purpose of introducing two official papers, which need no comment. One is from the United States' consul; and one from the king.

[No. 1] United States' consulate, Sandwich Islands, Oct. 26th, 1839.

Sir,—As the opinion seems to be to some extent entertained that American

citizens residing in the Sandwich Islands, as missionaries under the patronage of an incorporated institution of the United States, have exerted a controling influence upon the framers of the laws of this country, I have very respectfully to inquire, if they have ever had any voice in the passage of laws effecting the interests of other foreigners, and particularly whether they have ever had anything to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country. And whether, in the treatment which has been shown to any subject of the government of France, they have directly or indirectly recommended the course pursued by your government; and also whether in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your own subjects they have countenanced those attempts. If they have in any of these respects controled the action of your government, will you be pleased to inform me very explicitly in what manner and to what extent. An early reply will be a favor. With the highest considerations, I have the honor to be,

Your majesty's most obedient servant, P. A. BRINSMADE, U. S. consul.

To his majesty Kamehameha III., king of the Sandwich Islands.

[No. 2.] Kauwila House, present residence of king of Hawaii, Oct. 28th, 1839.

My respects to you, the American consul.

I have received your letter asking questions respecting the American missionaries, supposed by some to regulate the acts of my government under me; I, together with the chiefs under me, now clearly declare to you, that we do not see anything in which your questions are applicable to the American missionaries. From the time the missionaries first arrived, they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instruction in letters and delivering the word of God has been their business.

They were hesitatingly permitted to remain by the chiefs of that time, because they were said to be about to take away the country. We exercised forbearance, however, and protected all the missionaries, and as they frequently arrived in this country, we permitted them to remain in this kingdom, because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labors, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them, in order to be instructed in letters, for those things were in our opinion really true.

When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the islands, and also their business. There was not a clear understanding with this company of priests as there was with that; because they landed in the country secretly without Kaahumanu's hearing anything about their remaining here.

When the numbers of the followers of the Romish religion became considerable, certain captains of whaleships told Kaahumanu of the evil of this way, and thus captain D . . . informed me of a great destruction in Britain in ancient time, and that his ancestors died in that slaughter, and he thought a like work would soon be done here. That was the company who informed us of the evil of the Romish religion, and also a certain French man-of-war, and a certain British man-of-war approved of what we did.

Inasmuch as I do not know of the American missionaries having had anything to do in my business with my chiefs, I have therefore inquired of them, the chiefs, and they say, no, in the same manner as I now say no, to you.

Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things done by certain missionaries; viz., what Mr. Bingham said to Kaahumanu, "I have seen some people made to serve at hard labor on account of their having worshiped according to the Romish religion. Whose thought is that?" Kaahumanu said to him, "Mine." Then he that spake to her objected quickly, saying, "It is not proper for you to do thus, for you have no law that will apply." When he said that, then Kaahumanu immediately replied to him with great strength, "The law respecting idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken." Mr. Clark also, and Mr. Chamberlain spoke to Kinau while Kaahumanu was yet alive, and objected to said conduct, and afterwards Dr. Judd. And at a certain time, Mr. Bingham and Mr. Bishop disputed strongly with Kinau on account of the wrong of punishing those of the Romish religion

And now in Kekauluohi's time, Mr. Richards disputed strongly with Kekuanaoa, urging the entire abolition of that thing, and that kindness should be bestowed on them, that they might be pleased, giving them also an instructor to teach them the right way; and thus also he said to Kekauluohi and to me.

And afterwards when Mr. Bingham heard, by Mr. Hooper, that certain women were confined in irons at the fort, he went immediately and made known to Kekuanaoa the wickedness of their confinement for that thing; and when Kekuanaoa heard it, he immediately sent a man, and afterwards went himself to the fort to set the prisoners free, for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.

Should it be said, by accusers, that the American missionaries are the authors of one law of the kingdom, the law respecting the sale of rum, or if not, that they have urged it strongly; I would say, a number of captains of whaleships commenced that thing, thousands of my own people supported them, and when my chiefs saw that it was a good thing, they requested me to do according to the petition of that company; and when I saw that it was really an excellent thing, then I chose that as a rule of my kingdom. But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or overrule our acts, we deny it, it is not so.

We think that perhaps these are their real crimes: their teaching us knowledge. Their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners. Their not taking the sword into their hand, and saying to us with power, stop, punish not the worshipers in the Romish religion. But, to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that since the time of Kaahumanu I. down to the time that the Romish priest was confined on board the Europa.

I think, perhaps these things are not clear to you; it would perhaps be proper, therefore, that the American missionaries should be examined before you and commodore Read, and us also. Thus I have written you with respect,

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.

ART. VII. *Literary notices. Mowyih Tung Che, or A Comprehensive Treatise on Commerce. 8vo. pp. 61. With a chart.*

COMMERCE, in some of its principles and details, is well understood by the Chinese. They are exceedingly fond of it; and their domestic trade is very extensive, and is conducted in a great measure by barter. Industrious, economical, and possessing a vast extent of fertile lands, bordered by a long line of seacoast, and intersected with numerous rivers and canals, the Chinese may extend their foreign commerce to almost any amount they please, both in imports and exports: they *may*, if they will accede to and adopt the principles of free reciprocity, with requisite securities. Information regarding modern improvements they much need; and this treatise, written by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, furnishes them, in a compendious form, much needed information,— as the table of contents will show.

"1st Book. The emperor Kanghe's remarks upon industry. Antiquity of commerce — necessity of trade arising from the mutual wants of mankind, the variety of climate and productions. Inland and foreign trade. Great advantages of commerce for increasing comforts, wealth, for strengthening foreign and friendly relations, as well as for promoting civilization. The merchant — unfounded national prejudice against this class of citizens — necessary qualifications — honesty the best policy. Companies — account of the Dutch and English monopolies, and free trade compared; the latter far more preferable.

"2d Book. A general view of the present state of commerce. Trade of China — domestic as well as foreign. Lewchew islands, Japan, Annam, Siam, British India, &c. England, Holland, France, &c. United States, British America, Mexico, &c. African colonies. Australian colonies.

"3d Book. Transportation of goods — by land, and by sea. Junks — superiority of our ships, steam-boats, steam-carriages. Roads, railroads, canals, those of China, Holland, England, &c. Charts, light-houses, buoys, description of the coast of China.

"4th Book. Currency of China, cash, sycee silver, dollars of other countries; exportation of bullion not injurious to a country, paper money, bills of exchange, insurance companies. Trading regulations — the greater the freedom the more flourishing the commerce. Tariff of duties, warehousing, &c. Necessity for extending the trade in order to increase the revenues of the country and wealth of the nation. Petition of the London merchants setting forth the true principles of commerce, piracy, protection, convoys."

The first books opens with the words of the emperor Yungching — not Kanghe — in royal style. He says: "We think that when the high heavens produced men, they appointed to every one an employment, as the means of personal support. Therefore, though men naturally differ as to knowledge and ignorance, strength and weakness, yet none should be without an employment. Having employments, all men have a proper duty to which they should attend, both that they may be profitable to themselves, and useful to the world." See Dr. Milne's translation, under maxim tenth. Other quotations follow, from the same imperial author, and form an apt introduction. The subject has necessarily been treated with great brevity; and to this perhaps, we must attribute a want of perspicuity, which the native reader finds in parts of the treatise; but which arise in part, no doubt, from the novelty and intrinsic difficulty of some of the topics — demanding separate and elaborate treatises. We hope the work will have a wide circulation, and erelong be followed by others.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: release of the two Spanish prisoners; arrival of the Ariel; the American consul leaves Canton; new schooners and the Cambridge; Chinese troops in Macao; imprisoned opium smokers; approaching crisis.*

APRIL 1ST. In our number for September, page 271, the burning of the Spanish brig Bilbaino, and the capture of two of her crew, were mentioned; and again, on page 328, the ill success which had attended the endeavors of her consignee to procure their release. We also mentioned the arrival of an envoy from Manila, captain Jozé M. Halcon, R. N. for the same purpose. This day, Federico Gimenes the mate, and Ynocencio del Rozario the boy, arrived in Macao in the charge of a Chinese officer, and were delivered over to the procurador, who gave a receipt for their safe arrival. From the mate, through the kindness of his friends, we have learned some particulars concering this affair, and the conduct of the Chinese towards him and his companion. It appears, that on the evening of the 11th of Sept., four or five war-junks and some other craft, anchored very near the brig, while she was lying in the Typa, but without exciting much notice. At half past three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, a fire-raft, made of three or four boats chained together, drifted down towards the brig, but by the efforts of the crew it was avoided. Seeing this, the Chinese in the junks immediately came alongside and between 200 or 300 boarded her, and commenced

setting her on fire, both in the hull and rigging They hauled down the Spanish flag, which had been displayed to show the character of the vessel, and also attacked the officer who pointed them to it, wounding him in the back and arms, and beating him with bamboos. Most of the crew jumped overboard as soon as the Chinese boarded, but were picked up, and together with some others on board, were put into the long-boat and set adrift, or were landed by the Chinese; three of the crew are supposed to have been drowned in leaping into the water. The mate, and Ynocencio a Súlú lad who refused to leave him, were then chained, and carried up to the Bogue. The burning vessel was discovered from Macao in the morning, but nothing could then be done to save her. On their arrival, they were led in triumphal procession, with music and accompanied by soldiers and cavalry and a large crowd, to the residence of the commissioner at Chunhow. There they were kept for about 25 days, and for 13, underwent a separate daily examination, being compelled to kneel for hours, while every means was tried to induce them to declare that the vessel was English. The officers declared that they knew her true character, that she was a smuggling vessel, and promised that instant liberation would follow a frank confession. At one time a drawn sword was held over the mate, and instant death threatened, if a confession was not made immediately; at another time, they were separated, and each was told that his fellow had confessed to her being an English vessel, and had received a box of dollars like that he saw before him, and had already left for Macao. Every means of extorting such a confession as the Chinese wished proving ineffectual, their chains were removed, and they were carried to Canton by water, and imprisoned in a temple near the governor's palace. The apartment was small and dark, being lighted by two small apertures which opened into a court, and there these two unfortunate men were confined for nearly six months, fed upon the coarsest food, without a change of raiment, and denied all communication with their friends. Soon after their removal to Canton, the consignee went thither, and contrived to convey a letter to Gimenes, who returned an answer; but a suspicion of the correspondence having come to the ears of the governor, both were searched and the room was narrowly examined, even to ripping up the bed on which they lay. On the arrival of captain Halcon, a memorial was transmitted through the American consul to the authorities at Canton, and by subsequent explanation and conference, and after the delay which usually attends all correspondence with the Chinese, the men were released. We are sorry to add that after arriving in Macao, Gimenes in a fit of derangement jumped out of a window, and narrowly escaped instant death; his derangement is evidently in consequence of the annoyances of the Chinese inflicted upon him while in their hands. He has since improved, and left for Manila. Captain Halcon is still in China, and will not leave, we suppose, until proper satisfaction and indemnity are obtained.

2d. The *Ariel*, captain Warden, which sailed from China on the 30th of May last, returned with dispatches from the home government.

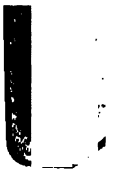
11th. The American consul, P. W. Snow, esq. arrived in Macao from Canton. Soon after leaving Canton, his boat, on stopping at one of the military stations for the examination of her papers, was detained, and her people treated in a manner that in any other country would call for explanation. The object apparently was to extort money from the captain of the boat.

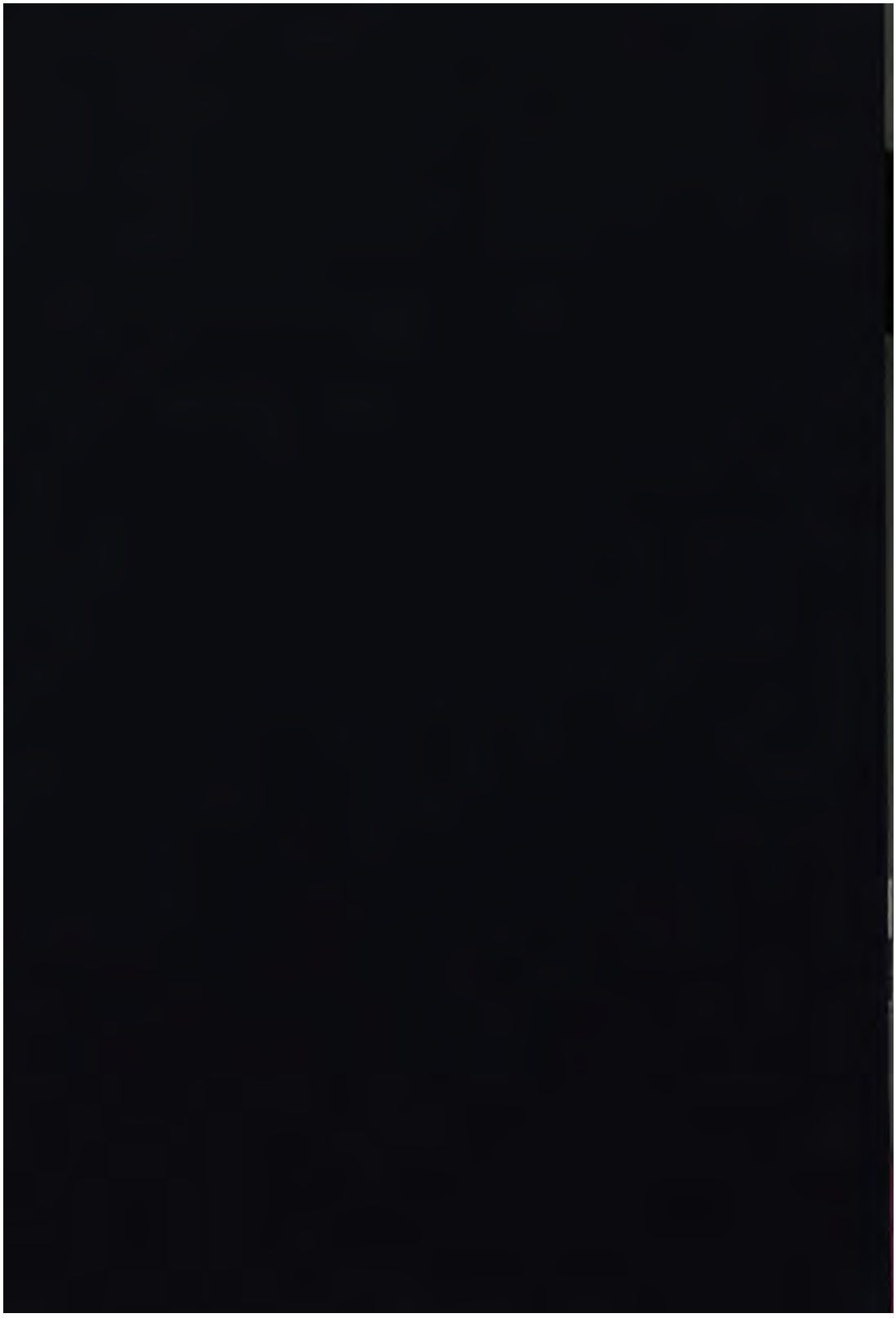
25th. Two or three schooners have just been launched on the river at Canton; they are built after European models, and are, we suppose, to be attached to the imperial navy. The Cambridge, last year an obnoxious "war-ship," has been purchased by the Chinese, and anchored opposite Howqua's fort in Junk river.

Two or three hundred Chinese troops, so called, are quartered in Macao. Beggarly looking men they are, without arms, undisciplined "just like rats."

The local magistrates of Canton are reforming the inveterate smokers of opium, on a large scale, by imprisonment. We have no space here for the details.

Another crisis is approaching. The present state of quiet and suspense cannot probably continue many weeks. The directors of the coming expedition have before them . . . . . (with reverence be it said) God only knows what. If directed by His wisdom, they seek those things only which are right and just, then may they triumph and have good success.





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ART. I. *Prospects of China: with remarks respecting the present state of the empire, and the measures which the people of Christendom ought to pursue towards this country.*

FROM time immemorial the Chinese have stood alone. They have been, and are still, an isolated people. This, doubtless, has resulted in part from their own choice, and in part from circumstances more or less beyond their control. Differing from the rest of the world in their language, laws, government, domestic habits, religious rites, &c., they have not deemed it expedient or practicable to form, with the rest of the world, those friendly relations which afford the philanthropist the most ready means for bringing the people of every land and of every name into that state of improvement—that state of millenial peace and prosperity—foretold by ancient seers. Though but partially acquainted with their history, we see sufficient cause for that exclusive policy and that isolated attitude, which they have hitherto so signally maintained, in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of society. No nation is without its peculiarities; nor even an individual. These, however, do not exempt either the one or the other from those more permanent traits of character—those intellectual qualities and feelings—common to the whole race of man. A full description of all these peculiarities, in the Chinese, would afford the philosopher many valuable hints for the direction of his inquiries, and form a curious chapter in the general history of the world. But omitting, for the present, to give even a sketch of these peculiarities, we must advert to those traits of mind—the characteristic habits of thought and action—in which the Chinese agrees with his species in every clime and age. To one overwhelmed with grief it matters little whether black or white, or some other color, is the badge of mourning. If his parents have been taken from him, and he is left without friends or the means of comfort and support, the child must

feel his orphanage; and when he is famishing for food he will not care whether it is served to him with his own native *chop sticks*, or in any other manner, provided he can allay his hunger. Probably the Chinese have more peculiarities than can be found among any other people; this, however, does not exempt them from feeling grief, pain reproach, honor, hope, fear, and the like, as keenly as any other mortals. Now it is from a thorough knowledge of these permanent qualities, and from whatever may be effected through them, that we are to calculate future changes among the Chinese; while with their peculiarities we have little more to do than so to understand them as to prevent their hindering any direct and proper action on the former. In short, the simple object is to meet and treat the Chinese as men—human beings—not celestial, nor infernal.

An example or two will illustrate this sentiment. The first, in importance, is found in the language. Diplomatic correspondence, everywhere throughout the whole civilized world, requires the most careful attention. Errors, however slight, even in the style of address or in any other similar points, seldom pass unnoticed. In order, therefore, to secure accuracy it is always deemed requisite, that he who is employed to draft such documents be not only a scholar, but one, also, who is well versed in the punctilios of diplomacy. In all the correspondence hitherto carried on with the Chinese, where have been the diplomatists equal to their task? What have those known of the usages and manners of the Chinese court who have undertaken to draft state papers? As for those who have been employed to translate such papers, if we except one or two individuals, what have they known of the style to be adopted? And in the presentation of official documents, and in endeavoring to communicate with the sovereign of this country, what errors have there not been committed? Even at the present hour, were an address to be made to the throne, or a case to be laid before the court at Peking, where are the men fitted for such undertakings? We know not even one thoroughly qualified for so difficult a service, or who would without reluctance undertake it. On the point of etiquette, "the ceremonies to be performed," wherein so much ill-will, strife, bad faith, and bad conduct, have originated, no less difficulty exists. Were an envoy to be sent from the court of Peking to that of Paris, with instructions to conform to the usages of that country, does any one suppose, that, on his arrival there, he would be expected to change his own costume, diet, or style of bowing, for that of the French? Each, in his way, would be a match for the other. But what could be more absurd than a grave Chinese undertaking to imitate the manners of the Parisian court? Who could think of recommending or attempting it? In the mission to the Tourgouths, north of the Caspian, sent by Kanghe, instructions were given to conform to the usages of the country through which it passed and the court to which it went; but in so doing, surely the envoy was not expected to abandon the usages of his own native land, much less allow himself to be made a plaything to the dishonor of his sovereign.

In both these particulars — language and etiquette — it is requisite, chiefly, that established usages be not outraged, while all honor is given to whomsoever it is due. So far, therefore, as it may be necessary to secure this end, national peculiarities should be regarded, but no further. In a visit to the Chinese court it certainly would not be necessary for the foreigner to shave his head, plait his hair, or prostrate himself in the dust. The Chinese are shrewd observers of character; and the blunders and foibles which they have witnessed will not soon be forgotten. Too many sad examples already exist; this however, is not the place to cite them; and we have adverted to them, *en passant*, merely to prevent, if we can, the idea being any longer held, that such childish freaks deserve any other consideration than sovereign contempt.

The question has often been asked, what ought Europeans to do, what course ought they to pursue, with regard to the Chinese? To act as hitherto, is to "do nothing." Much, indeed, which has been done, had better have been left unessayed. In order to give the question, stated above, a fair answer it is needful to glance, for a moment, at the present state of the country and character of the people. An empire of great extent, containing 360,000,000 of people, with *the one man* at its head, declares itself the source and centre of all earthly good, while all the rest of the world is regarded and treated as barbarian and hostile. Around the imperial throne are collected the most able men in the nation, ranked and honored respectively according to the influence which they have been able to acquire and exercise. To these great ministers of state the affairs of the empire are chiefly entrusted, all they do or propose, however, being subject to the will of their master—the emperor. But neither he nor his councils are, so far as we can see, much influenced by the voice of public opinion, except when famine, or pestilence, or inundations, or some similar cause, wakes them to deeds of public charity—if what stern necessity demands can be so called. The great mass of the people, constantly and laboriously employed in agricultural, commercial, and mechanical pursuits, in order to acquire necessary food and raiment, know but little, and care less, of the authority that is over them. Many are very poor; still more are very ignorant; and being both poor and ignorant, are vicious in the extreme. In such circumstances the people feel no interest in international affairs, and scarcely know that any other nations, beside their own, exist. This government stands, not by the voice of public opinion, but by its own mastery: and when that mastery is lost, and it is daily becoming weaker and weaker, there must come a change of dynasty — an event we deprecate, because, judging from the analogy of all past times, it will be accompanied with immense havoc and bloodshed. Moreover, such a direful issue seems unnecessary, if the powers that be at once awake to their obligations, and promptly discharge the duties that rest upon them. In China nothing of good can be hoped for from a mere change of masters. It is not, therefore, either a change of the dynasty, or of the forms of government, for which the philanthropist can labor, or even hope. While,

then, with all those who sincerely love their fellow-men, we must deprecate these changes, and all the means that might be employed to effect them, we hail with approbation every wise effort, however feeble or indirect, made for the removal of ignorance, poverty, crime, and wretchedness, on the one hand; and on the other, for the increase and extension of knowledge, virtue, and every good.

What can be more humiliating to human reason — to say nothing of its wickedness, than to see a great nation bowing in adoration to images of wood and stone, or before man who is mortal and fallible as ourselves? Such conduct cannot exist, we think, except where there is either entire ignorance or forgetfulness of Him, in whom we live, and whom we are bound to serve. Four thousand years have afforded full opportunity here for all the false systems of man's device to work freely their legitimate effects. They have done so; and we now see their results. Not two centuries ago, a thicker darkness and grosser superstitions enveloped the British isles, than probably, up to that period, had ever overshadowed the land of Sinim. Woden, and Thor, and others of less renown, were then England's acknowledged deities; and the King of kings had no altars, no temples, no worshipers there, until the pure word of Jehovah was promulgated. The wisdom and prowess of ancient Rome, even in the zenith of her glory, did little, comparatively, for the improvement of conquered nations. Such conquests as she achieved are often hurtful, because they are gained by the destruction of much property and life, without any equivalent. Many times has China been overrun, conquered, subjugated. A foreigner now sits on her throne. Changes have succeeded changes without any amelioration of the condition of the people, without the increase of knowledge, while, in the process of time, many new oppressions and other evils have accumulated. It is true, that, in the workings of divine Providence, good may spring from these acknowledged wrongs. But without the intervention of those means, ordained of God, and revealed in his word, for the world's regeneration, few and partial improvements will ever be effected. Not all the powers on earth, without the purifying and ennobling influence of the gospel, could ever have effected the great good which the millions of the British empire, and other millions by their instrumentality, now enjoy.

This allusion is made to the influence of truth and the principles of the divine government, and their effects on the destinies of nations, because they afford, beyond all controversy, the surest data for determining the future extension of those privileges which are the birthright of man, but which are here denied him. And what are those privileges? In a word, they are all those blessings of personal freedom, knowledge, liberty, and peace, now possessed by the most favored nations. Nay more, for much remains to be done ere the conduct of rulers, towards each other, and towards those under them, will be characterized by that good faith, magnanimity, and kindness, which become those who are members of one great family, living under the care of one universal Father. No nation on earth has yet done for itself,

much less for others, one half what it ought to do, or will do, when both the rulers and the ruled learn to act according to the Christian's code—the New Testament. Then, 'to cheat the king,' 'to oppress the people,' 'to get the better of other states,' and so forth, no one will desire or attempt.

We will now enumerate some of the objects which, we think, should be kept in view and sought for steadily and perseveringly, until they are obtained.

1. Ministers plenipotentiary should reside in Peking, with all the securities, immunities, and honors, which are usually secured to such functionaries among equal and independent sovereignties. These would afford a safe and direct channel of communication between the Chinese court and the governments of the west, and could not fail of being equally satisfactory to all. Such a measure would relieve this government from many fears and perplexities, and from that distrust which is now so manifest in all its documents respecting foreigners. It may be remarked here, that while many of the Chinese, being entirely ignorant of the extent and power of foreign countries, view those who come from them with indifference, others, who are better informed, watch them with a jealous eye, fearing lest they may erelong become the masters of the country. Witness the late memorial of counselor Choo Tsun.

2. All the parts of the empire should be made accessible, as they once were in the reign of Kanghe, to foreign vessels of every nation, under such regulations as will guaranty to the government their just duties and customs, and to merchants, both native and foreign, such security as will enable them to prosecute their business in a safe and honorable manner. This measure would be hailed with applause by multitudes of the people, since it would not only create new demands for their own commodities, but supply them with many valuable articles from other countries cheaper than they can now be procured. For some kinds of manufactures, woollens (for example), to supply the people of the northern provinces, the demand would be greatly increased.

3. Consuls should be appointed at several of the principal ports, clothed with authority sufficient to protect the foreigner, and to afford the government a guaranty that each and every person belonging to their respective nations shall be held amenable, in open court, the consul himself being in attendance and consenting, to answer for his behavior.

4. Every facility should be allowed for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language, laws, and usages of the Chinese, and for the preservation of health and property, with a free use of all the ordinary conveniences requisite for the transportation of goods, traveling, &c., on perfect equality and at the same rate of charges with the natives of the country. In short, the same rights and privileges allowed to Chinese, in common with all other foreigners, in England and America, should be secured to every foreigner in this country.

These are great and important objects,—especially when viewed in comparison with the few and slender privileges hitherto granted to foreigners. When secured by treaty, as all such rights and immunities ought to be, a thousand minor questions about "ceremonies," &c., will be laid in oblivion. The grand principle hitherto acted upon, is to restrict every one as much as possible, consistently with the bare existence of a limited commerce. To dilate on the existing annoyances, wrongs, and deprivations, or even to enumerate them, forms no part of this article. We have often spoken of some of them, and may do so again if occasion requires; but are prepared to endure them, and somewhat patiently, when we see how much greater are the evils to which the native is subject. This, however, shall never prevent our protesting against these abuses, or hinder us from pleading for the removal of whatever is evil and for the introduction of whatever is beneficial. How long all salutary changes will be deferred, and present wrongs perpetuated, we cannot predict. The state of affairs here may become much worse than it now is. Left unprotected by their own governments as the foreigners ever have been, they may yet find another ***Black Hole***, in the narrow factories they now inhabit. "It would not be at all strange, if, in an hour of excitement occasioned by homicide or any similar accident, something of this kind should one day occur." So we think. And we are not without fears that such a catastrophe may be witnessed ere the governments of the west will take any efficient measures, either to open friendly relations with the Chinese, or to place those who reside here, from their respective nations, on the ground of common safety. It should be remembered, moreover, that the Chinese have no adequate ideas of that invisible Power whose scrutiny none can evade, and who will assuredly punish the evildoer; consequently, when once exasperated, if not held in check by some earthly rule, the bloody tragedy which once occured at ***Canfu***, when thousands of foreigners were massacred, may be reacted.

It would be prudent to guard against such an issue. The extensive commerce which now exists, between the Chinese on the one side, and the inhabitants of Christendom on the other, is an object of no small importance both to individual and national prosperity. By a wise policy this commerce may be greatly increased and extended, and its benefits multiplied and enlarged: by pursuing an opposite course, the reverse must be experienced. To secure the former, and to prevent the latter, something should be done. The question, then, recurs, What measures ought the inhabitants of Christendom to pursue towards this country? Something should be undertaken: what is it? Efficient measures, we think, should be commenced immediately in order to obtain the best means for securing, peacefully and as speedily as possible, the several objects specified above. Ignorance has been a most effectual barrier to every species of improvement, and a most fruitful source of every kind of evil. Were the requisite knowledge possessed, we should rejoice to see envoys at once on their way to Peking. Had England, instead of sending thither her

two embassies, trained up a score or two of able students in this language, and through them secured the requisite knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, the first and most essential means for successful negotiation would now be at command. Able men of this description are indispensable; and the training and qualifying of such should certainly be a prime object of attention. A corps of men devoted to this object, will find ample employment, and a thousand topics for interesting research will come before them; and as they advance in their investigations, they will very soon be able to put others in possession of their acquisitions, so that whatsoever they gain may at once be made useful, not only to the politician, but to the merchant and to the philanthropist. From knowledge thus acquired, it will be easy to solve many doubtful and perplexing questions, and to ascertain with accuracy the course which envoys or embassadors to Peking ought to pursue.

But, it may be asked, are we to wait until a company of young men have been selected and trained, and grown gray in prosecuting preparatory measures, before any of the desired objects are to be attained? Nay, will any government undertake such a project? Most certainly not, unless some new interest is awakened. However, the object will not be abandoned, though pursued under many disadvantages. Students in this language are more numerous now than at any previous period. Their number is increasing, and they will persevere in what they have undertaken; will read the histories of the Chinese; examine their laws, their policy, their religion; and investigate their works of every kind, and all the productions of their soil. Already useful institutions have been established, and others may soon be undertaken. Most of these efforts, it is true, are being made without the boundaries of the empire. Still they are among the Chinese, thousands of whom are now accessible. In this way knowledge is continually increased and extended, and the desire for it augmented. But our chief hope rests not on any contingences of this kind; were it so, and were there no "sure word of prophecy," giving assurance of better times to come, the friends of China might turn in despair from all their efforts, either for ameliorating the condition of this people, or for establishing friendly relations with this government.

To the foreign residents in this country the question under consideration addresses itself with special force and interest. The little handful of barbarians, "pestered in this pinhole here," possess no ordinary degree of influence — restrictions and all their impotency notwithstanding. So far as the means for giving character to the age, by varied action on the destinies of great multitudes, are concerned, we would rather command the foreign commerce with China, than have at our disposal even kingdoms — like some of the minor ones in modern Europe. With such means at disposal, either for good or for evil, personal responsibility cannot but be felt. It *is* felt, and more and more deeply from year to year, giving a healthful tone and a commanding influence to public opinion. An idle worth-

less foreigner cannot live in Canton. Men must labor here, else die or leave the place. This community merits the praise, often awarded, of being "extremely temperate." It is likewise charitable, its public benefactions being both frequent and generous. One other point we cannot forbear to particularize; it is, "the better observance of the Sabbath." Let these, and whatsoever things are pure, honest, and of good report, be continued, and daily become more and more conspicuous: let merchants be princes; and princes, the exemplars and patrons of virtue: let each one in his sphere, however humble, frown on vice, seek justice, and avoid even the appearances of evil: let these and such like be the characteristics continually exhibited before this people and government, and great will be the advantage gained towards securing friendly relations with the Chinese. To do all these things, and many more of a similar kind, will operate powerfully to break down the barriers thrown around us. Let no unjust or unfriendly act be committed; and if we be denied many of the privileges—domestic, social, and public—enjoyed everywhere else, let us suffer the wrongs if we must, but on every fitting occasion expose and protest against them. And if western governments choose to keep themselves aloof, the time may yet come—though it is hoping against hope—when the residents here will have their accredited agents at Peking; and from one acquisition to another, gain at length for themselves, and for their respective countries, a free and friendly intercourse with the celestial empire.

ART. II. *Coast of China: the division of it into four portions; brief description of the principal places on the southeastern, eastern, and northeastern portions.*

IN the first part of this paper, published in our number for December last year, we remarked on the configuration of the Chinese coast, that it not unaptly resembles, if we make some allowance for its two or three considerable projections and indentations, the half of an octagonal figure. We drew the sides of this demi-octagon, which we named the southern, southeastern, eastern, and northeastern lines; and we added, that the division, thus artificially made, corresponded with another division, arising out of the degree of our knowledge of the coast. The first line marks a portion, much of which has been surveyed; the second, the present station of the coast-trade in opium, has been frequented for some years, and sketches have been taken of several of the harbors; the third, until lately, might almost be said to be unknown, only two or three spots having been visited; the fourth is

the portion partially made known to us by the voyages of embassies from England to China. With the valuable aid of Horsburgh, we have briefly described the principal places on the first or southern portion of the coast. We must now proceed onwards, in a great measure without that aid, to describe the remaining portions.

The southeastern line of coast. Immediately after rounding Breaker point, the limit of our southern and commencement of our southeastern line, we pass a small town named Chinghae, or rather Tsinghae. We need hardly remark that this is not the district town of Chinghae, which is farther to the northward, and is a large commercial place. A little north of Tsinghae is the entrance of a small river, named Haemun, or Haimoon, a naval station, and a place of some trade, which was visited several years ago by vessels engaged in the opium trade, but without success. The 'Cape of Good Hope,' lies to the northeastward of this, in lat. 23° 13′ 45″ north, lon. 116° 50′ east. Here some trade in opium was at one time carried on. In the roadstead, protection can be obtained from northerly and westerly winds, and if close in, from easterly winds also. The character of the land from Breaker point to this place is mountainous and rocky.

The various ports to the northeastward of the Cape of Good Hope, in Kwangtung province, have not been frequented by foreigners. They are said by Mr. Gutzlaff to be Keĕyang, Chinghae, Haeyang and Jaouping. The town of Keĕyang is situated on an island, formed between two branches of a river, at a distance of several miles from the sea. Chinghae or Tinghae is to the southeast of it, and is the chief town of a small district which the sea almost surrounds. Changlin, 'the forest of camphor trees,' is represented as one of the chief places where Chinese junks are built. It is within the jurisdiction of Chinghae. Haeyang and Jaouping are at nearly the same distance from the sea as Keĕyang, namely about 25 or 30 miles, and are to the eastward of Changlin.

The island of Namoa, or Nanaou, lies to the northeastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and to the southward of most of the places we have just named. It is thirteen miles in length, and three miles in average breadth, and consists of two high mountains of unequal extent, connected by a low isthmus. The width of the channel between Namoa and the nearest part of the mainland is about three miles. Namoa is a naval station. The civil jurisdiction is divided, the northern portion of the island pertaining to Kwangtung, and the southern to Fuhkeën; but the whole naval force is under one officer, whose authority extends on both sides of the island. The chief town is Nantsze or Shinao, in a bay on the north side, near the eastern end, and here the naval officer usually resides. The eastern point of the island is in lat. 23° 28′ north, lon. 116° 59′ 30″ east. Off the eastern and southeastern sides of Namoa lie several small islets and rocks. In our present sketch of the coast, we are unable to enter upon the description of these. The Lamock (or Nan Păng) islands, and the Chelsieu or Chetsien (Tseihsing) rocks are the best known.

Being now on the confines, between the provinces of Kwangtung

and Fuhkeën, we will, before returning to the coast of the mainland, proceed to Formosa, which pertains to the latter province, and is annexed to the line of coast which we are now describing. Of the eastern side of this island, almost nothing is known, and our information respecting the western side is scarcely more extensive. The two sides of the island are separated by a central range of mountains, extending from north to south, over which the Chinese have never yet passed in any considerable body, the eastern side being still occupied by the aboriginal inhabitants. Taewan, or Tayowan, the capital, and formerly the head quarters of the Dutch government of the island, is situated about one third of the whole length from the southernmost point, nearly upon the 23d degree of north latitude, and in lon. 3° 32′ 30″ east from Peking. The most approved authorities place the southernmost point of the island in lat. 21° 53′ 30″ north, and lon. 120° 57′ east from Greenwich; the northernmost point in lat. 25° 33′ north, lon. 121° 28′ east. The channel which separates Formosa from the mainland of the Chinese coast is from 75 to 120 miles in breadth. In this channel, rather nearer to Formosa than to the mainland, is a cluster of many small islets, with two larger islands among them. These islands, called by the Chinese Panghoo, and by Europeans the Pescadores, are under the jurisdiction of Formosa, and are occupied as a naval station. Pehoo, the largest, affords a good and safe harbor.

Taewan was formerly an excellent harbor, but, being in almost every direction lined with breakers, the sands have in the course of time so accumulated round it, as to render it inaccessible to any vessels but such as are of very light draft; and these sands, often shifting from place to place, also render the entrance very dangerous even to small vessels. No European vessel, we think, has ever attempted to enter it, since the expulsion of the Dutch in the year 1662. The Lord Amherst, in 1832, visiting a place a little to the northward, could not approach within several miles of the shore; and the largest Chinese junks were obliged to anchor outside, and to land and receive cargoes in lighters. The same is true of nearly the whole western coast of the island. In 1824, the Jamesina made a cruize from one end to the other of it. She first steered for Taewan, but, "in consequence of sands which lie off it, could not get within ten miles of the shore, which is so low that only the tops of the trees and highest houses could be seen. About sunrise, the high mountains in the interior were generally seen, but during the day they were always obscured." Those on board were "readily supplied here with water and provisions, at moderate prices, and many little articles of manufacture peculiar to the island were brought off." Being unable to sell any of her cargo here, "she ran to the southward, as far as 22° 20′ N., without being able to find any good harbor or roadstead." She then returned to Taewan, procured a pilot to proceed to the northward, visited Lokan, in lat. 24,° and then continued her course to Tongkan, about 40 miles further. These places were mere roadsteads. The Merope also visited Formosa in July of

the same year. Being driven off Taewan by a heavy gale, she ran to the northward, and, when the gale moderated, found herself off the town of Tamsui (Tanshuy), near the northernmost end of the island. Here, being desirous to find a place where she might refit, the natives recommended her proceeding to Kelung harbor, on the northeast of the island, which was "found to be a most excellent and secure harbor, perfectly landlocked, but rather difficult of entrance, owing to a rapid tide of five and six knots sweeping past the mouth." The depth of water is 20 fathoms close to the rocks, and 60 fathoms a mile off. A survey of this harbor was made by the commander and officers of the Merope. The entrance is rather more than half a mile wide. Merope's bay is an anchorage somewhat exposed to easterly winds, on the west side of the bay. Killon (Kelung) harbor is at the southwest end. The passage from the anchorage here to the town of Kelung, about a mile distant, is shoal. On the east side of the bay, under the shelter of coral banks on the north, and of the land to the east and south, the Merope rode out a severe typhon. Both Kelung and Tanshuy were garrisoned by the Dutch when they had possession of the island. The position of the former is in lat. 25° 16′ north, lon. 121° 43′ east, that of the latter about lat. 25° 12′ north, and lon. 121° 20′ east.

In 1827, the Dhaulle visited the same ports as had been visited by the Jamesina and Merope. She also rounded the northeastern point of the island, and proceeded down the eastern coast, about 30 miles to the mouth of a small river, where was a town named Caballan or Kabatah. She visited also the southernmost part of the island, and remained there several days, anchored in an open roadstead. We have to regret the want of any details respecting this cruize; and we are surprized that hitherto no attempt has been made to learn what commercial facilities exist on the eastern side of Formosa, where the Chinese government has at present no possessions.

We now return to the mainland, on the confines of Kwangtung and Fuhkeën. In running along the coast from thence, we find the islands so numerous, that we cannot undertake even to give their names, but must restrict ourselves to an enumeration and brief description of such harbors and anchorages as have been visited by foreigners.

Tungshan, or, as pronounced by the natives of the place, Tangsoa, about 32 miles to the northward and eastward of the northeast point of Namoa island, is the first place to which we come. It is the head station of a naval force. The anchorage is on the west of a long neck of land, which forms the eastern side of a deep bay. The town of Tungshan and the anchorage for junks is on the further side of the bay. In the mouth of the bay is an island, distinguished by a pagoda, and so situated that a vessel anchoring on the north side of it will be landlocked, and sheltered from all winds. After rounding the neck of land on the east side of the bay, the next point we reach is Hootowshan, off which vessels have sometimes anchored, but it affords no shelter from easterly or southerly winds.

Passing one or two headlands to the northeastward of this place, we reach the harbor of Amoy, as pronounced by the natives, or, as more generally pronounced Heämun. This harbor is in the southwestern corner of a considerable bay, in which are two large and many smaller islands. The largest and westernmost island, named Amoy, forms the northern limit of the harbor, which is sheltered on the east by the smaller of the two principal islands, while the mainland shelters is on the west and south. The town of Amoy is situated at the south end of the larger island, and the anchorage for ships is immediately in front of it. The bay and harbor are safe for any number of ships. The river on which is situated Changchow foo, the chief city of an important department, disembogues a little to the southwest of the town of Amoy. Tungan, another city of importance, is placed at the bottom of an inlet, northwest of Amoy island. The smaller of the two principal islands in this extensive bay, called Quemoy, is situated in lat. 24° 20′ 30″ north, lon. 118° 16′ 30″ east. It is to the eastward of Amoy, and forms the southwestern side of another harbor, (having the mainland to the north and northeast of it,) which is called the bay or harbor of Kinmun, Kimmoon, or Quemoy. The bay of Leaoulo, a small bay on the eastern side of Quemoy island, affords shelter from southwest winds.

Chimmo, Yungning, or Engleng bay is separated from Quemoy by a peninsula of from four to seven miles in breadth. The anchorage is at the north end, exposed to easterly and southerly winds, but well sheltered to the northeast. Chimmo town is at the south end of the bay, Yungning or Engleng at the north end. Near to Chimmo are two small islands, one distinguished by a pagoda, and northward of this are two rocks, which are to be avoided in entering.

Chinchew, or Tseuenchow, is a city of large extent and considerable importance, situated near the mouth of a river, which disembogues into a bay that receives from the city the name of Chinchew. This bay affords a very safe harbor, sheltered by the mainland on three sides, and on the east and southeast by several islands lying at the entrance. The harbor is further covered by a point of land, having on it a large square pagoda. The position of the anchorage is in latitude 24° 52′ north, lon. 118° 44′ east. Separated from Chinchew by a narrow neck of land is a deep bay, seldom as yet visited by foreigners, at the bottom of which, towards the southwest is a river, on which is the district town of Hwuyan. The curvatures of the land in this bay form several minor bays, the most southern of which has been occasionally frequented, and has received the name of Matheson's harbor.

The Lamyet (or Nanjeih) islands are situated to the northeastward of Chinchew bay, the nearest distant about forty miles. The mainland, leaving its usual northeastern direction, runs out due east for above thirty miles, and the first of the Lamyet islands lies off the easternmost point of it. From hence there is an almost uninterrupted series of islands and islets, up to the mouth of the Yangtsze keäng. The Lamyet islands are opposite to the entrance of a deep bay, at

the bottom of which is the city of Hinghwa foo, the capital of the most fertile portion of Fuhkeën. This bay, however, has not yet been visited by foreigners. The outermost of the Lamyet islands, named by Ross Ocksou, was found, when passed by the ships of Lord Amherst's embassy, to be in lat .24° 59′ 15″ north, lon. 119° 34′ 30″ east. About thirty miles further to the northward, we pass between an island of peculiar form and the main. This island is named Haetan, the altar of the sea; in shape it is semicircular, and of nearly equal breadth throughout. A few miles above this island we reach the mouth of the river Min.

Fuhchow foo, the capital of Fuhkeën, is situated about twenty-five miles up the river Min, on its northern bank. In entering the river, and the bay into which the river disembogues, there are a few dangers to be avoided, which are clearly delineated on the chart of the entrance drawn up by captain T. Rees, of the Lord Amherst, in 1832, and upon a Dutch chart, published many years since. As this place has been more than once spoken of in preceding volumes of the Repository, we will not now stay to describe the city. To do justice to a description of it, it should be taken by itself. The anchorage in the river Min is in lat. 26° 6′ north, lon. 119° 53′ east.

Tinghae, or Tinghoy, harbor is a safe anchorage, at the northeast end of the bay into which the river Min falls. Kitta, or Ketack, is a small harbor, separated, on the south, from the bay into which the river Min disembogues, by a narrow neck of low land. It can only be entered by small vessels. Samsah, or Sungshan, is an anchorage, affording shelter from south and southeast winds, a little to the northeastward of the last named place. A few miles further north are the Lesan, or Leshan, islands, marking the limit of the province of Fuhkeën, and of our southeastern line of coast.

The eastern line of coast. Continuing our course along the coast of Chĕkeäng province, we pass by several harbors frequented by Chinese junks, but which have not yet been visited by European vessels. Among these is that of Wănchow foo, in lat. 28° north, also a large bay a few miles northward of Wănchow foo, and two others between the 29th and 30th parallels of latitude. After a run of about 100 miles from the Leshan islands, we reach the Heysan or Hihshan group, and a little further, the Quesan or Kewshan islands, giving notice of our approach to the extensive Chusan archipelago.

Chusan, or Chowshan, is a large island, about 30 miles in length and 15 in breadth, surrounded by numerous islands and islets of every grade, from about one fourth the size of the principal island, to mere barren rocks just rising above the surface of the water. No description could afford any correct notion of the relative position of islands so numerously scattered in all directions. The largest number is to the south of the principal island. This island lies nearly opposite to the river of Ningpo. On its southern side is a considerable walled town, named Tinghae, in front of which is the principal harbor which the islands afford, in lat. 30° 36′ north, lon. 121° 41′ east, according to Horsburgh, but somewhat diffe-

rently by others. The depth of water in the harbor is from five to seven fathoms. It is completely landlocked and sheltered from all winds. A long and narrow neck of land, extending from the main, terminates in Kittow (Ketow) point, three or four leagues to the southward of Chusan harbor. Running along the northern shore of this land, we shortly reach the entrance of the river of Ningpo. Kintang on the east, and Pooto on the west, of Chusan, are among the larger and more beautiful islands of this extensive group. Pooto possesses a peculiar attraction in the number of splendid temples and picturesque grottoes which cover it. (See Gutzlaff's journal, in the second volume, and the voyage of the Huron, in the fourth volume of the Repository.)

Ningpo is the chief city of a department, and a place of extensive trade. It is situated on the north bank, five or six leagues up the river Taheă, the mouth of which is about nine leagues distant from Chusan harbor. The channel for entering the river is between some small islands and the eastern point, having on the bar from 3 to 3½ fathoms, and at the anchorage inside from 5 to 6 fathoms. The town of Chinhae is situated immediately within the mouth of the river, and opposite to it is the anchorage, in lat. 29° 54′ north, lon. 121° 52′ 30″ east.

Directly to the northwestward of this river is a deep gulph, the disemboguement of the river Tseëntang. A few miles up this gulph is Hangchow foo, the capital of the province Chĕkeäng, a place celebrated for its silk manufactures, and the seat of an extensive maritime as well as inland trade. Kanpoo (supposed to be the Canfu of the Mohammedan travelers in the eighth century) was formerly the port of Hangchow, but the gradual accumulation of sands has rendered it necessary to move further out towards the sea, to a place named Chapoo, situated like Kanpoo on the northern side of the gulph. From hence is carried on the trade with Japan, consisting of twenty large junks annually. The embankments raised against the encroachments of the sea, and the extensive salt works, in this neighborhood, are objects of interest.

After a run of about sixty miles from the Taheă river, we pass the northernmost islands of the great Chusan archipelago, and having entered the province of Keängsoo, steer northwestward, towards the embouchure of the Yangtsze keäng, having the low mainland on our left, and the alluvial island Tsungming on our right. The depth of water here is from 3½ to 5 fathoms, muddy bottom. About forty-five miles further, we turn southward into the Woosung river, one of the numerous streams which in this neighborhood intersect the country in every direction. The city Shanghae, a large commercial place, is situated on the right bank of the Woosung, about twenty or twenty-five miles up. The anchorage at the mouth of the river is in lat. 31° 25′ north, lon. 121° 1′ 30″ east. It has been several times visited by foreigners since 1832, when the Lord Amherst first touched there. This place is the limit of our eastern line, and we now proceed to—

The northeastern line of coast. In running from Shanghae along this part of the coast, it is necessary to stand out to sea, in order to avoid the shoals off the mouth of the Yellow river. A run of above 300 miles brings us to the promontory of Shantung, the termination of the projecting land which forms the southern boundary of the gulph of Cheihle. To the southwest of this promontory are a few anchorages of no great importance; on the northwest are the harbors of Weihae wei, Keshanso, and Tangchow foo. Teëntsin, on the Peiho, which disembogues at the eastern end of the gulph of Cheihle, is an important city; Kinchow and Kaechow are in the gulph of Leaoutung, which runs up northeastward from that of Cheihle.

Of the anchorages to the southwestward of the promontory, we know but little. The Chinese name Haechow, on the frontiers of Keangsoo; Lingshan, at the entrance of the bay of Keaouchow; Aoushan, Laeyang, Tahaou, and Tsinghae. Haechow is at the bottom of a bay immediately to the north of the Yellow river, in lat. 34° 32′ 24″ north, lon. 2° 55′ 47″ east, of Peking, or 119° 10′ 16″ east of Greenwich, according to Du Halde. Keaouchow is in lat. 36° 14′ 20″ north, lon. 120° 18′ east, and Lingshan is about twenty miles to the south of it. Aoushan is forty miles to the eastward and northward of Keaouchow. Laeyang is on the east bank of a river, which flowing from thence twenty miles southward, falls into the sea near Aoushan. Tahaou, about twenty miles further to the eastward, is an open roadstead, but Haeyang so, in the neighborhood, affords some shelter. Tsinghae is about forty miles from Haeyang, and is a short distance east of the place that by the English has been named Cape Macartney. The two last named places were visited by the Huron in 1835, and are mentioned in vol. iv., pp. 323, 324 of this work.

The easternmost point of the promontory of Shantung — Chingshan, 'the extreme hill' — is in lat. 37° 23′ 40″ north, and lon. 122° 45′ east. It is of moderate height. Alceste island, distinguished by several perforations of the rock of which it is composed, is distant two or three miles from the northeast projection of Chingshan.

Weihae wei (Oie-hai-oie) is distant about thirty-four miles W. by N., from the east point of Chingshan. It is in a well-sheltered bay, having the mainland on the north, west, and south, and shut in on the east by the island Lewkungtaou. On the northeast, the anchorage is a little exposed. It may be reached either from that direction or from the eastward, Lewkungtaou lying midway between the two passages. A small islet lies off the western end of Lewkungtaou, the position of which has been ascertained to be in lat. 37° 30′ 30″ north, and lon. 122° 10′ 55″ east. Rounding the point of land which shelters Weihae wei on the north, we arrive, after a run of forty-two miles further to the westward, at Keshan so or Kisanseu, on the eastern side of a well-sheltered bay in lat. 37° 35′ 50″ north, lon. 121° 28′ 10″ east. The inner anchorage is to the north of the town, having the mainland on the south, several islands on the east, a low sandy isthmus on the west, and on the north Zeuootao, originally an island, but now joined by the low isthmus to the mainland. The outer

anchorage is to the eastward of the town, under shelter of the islands above-mentioned. The city of Ninghae chow lies at the bottom of an inlet on the eastern side of the same bay; it is a place of small importance.

Tăngchow foo (Tenchowfoo) is about forty miles further to the northwest, and is the northernmost point of Shantung. It is situated in lat. 37° 48′ north, bearing W.20° N. from Zeuootao. Exposed to the eastward and westward, and but partially defended to the northward, with a rocky bottom, it is a harbor of no value to vessels of heavy draft. The Miatau (Meaoutaou) islands, which lie to the north of it, afford a safe harbor for vessels not drawing above two or three fathoms, and an anchorage well sheltered to the northward for larger vessels. The gulph of Cheihle commences here. A long neck of land stretches out from the Mantchou coast on the north, reaching to within sixty miles of Tangchow foo, and the Meaoutaou and other groups of islands form a belt across the entrance of the gulph.

The mouth of the Peiho is distant from Tăngchow foo about 170 miles. An open roadstead, within several miles of a flat shore, is here the only anchorage. Teëntsin is above thirty miles up the river in a straight line, and allowing for the many curvatures of the river the passage up must be nearly double that distance. Chinese junks are dragged over the shallows that lie off the river Peiho, taking advantage of high tides, and, thus entering the river, they proceed up to Teëntsin. The grand canal joins the Peiho opposite to the city, which is in lat. 39° 10′ N., lon. 0° 46′ 32″ E. from Peking.

Of Kinchow at the head of the gulph of Leaoutung, on the western side, and of Kaechow, a little more southerly, on the opposite side of the gulph, we have no information but such as has been furnished by Mr. Gutzlaff, in his journals already published in previous volumes of the Repository. Their positions, as given by D'Anville, are nearly as follows: Kinchow, lat. 41° 7′ north, lon. 4° 20′ east, of Peking; Kaechow, lat. 40° 32′ north, lon. 6° east, of Peking. Two anchorages further to the south than Kaechow, were visited by the H. C. S. Discovery in 1816, after the disembarkation of Lord Amherst and the embassy.

We have thus noticed every place of which we have any knowledge, upon the Chinese coast, from the river Anam, on the frontiers of Tonquin, to the neck of land, absurdly named the Prince Regent's Sword, which bounds on the eastward the gulphs of Cheihle and Leaoutung. We are sensible that in describing so many places which we have never personally visited, much must be very imperfect, and not a little inaccurate. Still, we believe that we have had it in our power to communicate some facts; and we trust to our maritime friends and others who may visit the places spoken of, to correct our errors and from time to time increase our knowledge. The charts of the coast of China are, for the most part, very imperfect. We are anxious to see some efforts made to gain more knowledge of this people in all accessible quarters.

ART. III. *Embassies to China: objects, plans, and arrangements, of Lord Macartney's embassy, to the court of Keënlung, from the king of Great Britain; strictures on the same; and remarks explanatory of the causes of its failure: its course traced, from its origination, to its arrival at the mouth of the Peiho.* Paper 2d: by a Correspondent.

[This article was in hand before that on the 'prospects of China' was written; but we are not aware that our own remarks were modified in the slightest degree by it. On any point, therefore, where the two coincide, they may bear with greater force than either could separately. After going through with his analysis and strictures, our Correspondent will, we hope, give a full outline of what ought to be done. If his papers do no more than show the chief reasons for the failure of former embassies, and draw attention to the subject of opening a direct intercourse with the supreme government of China, they will not have been written in vain.]

IT would, we apprehend, be very difficult, if not actually impossible, to find any Englishman, conversant with the proceedings of the two British embassies to China, who does not look with deep regret, not to say disgust, at the way in which his country was needlessly disgraced by them. That the managers of these embassies were ignorant of what should have been notorious to them, is to say nothing—they had taken counsel but with the East India Directors, who studied their commercial interests alone; or, probably, to speak more truly, the whole management was abandoned to them, as the least troublesome way. The strange interмingling of the servants of the king and company seems to give somewhat of a clue to the wishes of the managers; but, whence has come the moral cowardice, the secret undercurrent, unseen but all powerful, by which all the movements of the embassies seem, in reality, to have been directed, it is not, at present, possible to more than guess at. That such did exist; that there were secret instructions, of a character totally different from what, to the casual observer, appears; no man, who has diligently studied the conduct of the embassies, can for a moment doubt. The stamp of it is on every page. We are strongly in doubt whether, in both Macartney's and Amherst's, there was not a *carte blanche* to the envoys, committee of management, or whatever it may have been, where the real power was invested, to perform any, and all, ceremonies that were deemed advisable; or to submit, in fact, to anything that seemed likely to forward the interest of the embassy; or, as we may, at once, term it, the East India Company. We know that the last remaining degradation, the performance of the humiliating ceremony of prostration and knocking head, was only prevented, in the last embassy, by the representation of the ill effects that such would have on the trade of the Company; and this when my lord Amherst and Mr. Ellis had agreed on the performance.

We think it necessary to preface our sketch of Macartney's embassy with these few remarks, as the only clue to the strange want of decent and manly spirit by which it was distinguished. Honor, dignity, and national character, were forgotten; and the only question, throughout, seems to have been, is this likely to effect the object aimed at by the embassy, for good or ill? Had the real character of the Chinese been known; impartial advisers had recourse to; or high spirited men, servants of their country alone, been employed; this consideration would have been as nothing; and the performance of ceremonies, that could, in any way, be turned to a compromise of the independence, or entire equality witn China of the country which they represented, would not for one moment have been entertained. The first experiment on their courage or firmness would have been repelled with contempt; no hint of inferiority borne with; all claims, however slight or remote, of superiority, on the part of the Chinese envoys, emperor, or nation, scouted as soon as heard; no second audience been allowed to any officer, however high, who might have dared to claim or insinuate it; a clearly understood recognition of the rank of the embassy insisted on, at once and throughout — had these, which, to any uncontrolled and high minded man, would appear necessary, in the highest degree, been kept steadily in view, from first to last, it would not have been possible for the Chinese to say, as now, with truth, that the first embassy, from Great Britain, acknowledged the inferiority of its country; nor have established a precedent, which will be found all but insurmountable, by those whose ill-fortune it may be to come after them. That they might not have reached Peking, we think possible; but we, who value, as somewhat beyond mere vanity, the respect which a great and independent nation has a right to claim and insist on from all the world, can see but little to regret in so unfavorable an issue to the embassy, compared with what we feel at knowing that, by voluntarily shutting their eyes to the fact, its representatives had disgraced it, beyond recall. All diplomatic intercourse, with an Asiatic power, should be conducted with the greatest care and caution: nothing should be taken for granted, or left for after-arrangement — in no case should inferior officers be held parley with — all, on the side of the stranger, should be managed in the simplest, the most straightforward way—all equivocation, of whatever kind, or for whatever purpose, be studiously avoided: truth, consistency, and firmness, be the plan in which all should be conceived, and carried through; while the same should, as far as possible, be guarantied from the other party, by the constant use of written, instead of verbal, correspondence; both sides of which, it is known, the Chinese have no scruple to misrepresent, and falsify, whenever it suits their purpose. Every step should be cautiously taken, and carefully canvassed — persons, possessed of local information, be, as far as possible, had recourse to, to prevent mistakes, that might lead to fatal errors: — the utmost respect, in great and small things should alike be insisted on: but, perhaps, more than all these, important as is each, is the personal character and conduct of the man, to whom all is to be entrusted — weakness, indecision, or vacillation, are at

once fatal, and one exhibition of these is enough to sink the embassy in the eyes of the wary and all-observing Asiatics — violence and stubbornness even may, by chance, carry their object; but their opposites can never be forgotten, and most certainly will be worked on as strong points, from the beginning to the end.

How have our embassadors been selected? What was it that so much distinguished George, earl Macartney, as to cause his appointment to a task of such immeasurable difficulty? Who knew in him that striking and happy combination of the higher qualities of mind, which could alone entitle a man to look for or assume an office, of such superlative responsibility? We know not. Except as connected with this mission, his name might go down to the dust, undistinguished from the general herd; and that which he did, but leaves us surprised, indeed, at the selection. He had been, we are aware, employed at different foreign courts; and promoted to the peerage, as also to the government of Madras; and he had, it is said, been offered the government of India. That he was a *rusé* diplomatist, as such things go in Europe, we incline to think possible; and to believe that it was his reputation for this which was one cause of his appointment. Sir George Staunton, his friend, secretary, coadjutor, or, it may be, even yet more, an active servant of the Company, says that "his reputation was established for talent, integrity, and an aptitude for business;" and remarks that, "it behoved the British administration to select a person of tried prudence, as well as of long experience in distant courts and countries, to enter upon a business of such delicacy and difficulty; and who would be contented with securing future success, without enjoying the splendor of instant advantage." Whether this last passage, written after the failure, was penned to silence or deprecate remarks, we do not know; but must think it probable. That he had not the splendor of instant advantage is certain: that he failed in insuring future success, we, in 1837, know: and that he laid the ground work for future failures, by his "prudence," if sir George Staunton will have it so, we believe; and the embassy of 1816 experienced. *Finis coronat opus;* and we can *now* tell how far the compliments in 1795 were deserved, by a view of what he did. Better, infinitely better, far wiser, would it have been, had some one, not an *habitué* at courts, been sent here — plain courage and sense — sterling qualities as they are — would have shone brighter, and worked more happily, than the tinsel trumpery of *etiquette*, for his knowledge of which, lord Macartney, in great degree, was, we believe, indebted for his nomination.

The objects of the embassy are now to be considered. We find it expressly stated, "it was undertaken for commercial purposes," and that, "in fact, the intercourse between the two countries was carried on in a manner that required some change:" what that change was, is not so clearly stated; though, it appears to have been, ostensibly at least, the reacquisition of the former right to trade at other ports than Canton, and the removal of some of the shackles, under which

the Chinese kept the East India Company. The keeping up a supply of tea was also not without its effect — we are told that —

"Prudence required to guard against its failure in the mean time, by endeavoring to form such connection with the court of Peking, as might, in its consequences, tend to place the British trade to China upon a less precarious, and more advantageous footing, than hitherto it had stood: as well, also, as to prevent the difficulties, and allay the jealousies, which the intrigues and misrepresentations of the respective dependents or allies of China and Great Britain, might be likely to occasion on the side of Hindostan." *p.* 23.

The plan, on which it was to act, is thus stated —

"But it might not be safe to trust to the effect of examples of ordinary rectitude,† without the concomitant qualifications for moving in a scene so novel, and amidst prejudices so inveterate. An embassador once admitted, the success of the general plan would, certainly, much depend on the impression he and his attendants would make during his journey through the country (!); and his visit to the court." *p.* 27.

"The impression," thus aimed at, we shall have occasion to animadvert on presently. The following is also a part of the same plan.

"A military guard was allowed, also, to attend the person of the embassador, as practised in eastern embassies; seldom, indeed, for the purposes of safety, but as adding dignity to the mission (!). Lord Macartney's guard was not numerous, but consisted of picked men from the infantry, as well as from the artillery, with light field pieces, the rapid exercise of which, agreeably to the recent improvements, together with the various evolutions of the men, might in these respects, convey some idea of the European art of war, and be an interesting spectacle to the emperor of China (!); who is said to pride himself as a conqueror of extensive territories, and of many Tartar tribes." *p.* 34.

It will seem strange that, though the British connections had then existed near a century, no Englishman could be found, conversant with the Chinese language; and that Paris, Rome, and Naples, must be ransacked to find a man, able to act in the capacity of interpreter. This man, known by the name of "Mr. Plum," was a native of China, who had learned Latin and Italian at the "Chinese college" at Naples.* Forty-five years after sir George Staunton's voyage of discovery to find him, to the shame of England be it spoken, there is still no public endowment, or professorship; no inducement held out to the study of the Chinese language — a language which it is more our interest, than that of all other nations besides, to acquire and keep up a correct knowledge of. France has long had professorships — what is her interest in Chinese matters? Germany can also boast of her scholars. How is it that Britain is, of all, the last, though so deeply interested? How is it that, of the few of her citizens who

† What does all this mean?

* Two of these Chinese, so qualified, were found and attached to the embassy—one of them took his departure, when the ships arrived off the Ladrone islands, being afraid of the risk he ran. Had "Mr. Plum" done the same, and it astonishes us that he did not, the embassy would have found itself, in China, without an interpreter; or, had the Chinese seized him, as "holding traitorous intercourse with foreign barbarians," what a dilemma would they not have been in! "Mr. Plum" was well known to be a Chinese: and it is strange that he was not seized, and punished, if not executed.

have acquired this language, there should not be one on whom the sun of public patronage should have shone? Not one who has met with an honorable award, such as his labors entitled him to, at the hands of his country? While Rémusat shed honor on the literature of France from his professor's chair, now filled and worthily by Stanislas Julien, why should the distinction have been withheld from our Morrison? Strange, that his name should be better known, and his works more appreciated, in foreign countries, than in his own! Strange, that, in our universities, some moderate sum could not be spared to endow a professorial chair, even though it had to be taken from some of those, more laborious than useful persons, who yearly enlighten the public with dissertations on the particles of a dead, and, all but in books, forgotten language!

Presents — those dangerous things, on which all embassies from European courts to China in which they are employed, must needs be wrecked, were sent with lord Macartney; the reasons for sending them, we shall let sir G. Staunton tell.

"It was thought that whatever tended to illustrate science, or promote the arts, would give more solid and permanent satisfaction to a prince, whose time of life would, naturally, lead him to seek, in every object, the utility of which it was susceptible.

"Astronomy being a science peculiarly esteemed in China, and deemed worthy of the attention and occupation of the government, the latest and most improved instruments for assisting in its operations, as well as the most perfect imitation that had yet been made of the celestial movements, could scarcely fail of being acceptable.

"Specimens of the best British manufactures, and all the late inventions for adding to the conveniences and comforts of social life, might answer the double purpose of gratifying those to whom they were to be presented, and of exciting a more general demand afterwards for similar articles, in the way of purchase,(!) from the Company or private merchants." *p.* 43.

And, thus framed and selected, the first British embassy from England to China, that was fated to reach the shores of the celestial empire, set out; preceded by a letter, expressive of its intentions, from the chairman of the Court of Directors, to the governor of Canton; thus, as was intended, "securing the effects of first impressions, lest otherwise the undertaking might through error or design, be made to assume a warlike or suspicious appearance, and the embassador's reception thereby be rendered dubious." This letter we subjoin. What the emperor of China could have thought of an embassy announced in this manner, by a merchant speaking thus, off hand, of his sovereign's intentions, no one, who does not know the footing on which the Chinese place all merchants, can understand.

"In this letter sir Francis (Baring) stated that, 'his most gracious sovereign having heard that it had been expected is subjects, settled at Canton, would have sent a deputation to the court of Peking, in order to congratulate the emperor on his entering into the 80th year of his age, but that such deputation had not been immediately dispatched, expressed great displeasure thereat (!); and, being desirous of cultivating the friendship of the emperor of China, and of improving the connection, intercourse, and good correspondence between the courts of London and Peking, and of increasing and extending the

commerce between their respective subjects, had resolved to send his well-beloved cousin* and counsellor lord Macartney, a nobleman of great virtue, wisdom, and ability, as his embassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China, to represent his person, and to express in the strongest terms, the satisfaction he should feel if this mark of his attention and regard should serve as a foundation to establish a perpetual harmony and alliance between them; and that the embassador, with his attendants, should soon set out upon the voyage; and, having several presents for the emperor, from his Britannic majesty, which, from their size, and nicety of mechanism, could not be conveyed through the interior of China, to so great a distance as from Canton to Peking, without the risk of damage,† he should proceed directly, in one of his majesty's ships, properly accompanied, to the port of Teëntsin, approaching in the first instance, as near as possible to the residence of the emperor of China.'" *p.* 45.

The instructions to lord Macartney, from the secretary of state, though not clear, or very important, we also give.

"It is observed, that 'a greater number of his subjects, than of any other Europeans, had been trading for a considerable time past, in China; that the commercial intercourse between several other nations and that great empire had been preceded, accompanied, or followed, by special communications with its sovereign. Others had the support of missionaries, who, from their eminence in science, or ingenuity in the arts, had been frequently admitted to the familiarity of a curious and polished court, and which missionaries, in the midst of their cares for the propagation of their faith, were not supposed to have been unmindful of the views and interests of their country; while the English traders remained unaided, and as it were, unavowed, at a distance so remote as to admit of a misrepresentation of the national character and importance; and where, too, their occupation was not held in that esteem, which might be necessary to procure them safety and respect; that under these circumstances, it became the dignity and character of his majesty to extend his paternal regard to these his distant subjects, even if the commerce and prosperity of the nation were not concerned in their success; and to claim the emperor of China's protection for them, with that weight which is due to the requisition of one great sovereign from another; that, a free communication with a people, perhaps the most singular upon the globe, among whom civilization had existed, and the arts been cultivated, through a long series of ages, with fewer interruptions than elsewhere, was well worthy, also, of being sought by the British nation, which saw with pleasure and with gratitude applauded, the several voyages undertaken already, by his majesty's command, and at the public expense, in the pursuit of knowledge, and for the discovery and observation of distant countries and manners; but that, in seeking to improve a connection with China, no views were entertained except those of the general interests of humanity (!), the mutual benefit of both nations (!), and the protection of commerce under the Chinese government.'" *p.* 47.

His majesty's letter to the Chinese emperor, as a curiosity in its way, is worth reading; the self trumpeting was decidedly in the most approved Chinese fashion; and had a fair chance of being believed, as we should one from the brother of the sun, first cousin of the moon,

* If translated thus, this must have seemed strange to the Chinese; as they would not fail to find out the truth. Not one paltry fiction of European diplomacy spared!

(!) Falsehoods all! and done in the mere hope of reaching the emperor.

&c., as some of the easterns yet style themselves. Magnify himself as he might, he could still but be the obedient vassal of the great emperor; his desire to extend the bounds of friendship, a tender of his allegiance—his presents, tribute to his liege lord. Such was the situation of the embassy, when it appeared on the shores of China.

"It is said in his majesty's letter to the emperor of China, that, "the natural disposition of a great and benevolent sovereign, such as his imperial majesty, whom Providence had seated upon the throne for the good of mankind,(!) was to watch over the peace and security of his dominions; and to take pains for disseminating happiness, virtue, and knowledge, among his subjects: extending the same beneficence, with all the peaceful arts, as far as he was able, to the whole human race. That his Britannic majesty, impressed with such sentiments from the very beginning of his reign, when he found his people engaged in war, had granted to his enemies, after obtaining victories over them in the four quarters of the world,(!) the blessing of peace, upon the most equitable conditions; that, since that period, not satisfied with promoting the prosperities of his own subjects, in every respect, and beyond the example of all former times, he had taken various opportunities of fitting out ships, and sending, in them, some of the most wise and learned of his own people, for the discovery of distant and unknown regions; not for the purpose of conquest, or of enlarging his dominions, which were already sufficiently extensive for all his wishes, nor for the purpose of acquiring wealth, nor even favoring the commerce of his subjects; but for the sake of increasing the knowledge of the habitable globe, of finding out the various productions of the earth: and for communicating the arts and comforts of life to those parts, where they had hitherto been little known: and that he had since sent vessels, with animals and vegetables most useful to man, to islands and places where, it appeared, they had been wanting; that he had been still more anxious to inquire into the arts and manners of countries, where civilization had been improved by the wise ordinances and virtuous examples of their sovereigns, through a long series of ages; and felt, above all, an ardent wish to become acquainted with those celebrated institutions of his (Chinese) majesty's populous and extensive empire, which had carried its prosperity to such a height, as to be the admiration of all surrounding nations (!). That his Britannic majesty being then at peace with all the world, no time could be so propitious for extending the bounds of friendship and benevolence, and for proposing to communicate and receive the benefits which must result from an unreserved and amicable intercourse between such great and civilized nations as China and Great Britain." *p.* 49.

That there were not, even then, people wanting who regarded the exhibition of pomp and pretension with eyes of suspicion, we find recorded; but, we are told, that they were but those who "still held to the exploded prejudice of the jealousy of commerce, not being it seems aware that the world was wide enough for all who chose to embark in that kind of life, and that it flourished best by reciprocation." Some such people, sir George Staunton allows, "failed not to attribute to the British Administration, and East India Company, a design of engrossing the total trade of China," an opinion which we, writing near half a century afterwards, are fain to acknowledge was, in all probability, a correct one.

Before the ambassador and his suite reached China, the effects, which might have been looked for, from the admixture of which it

was composed, had begun to show themselves—"the hoppo found a flaw in the commission, by their not having been deputed directly from the king of Great Britain—but, being merely representatives of the East India Company—he did not let slip the occasion to perplex and oppose them, by every artifice in his power." We presume that this perplexing must have been in return for that which he must have endured, in attempting to reconcile the announcement of a king's embassy, by servants of a commercial body; a perplexity which seems to have extended to the *fooyuen* and others; and probably, as we think, had no small share in causing the embassy to lose much of the opinion which it perhaps might, if uncoupled with this ever-present Company, have received. We must not here omit to notice the fact, that "the hong merchants had, on this occasion, given a bond, to government, promising that the gentlemen, who brought the dispatches there, would remain for a reply from court." We should much like to know what reasonable hope of success could be entertained for an embassy commencing its career by such anomalous, and to the Chinese, irreconcileable, proceedings. How could the fellows of merchants, after this plain and public avowal of inferior rank, ever hope that their claims of equality with the emperor could be, for an instant, listened to? From the moment that the Chinese had a right to think that deceit was being practiced on them, and the name of the king only borrowed to serve the purposes of the Company; from that moment, chance of success there was none. Probably, the Chinese were mystified with the admixture; and could not distinguish between them at that time:—and from that to this, the two services, king's and company's, have been so singularly blended together, that we might excuse yet more acute people than the Chinese for not distinguishing one from the other. Even now, mean as it is, the British government condescends to receive, from the East India company, a share of the amount of expense incurred by keeping up the commission to this country; and we have small hesitation in avowing our conviction, that it was this admixture that, more than anything else, rendered lord Napier's mission doubted by the Chinese; and which has made it, and all others for the last half century, looked on with doubt and mistrust.

If the embassy had reason to complain of prejudices against them, on the part of the Chinese, it is evident that, on their side, none such were reciprocated; for we find, in the account of the embassy, published six years after it, the utmost pleasure and satisfaction at all the novelties of country, persons, or manners, met with, in this, to them, new world. All is seen *couleur de rose*—great and good qualities are discovered in each mandarin that they fall in with. On a first interview with a 'soldier mandarin,' a discovery is made that, 'though he was no boaster in his deportment, yet there was sometimes perceptible an honest consciousness of his prowess and achievements.' This is seeing much, at a first sight, certainly; and, of the same sort of puerile stuff, there is no want in any part of Staunton's work. We never read any of these half ludicrous generalizations of ideas from

particular instances, without being reminded strongly of the story of the French *savant*, who meeting a Chinese on his way out, in the morning, to pay visits, at once returned home, in all haste, to write a book about him.

We now approach the commencement of the farce. Many of the mandarins were found anxious to ascertain the contents of the letter, and the particulars as to the presents; the first was *evaded*—not met with a plain refusal—but with a subterfuge, and a falsehood; the second seems to have been a different affair, for the silly apprehension of our embassadors, who seem to have thought themselves interested in soothing and humoring the then clever emperor of China, more as though he were a child or a savage, than as if they thought they had to deal with their superior, in all mental powers yet more than in rank. In this silly and inflated vein, which, forsooth, they dub "our oriental style," they say that,—

"The king of Great Britain, willing to testify his high esteem and veneration for his imperial majesty of China (!), by sending an embassy to him at such a distance, and by choosing an embassador among the most distinguished characters of the British dominions (!), wished also that whatever presents he should send, might be worthy of such a wise and discerning monarch (!). Neither their quantity nor cost could be of any consideration before the imperial throne, abounding with wealth and treasures of every kind. Nor would it be becoming to offer trifles of momentary curiosity, but little use. His Britannic majesty had been, therefore, careful to select only such articles as might denote the progress of science, and of the arts in Europe, and which might convey some kind of information to the exalted mind (!) of his imperial majesty, or such other articles as might be practically useful. The intent and spirit accompanying presents, not the presents themselves, are chiefly of value between sovereigns." *p.* 491.

The description which follows of the several presents appears more like the tiresome prosing of some aged pedagogue, holding forth to boys, than language of men of business informing a superior. This stuff, bombast and all, is given at great length by Staunton, as though, in reality, a performance and manœuvre of singular ability. Trifling as it is, it helps to prove how widely the character of the people with whom they had to do was misapprehended by the embassy; and shows what the chance of success could be, in greater things, when in small ones such silliness was exhibited.

We have now followed the embassy to its place of action; and, passing by the wordy and lengthy and most ridiculous orders for the *Lion*, in her projected voyage, to establish relations with Japan, Manila, Magindanao, &c., "by the medium of a Malay sailor who spoke some English, an English sailor who spoke the Malay language, and a China servant who spoke Portuguese,"* we shall bestow a few lines on a part where the real intent of the embassy breaks out, undesignedly.

"It had been intended by the East India Company, that as soon as the Hindostan should be discharged by the embassador at Teëntsin, she should proceed to Canton to take a cargo from thence for Europe, in the usual way

* Is it possible for absurdity to go beyond this?

of trade. As she must in her route pass by Chusan, it was now (!) thought desirable for her to touch there, in the probability of her procuring a lading home on more advantageous terms than at Canton, if leave should happen to be granted for the purchase, at the former port, of the teas and silks of the neighboring provinces. On this account, captain Mackintosh was the more readily allowed by the embassador to accompany him to Peking, that he might have the opportunity of soliciting that permission personally from the government (!); and might, in his way back to join his ship, have perhaps occasion to observe the method of manufacturing the goods he generally carried from China, relative to which the East India Company was desirous of receiving particular information (!). *pp.* 502–3.

There is a *naiveté* in the latter part of this, quite amusing. The master of the "present-ship" to be "taken to court," that "he might have an opportunity to ask, personally," what would not have been asked at all, had a due regard to what should have been the sole objects of the embassy been kept in view! Here is another instance, of that mingling of trade with politics, which we may well excuse the Chinese for not being able to understand. Captain Mackintosh may have been a good and respectable man, in his own country; but, in the eyes of the Chinese, as captain of a trading junk, he was beneath a thought; and his person, visit, and object, alike contemptible.

We have, hitherto, gone, almost completely, on the official statements of the transactions of the mission. We shall now call a witness into court, whose evidence we may have to refer to frequently. He is not so polished in his manner, nor are his descriptions so varnished as those of his master, in which relation lord Macartney stood to him. The work, small in size, and utterly unassuming, is but a mere journal, kept regularly, and interspersed by remarks and observations, excited by what was seen and felt. The author was a Mr. Æneas Anderson, who filled the office of *valet de chambre* to the embassador, and who from his situation, we presume, it was not considered necessary to bind with the same restriction as the "gentlemen of the embassy," in the matter of book writing about the proceedings. As we can well fancy, to the amazement and horror of sir George Staunton and his lordship—while all England was ringing with the wonders which had been seen, and were to be described in the book, understood to be in progress by the hand of the embassy—in steps, unexpected, unannounced, the unheeded domestic; and, snatching the prize from the earl and baronet, dashes away with the originality, the newness of the project, at the same time that he manages to rub off great part of the varnish and tinsel which the elevated authors were at so much trouble in preparing for public exhibition. The book was, we believe, eventually purchased, by an annuity and a commission in the army, to the author; though not before several editions had been called for, in rapid succession; one in April 1794, a second in May; and a third in December. We name this, to show that, though now little known, the work was well thought of, in its day; and, from the plain mode in which the story is told by Mr. Anderson, his want of embellishment and absence of all plan or style, we incline to think that he told, what appeared to him, the truth; no slight praise for a traveler to China.

Many of the statements made by him are not alluded to, in the larger work; and among others, we find mention made of "the display on board the junks, which conveyed the embassy, of lamps made of transparent paper, with characters painted on them, to notify the rank of any passengers on board—the same service which the lamps perform by night, as far as relates to notification, is performed in the day time by silken ensigns, whose painted characters specify in the same manner, the existing circumstances of the vessels." We should like much to know what these characters were; and particularly, whether, as in the last embassy, the character *kung*, tribute, was to be found among them.* If this was introduced, and we cannot imagine that it was not, the embassador, by submitting to it, gave up at his first step his power to assert, at any after time, the independence and dignity of his mission and country; and this may go far to prove how necessary it is that a strict guard should be kept on all that is done by the Chinese; and how infinitely preferable a knowledge of the manners and dispositions of the Chinese ought to be considered in an embassy, than an "acquaintance with foreign courts," the mere senseless routine of European diplomacy. The peculiarities of the Asiatics in no way correspond to ours; and, from ignorance alone, an envoy, of the highest rank, may be content to bear what is meant as insult, though to his inexperienced eye it passes undetected.

A striking instance of this, where the advantage was gained by the ignorance of a man, known as too brave and high minded to render it safe to palm insult on him, save by stratagem, we subjoin as to the point.

"When sir Sidney Smith went to Acre, during its siege by the French, he declared he would not land if Djezzar did not come down to the beach to receive him; this is a distinction which a great Turk was hardly ever known to pay to a Christian, but as a Turk will condescend to any degradation when in want of service which he cannot command, Djezzar did it. On entering his serae with sir Sidney, the pasha pretended to feel fatigued and unwell, and begged sir Sidney to lend him his arm to ascend the staircase, with which sir Sidney, not seeing the artifice, naturally complied; this was a piece of cunning in Djezzar to show his attendants and soldiers that he was supported by an English admiral,—such support being never given to a Turk but by an inferior or servant." *Turner's Tour in the Levant, vol.* 3, *pp.* 440, 441.

Many parallels to this may be found in all the missions, from Britain to Peking, or Canton; and yet worse, in many instances, where the object was plainly gross and uncaled for insult, deliberately offered, submission, or, at the most, lukewarm remonstrance was had recourse to as the wisest course, often from the fear of the consequences. It wanted no prophet to foresee the results to be gained by an embassy so constituted and prepared.

* * *

This we shall have to show was actually the case in this embassy, and is mentioned later in Staunton's account; but it is to be wished that we could distinctly know whether this was practiced *while the embassy had it in its power to return to the ships.* If not opposed *then*, it must of course be submitted to throughout; and, if well opposed then, it would not have been tried afterwards.

ART. IV. *Central Asia, being a brief description of the general physical features of Usbek Túrkestan; its mountains, rivers, productions—mineral, vegetable, &c.*

A SKETCH of China proper and its dependencies, was given in the early numbers of the first volume of the Repository. In its preparation, we were able to draw some aid from Chinese authors. Native geographers are, however, of little use when we pass the boundaries of the Ta Tsing empire. They conduct us to their own frontiers, and there leave us. For this reason it will not be expected, that we can throw new light on the obscure statistics of Central Asia. The object of the present article is, to place before our readers the information for which we are indebted to Erskine, Meyendorff, Nazaroff, Conolly, Burnes, &c. To survey the Chinese empire *from without*, to examine its foreign relations, to estimate the forces of the external pressure upon it, comes fully within the design of the Repository. Perhaps it would be more in order to commence such a survey, at one or the other of the two points where the ocean no longer bounds this empire, and its frontier line trends into the interior. It has been more convenient, however, to take up first the region bordering on Chinese Túrkestan and Soungaria. These most western of the Chinese possessions, have been sketched in vol. I, No. 5, and further observations on their present condition introduced, in Nos. 6, 7, and 8, of the 5th volume.

Some difficulty occurs, at the outset, in tracing the Chinese boundaries. It appears, that the traveler, from British India, ascending the valley of the Sutlej and crossing the highest passes of the Himálaya, is stopped by the officers of the gelpo or rájá of Ladák, which forms, under the Chino-Tibetan government, the province of Ari. The Chinese frontier appears to skirt the eastern ranges of the Himálaya northward, to nearly the 33d parallel of latitude, and thence to follow an undefined line, across the plain of Baltí, or Little Tibet, to the Karakorum mountains, intersecting the Indus, about 77° east longitude, between Ladák and Iskárdo. This line would strike the Karakorum range about 36° north latitude, and thence, it follows it to its junction with the Belúr or Bolor mountains. At what point these ranges meet, and at what angles, seems not determined. Western geographers consider the Belúr range, as running nearly south, and coming down, to join the Hindú Kúsh, between Bolor and Badakshan on the west, and Chitral on the east. The Chinese appear to regard the Karakorum, or Tsungling, as the same range with the Belúr, and this view, if equally correct, must be the more acceptable to the geogragher. Probably these views are to be reconciled, by regarding the former as the eastern, and the latter, the western, declivity, of the same elevated system, the plains of Pamer lying between

them. The geographer will be inclined to prefer the Chinese view, because the southern part of the Belúr range, does not stop the course of the upper branches of the Oxus and the Indus, while the Tsungling seems to be the real dividing range, turning to the north the waters of the Yárkand, and to the south, those of the Shyúk, the main trunk of the Indus. The Tsungling and Belúr should be recognised, it appears then, as the great unpenetrated, separating range of Central Asia, notwithstanding the probably superior height of the peaks of the Himálaya. They form together the noble frontier and defense of Chinese Turkestan and Soungaria. The Belúr mountains maintain a lofty elevation as far as the Aktag, and perhaps farther, but decline as they approach the Altai range, on the northwest of Soungaria.

The region thus separated from the Chinese dominions on the east, is bounded on the south, by the Indian Caucasus, Hindú Kúsh, the Paropamisus or Ghúr, and the desert thence to the Caspian. On the north, a continuation of the Altai range separates it from the steppe of Issim. On the west, it has no natural boundary, nearer than the Caspian. This well-marked region, though it includes some independent states and tribes, may be called, as it often is, "Usbek Túrkestan." After a brief survey of its general physical features, we will describe it more in detail under its modern political divisions.

The Belúr range is the grandest of the physical features of this region. Its southern termination is placed, by European geographers, in about 34° north latitude, the countries southward of which are drained by the Indus. To the eastward the Karakorum crosses the parallels 78° east longitude and 36° north latitude, two degrees north of Ladák, in an east by south direction. Near the intersection, it gives rise, on its southern declivities, to the main source of the Indus. Between 37° and 40° north latitude, the Belúr divides the waters of the Yárkand, Khoten, and Kashgar rivers, from those of the Oxus. About 41° north latitude, the Belúr is crossed by the Aktag, or Asferah range; and at this parallel, the best maps give it a northeasterly course, around the vallies in which lie the upper branches of the Sir (Syr) or Jaxartes. Its elevation lessens north of this river, and declines still more as it approaches its northern termination, about 50° north latitude in the Uluk or Sholo range, a continuation of the Altai mountains. The streams which issue from this range, north of the Sir, are not important, and do not reach the Aral. The lake Balkashi or Palcati is laid down near its eastern declivity; this position appears to require that the Belúr again take a north-northwest direction. Along this part of their frontier, it appears that the Chinese have not pushed their exclusive claims quite to the mountains. Tribes of Kirghís are said to maintain some authority around the lake Balkashi, as well as to roam over the plains of Pamer. This need not, however, be regarded as disturbing the political division of this region. This great range has not yet been subjected to scientific observation. Only one modern European traveler, De Goez, is known to have crossed it, and his travels appear to have contributed but little to previous

imperfect information. There are three passes by which these mountains are usually approached, and at these points their situation and elevation might be examined.

The southeastern route, from Ladák to Yárkand, crosses the high land of Little Tibet and strikes the Karakorum between 77° and 78° east longitude. Natives who have made the journey, state the summits to be free from snow in summer. This, however, must be attributed to the height of the table-land, and comparative lowness of the peaks, as all the evidences of great altitude are felt, in difficulty of breathing, giddiness, &c. It does not seem certain, whether the communication said to exist between Iskárdo and Yárkand, is by this route, or by passes lying farther westward. The second of the routes, across the Belúr, follows the Badakshan, or Kokash, river, and crosses the plain of Pamer, to the upper vallies of the Yárkand river. This is the route of Marco Polo, and De Goez, and in one time of the caravans from Cábúl, and Bokhára. The northern route is that of the caravans, from Kokan to Kashgar. It follows the southern branch of the Jaxartes, and crosses by the Terek, or Tizik, pass, southeast of Ush, to the valley, in which lies the source of the Kashgar river.

It is supposed the altitude of the Belúr cannot be less than 20,000 feet, and it may have peaks rivalling the loftiest of the Himálaya. Its mineral treasures are almost as little known as its geological character. Its ruby mines, and cliffs of lapis lazali, near Sikinam, have been celebrated from the time of Marco Polo. The Oxus brings down from it the washings of gold, which are found almost throughout its upper course, and are particularly rich in the district of Durwaz. Probably, access to this range would be best obtained by following the summer encampments of the Kirghís, as they pass southward from their winter abodes near the Sir, along the elevated levels and vallies of the Belúr, to the great plain of Pamer, east of Badakshan.

This plain seems to be an extension of the table-land of Tibet, and to extend with diminishing breadth to 40° north latitude. The lake Surikul, or Karakul, is said to occupy its centre, around which the plain stretches six days' journey on every side. The waters of this lake, are said to communicate with the upper branches of the Sir, the Oxus, the Indus, and the Kashgar; but, it seems impossible to reconcile this account with the direction of the mountain chains, and the distance between these rivers. It appears from the map of Burnes that the Kashgar river is the outlet of lake Surikul; and this is confirmed by some Chinese maps. The short forage which covers this plain in summer, is cropped by the flocks of the Kirghís, but its season is too brief for any cultivation, and the cold is excessive in winter. The Aktag, or Asferah mountains, which bound this plain in the north, are an extension of the Teënshan, which separate Chinese Túrkestan from Soungaria. They divide the waters of the Sir from those of the Oxus, and form the lofty and impassable frontier of Kokan on the south, as far west as Uratippa. The road from Samarkand to Khojend there crosses them. Farther west, they are lost in the desert

toward the Aral, the southern range turning a little to the south of west, and making the southern boundary of the country of Khíva. The eastern part of this range, is said to be rugged and precipitous, and to have snow on its summits, even in summer.

The region south of the Asferah, to Saidabad, and Wakhan, and west to 68° east longitude, is a system of mountains, the outlying ranges or successively declining terraces of the Belúr. That part of the system which extends from the Kohik to Saidabad, has very lofty peaks, some of which, near 38° north latitude, were seen by Burnes 150 miles distant, capped with snow, in the midst of summer. In Báber's time, this range was called the "Karatigin," but that name appears to be forgotten now, and its place not supplied by any other. The valley of the Sir is bounded on the north, by a range, called the Alatag, or Mingbúlák, which is in some parts of considerable elevation. It confines that river to a western course, as far as Khojend. There it bends southward, to meet the Asferah; and then breaking through a barrier, which seems to attempt to arrest its course, turns abruptly northward towards the Aral. One more range parallel to the Asferah is found in the north of the Kirghís country, separating it from the steppe of Issim. Russian accounts make it consist of schistus, sandstone, limestone, and some granite. Blocks of jasper and quartz are also met with, and indications of copper, silver, lead, &c. Its elevation is not remarkable, but it forms the natural boundary of Central Asia on the north, beyond which the the country slopes towards the Arctic ocean. This range is less important as a frontier, the Kirghís crossing it easily in summer, in quest of pasture. The same may be said of the Belúr mountains between the Kirghís country and Soungaria, the same tribes finding their way across them to the lake Balkashi, the plains of Pamer, and the vicinity of Kashgar.

On the south, the Indian Caucasus, and Hindú Kúsh, have stopped the progress of the Usbeks, and given a boundary to Usbek Túrkestan. Some of the passes across this range have been crossed of late years, by British travelers. The peak of Kohi Baba, west of Cábúl, has been found to have an altitude of 18,000 feet. The Hindú Kúsh mountain, north of that city, towers still higher. Its summit is in sight at Cábúl, and was seen by Burnes from Khúlúm, 150 miles north, covered with snow in summer. Beyond 68° east longitude, this range loses its elevation, and forms the broad mountainous tract called the Ghúr, or Paropamisus. Thence its course is west-northwest by Herat, and Meshed, rising again near Kúchan to the height of 7000 feet, and thence along the south bank of the Gúrgan to the Caspian. The country north of this range, to the Oxus and the Aral, has no eminences which merit the name of mountains.

The rivers of Usbek Túrkestan nowhere communicate with the ocean. The smaller lose themselves in stagnant pools, or arid deserts; the larger find their way to the Caspian or the Aral. On the northwest, the Jaik or Ural forms the boundary, between the Kirghís country and Russia, as well as between Europe and Asia. Its course,

is westerly, from longitude 60° to 51° east, where it turns southward to the Caspian. Between the Aral and the Sir, several small rivers are laid down, under the names of the Targai, Sarasú, &c. They rise in the mountains on the northeast of the Kirghís country, and running south and south-westerly, lose themselves, in marshy lakes, east and north of the Aral. The Sir, the ancient Jaxartes, is one of the most important rivers of Usbek Túrkestan. It rises in the Belúr range, between 41° and 43° north latitude, runs west to Khojend, thence north and west to its outlet, about 46° north latitude, in the Aral. It is a rapid river, swollen in the summer, by the melting of the snow, at which time it has a breadth of 300 yards. Near its mouth it is said to have not more than one third this width, and Bíber says it is lost in the sands before reaching the Aral. About 200 miles above its mouth, it forms a delta widening to 60 miles, and covered with a rank growth of water plants, reeds, &c. Its whole course, must be not far from 700 miles, of which boats are said to ascend 500 miles to Kokan. The Russian mission approaching it from the north, found several dry canals or river beds, and one or more impetuous tributaries. In winter, it is frozen so hard as to be crossed on the ice, by caravans. The Sir seems never to have been used for the purpose of communication, but there is provision, in the abundant supply of coal along its banks, for the future steam-navigation of this river, and the sea of Aral. South of the Sir, and nearly in the parallel of 40° north latitude, we have the celebrated Sogdh, or Kohik, watering the rich vale of Samarkand and Bokhára. It rises in the Karatag, about 70° east longitude, and discharges what waters are left it, by irrigation, in the lake Dengis, in 64° east longitude, a few miles north of the Oxus. This river, though inconsiderable, in length and volume, is still one of the most remarkable in Central Asia. It has no mineral treasures like the Oxus, but the epithet Zirefshán, "gold shedding," is given it, for the riches which it pours over the country which it waters. It swells, like the other rivers of this region, with the melting of the snows, but in the dry season, it does not for some months reach Bokhára. Sixty miles south of the Kohik, and parallel to it, we find the Kárshí, which waters the beautiful oasis of Sheher Subz, and is lost in the sands, 16 miles beyond Kárshí.

The great river of Túrkestan, is the Amú, or Jihon, the ancient Oxus. The first of these names is that by which it is known to the tribes on its bank; the second, that by which it is described in the Persian and Túrkí writings. It is formed by the junction of the Bolor and Badakshan, between Huzrutiman and Kurgantippa. The former of these may communicate with the Sunkore, but its true source seems rather to be in 37° north latitude and 72° east longitude. After running northwest along the Belúr mountains, it turns north and northwest between Durwaz and Wakhan, to its junction with the Badakshan. The Badakshan rises still further east, about 36° north lat., and pursues a northwest course to the junction. Below Huzrutiman, the Oxus receives the united waters of the rivers of Kúndúz

and Talighan, and is no longer fordable. It emerges from the hilly country at Kilef, after receiving from the north the Hissar, and Toupalak, and from the south the Khúlúm. On one map, the Oxus has another northern tributary, farther to the west, called the Kisil Daria. It appears however, that there is in truth, no such river. At Kilef, it has a breadth of 550 yards. At Charjúi, 200 miles lower down, it has 650 yards, and 20 feet depth, and runs with a rapid ($3\frac{1}{2}$ miles) current, over a sandy bed, northwest towards the Aral. From Tirmez, above Kilef, to Khíva, its banks are low, and the narrow interval of one to two miles, between the first and second bank, is the limit of cultivation. Its channel is straight, free from rocks or rapids, impeded by few sand-banks, and but for the marshes near its mouth, navigable more than 600 miles from Kúndúz to the Aral. It is spread by art, in the district of Khíva, and forms a delta of fifty miles before it reaches the Aral. This delta, like that of the Sir, is composed of marshes, sand-hills, &c., and is so overgrown by reeds, grass, and aquatic plants, as to be uncultivable. Both tracts are probably extending depositions of earth, constantly taking place from the muddy waters of these rivers. The Oxus was bridged across by Timúr and Nadir. At the present time, it is crossed by 15 ferries between Charjúi and Kúndúz. Below Charjúi, 150 boats of 20 tons each, are employed in transporting merchandise, between Bokhára and Khíva.

The river of Balkh, like the southern branch of the Oxus, is fed by the snow of Hindú Kúsh, but its waters are quite expended in irrigation, leaving still an arid tract of 30 miles breadth, between them and the Oxus. Between the Oxus and Herat, we find the Murghâb, issuing from the Paropamisus, and after a winding course of near 300 miles, losing itself, in the desert, west of Merve. Farther to the south, we have another small river, the Tejend, and beyond Kúchan, the Attruck, and the Gúrgan, which carry a small tribute by mouths of 40 and 60 yards to the waters of the Caspian. These streams belong physically to Persian Khorásan. On our maps, their place is unjustly taken by a river called the Tedjen or Ochus, running from Herat and falling into the Caspian.

Usbek Túrkestan is remarkable for its numerous collections of water, with no outlets to the ocean. They receive fresh water rivers, but have all of them, more or less of saline impregnation. The Caspian, with its salt, bitter, muddy, phosphorescent waters, forms for more than 1000 miles, the western boundary, of Túrkestan. It abounds with fish, and water-fowl. Its northern gulfs are often frozen. Its eastern shores are rather cold. Domes of sand surround it on the northwest. On the south, its marshy shore, rises into the elevated and fruitful, but humid and unhealthy, province of Mazanderan. A desert of hard clay, with a partial covering of sand, separates the Caspian from the Aral. This lake, or sea, called also the lake of Khwáresm, has less saline impregnation than the Caspian. Its water is said to be drinkable, and its surface not often frozen. Waterfowl and fish are found in it, and tribes of Karakalpaks, &c., subsist

on these, and on the grain they grow along the shores, where they are not too marshy for cultivation. North and east of the Aral, the country abounds with salt lakes and marshes, the expansion of the rivers of that region, but none of them of considerable extent. South of the Sir, we have only the Denjis, 25 miles long, which receives the surplus waters of the Kohik. It is said to maintain its level through the year, though the supply is cut off for some months in the summer. Excellent fish are found in its salt waters.

To these notices of the physical features of this region, must be added some remarks on its division into cultivated and desert land. The former is limited to the banks of the Sir, the Kohik, the Kárshí, the Oxus, the Balkh, and the Murgháb, and a small part of the shores of the Aral. A great part of the country from the Sir north to Siberia, and from Bokhára north-westward to the Aral, and from the Oxus west to the Caspian, is incapable of cultivation, and much of it is a picture of sterility and desolation. Túrkestan presents, therefore, in close and strong contrast, the extremes of luxuriance and barrenness, the richest oases and the most dreary deserts. The fixed population is, of course, found in the former divisions. The pastoral and nomade tribes occupy the latter. These distinctive races, will show themselves as we go over the country again, describing it under the following heads, corresponding with its present political sections.

1st, The Kirghís country, from the Ural, or Jaik river, to the Sir and the Aral. 2d, The kingdom of Kokan. 3d, The kingdom or khanat of Bokhára. 4th, The region of the upper Oxus, chiefly under the control of the amír of Kúndúz. 5th, The khanat of Khíva. 6th, The deserts of the Túrkmans, from the Sir and Bokhára, west to the Aral and Caspian, and south to Khorásan.

ART. V. *Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton: the sixth quarterly report, for the term ending on the 4th of May*, 1837. By the Rev. Peter Parker, M. D.

SIX hundred and fifty patients have been received during the last three months, making the whole number, since the opening of the hospital, 3350. A more extensive acquaintance with the diseases and character of the people, may soon enable me to give a different form and more variety to the reports. The interest in the institution continues to increase, and the eagerness to enjoy its benefits has never been greater than at present. The crowd of patients, on the day of receiving them, now limited to once in two weeks, has been very great. Sometimes not less than 200 or 300, and on one occasion about 600, including their friends, have been present during a single

day. Notwithstanding the institution is designed for the blind, great numbers of all diseases are presented, and often their importunity is successful in gaining admission. The importunity is frequently seconded by those who have received some special benefit; and being intimately acquainted in the hospital, are free in their solicitude for friends. Regarding simply the present welfare of those afflicted with various and aggravated maladies, none can witness these scenes and not perceive the urgency of speedily extending these healing efforts. It is very unpleasant to refuse aid to those who are within the reach of remedial powers, because it is impracticable to do so, and treat those already received. There is reason to fear that turning them away will have an unfavorable influence. They see others afflicted with diseases of the eye, with tumors and fractured limbs, are healed gratuitously, but since they have a cough, a fever, or any other disease that requires the physician rather than the surgeon, they cannot be received. The experience of every month confirms the desirableness of the Medical Missionary Society, soon to be organized, through whose agency and that of its friends, here and in Europe, it is hoped this desideratum may be secured. The most numerous classes of diseases during the last term, have been acute and chronic ophthalmia, cataracts, entropia, pterygia, nebulæ, lippitudo, and granulations of the lids, as may be seen from the following table, which exibits 1st diseases of the eyes, and 2d miscellaneous diseases.

1st:	Amaurosis	22	
	Acute ophthalmia	49	
	Chronic ophthalmia	74	
	Purulent ophthalmia	14	
	Ophthalmitis	6	
	Conjunctivitis	4	
	Hordeolum	4	
	Cataract	62	
	Entropia	78	
	Ectropia	3	
	Trichiasis	10	
	Pterygia	35	
	Opacity and vascularity of the cornea	28	
	Ulceration of the cornea	10	
	Nebulæ	59	
	Albugo	4	
	Leucoma	7	
	Staphyloma	22	
	Staphyloma sclerotica	2	
	Onyx	4	
	Iritis	4	
	Lippitudo	38	
	Night blindness	1	
	Day blindness	1	
	Near sightedness	1	
	Synechia anterior	11	
	Synechia posterior	3	
	Myosis	5	
	Closed pupil with deposition of coagulable lymph	5	
	Procidentia iridis	6	
	Glaucoma	2	
	Choroiditis	4	
	Epiphora	6	
	Granulation of the lids	50	
	Complete loss of one eye	49	
	Loss of both eyes	53	
	Mucocele	6	
	Muscæ volitantes	3	
	Tumor of the lids	2	
	Imperfect cornea at birth, the sclerotica extending into its place	1	
	Adhesion of the conjunctiva to the cornea	2	
	Injuries of the eye	2	
	Cancer of the eye	1	
	Disease of the caruncula lachrymalis	2	
2d:	Otorrhœa	2	
	Deficiency of cerumen	1	
	Deafness	3	
	Disease of the lower jaw	1	
	Dropsy	2	
	Ovarian dropsy	1	
	Cancer of the breast	1	

Goitre	4	Opium mania	2
Sarcomatous tumors	2	Scrofula	1
Encysted tumors	4	Paralysis	2
Hernia umbilical	1	Hare lip	1
Hydrops articuli	1	Epilepsy	1
Rheumatism	2	Stone	1
Gout	1	Stricture of Urethra	2
Phthisis	2	Enlarged spleen	2
Aphone	1	Arachnitis	1
Dyspepsia	1	Hepetitis	1
Deaf and dumb children	3	Enlargement of parotid gland	3
Fungus haematodes of the arm (?)	2	Fracture of radius and ulna (one year)	1
Ulcers	1		

In diseases of the eye, and their treatment nothing special has occurred that requires notice. Several cases of tumors, are subjoined.

No. 2732. Encysted tumor. Wangke, aged 12 years, of Shuntih. This little girl is a slave, and was sold by her mother for $ 8 or 10. She was accompanied to the hospital by her purchaser, a very respectable and well bred Chinese woman, who said the child was not her offspring, yet she felt for her the affection of a mother, and though the blemish had been a sufficient excuse for returning her to the mother, she preferred not to do so; and having heard of the hospital in Canton, was at the expense of time and money to bring her, with the hope of relief. She had an encysted tumor, about 16 inches in circumference at the base, situated upon the sacrum, and to the right side. Its pressure had produced some absorption of the sacrum, and caused the os coxcygis to turn outwards. It was moveable, and hard pressure gave it no pain. There was no weakness of the spinal column or of the lower extremities. After suitable preparation of the patient it was removed, and found to be attached by a peduncle of the size of a common quill, which entered one of the posterior sacral foramina. On dividing it, one of the gentlemen who assisted noticed a slight flow of milky substance from the point of attachment. A ligature was required to prevent the escape of the fluid from the tumor, which was distended with limpid contents resembling a bladder of water. The wound was dressed as usual. The child was in a subcomatose state for some hours after the operation, and slow in answering when spoken to, — perhaps from the opiate she had taken. In the evening and the next morning, her pulse ranged from 130 to 140, with considerable fever, and there was anxiety for the result. Calomel and rhubarb were given and brought away a quantity of large worms (lumbrici), and all her unpleasant symptoms subsided. The child's appetite became good, and the wound healed up by granulations in a little more than a month. She became the picture of health, and, with cheeks plump and rosy, was discharged at the expiration of six weeks.

No. 2550. Hare lip. Lan Atang, aged 17 years, of Honan, was disfigured by this congenital malformation, which extended up into

the left nostril, and two teeth projected out at the opening. These were removed and when the soreness subsided, the operation was performed. The union was perfect, and the dressing removed in about one week. Both the appearance and voice were very much improved.

An operation is sometimes performed by native physicians for this deficiency. It consists of applying an escharotic between the edges of the lip, and as this sloughs out, the lips of the wound are brought together and healed up by granulations. I have seen four cases in which the operation has been performed. In one instance the upper lip was drawn so tight as to form a straight line, and with the underlip projecting, his appearance was very undesirable. Whether this was the fault of the operator or the necessity of the case did not appear. In another man the lip was drawn askew.

No. 2982. March 13th. Chun Fang, son of the tsotang of Shuntih, aged 50 years, was born in Cheihle. In consequence of vice his general health had been affected. He had ulcers upon his head not affecting the cranium. Eight months previously they had been cured, and blindness supervened. When he came he could see light, but not sufficient to walk without being led. He was encouraged to expect relief from the severe pain he experienced, and that the progress of the disease might be arrested, and possibly his sight improved. There was congestion of the blood vessels of the eye. One dozen leeches, which in this country are very large, were applied below the eyes. Twenty grains of blue pill and one ounce sulph. mag. were prescribed. The leeches afforded immediate relief, and the patient expressed his surprize that he could see to count his fingers. March 16th. The sight remained improved. The leeches had produced a very great tumefaction of the left side and glands of the neck. As he was costive, an ounce of castor oil was administered, and warm fomentations applied to his face, with an opiate at night. March 29. Pulse 126. The right side of the face also affected; the swelling of the left subsided a little. Patient vomited five times last night. Large vesicles formed upon his ears, as if produced by a blister. The almost entire absence of redness did not suggest the erysipelatous nature of the disease. (Another patient who had been operated upon for entropia, and who had been discharged, returned about the same time similarly affected, with an erysipelas of a more aggravated character than I have ever witnessed. Both of these patients scarcely retained the appearance of a human face.) He was very weak, and had great difficulty of breathing, a dry cough, pains in the chest, tongue thickly coated and parched, and his bowels constipated. A decoction of lichen islandicus, gum-arabic, and liquorice, was ordered to be used freely. And a gargle of borate of soda, an ounce of salts, and an opiate, and warm pediluvium at bed time, were prescribed. The patient was to take congee or sago if disposed. March 30th. Decidedly better; bowels had been moved, and the same treatment was continued. March 31st. Patient unable to come. Difficulty of respiration, thirst, and debility, increased. His

extremities were cold, and face smaller,—as reported by his servant, a very intelligent man. One ounce of castor oil and a drachm of the oil of turpentine were taken immediately, and gave calomel xii grains, pulv. ipecac. vi grains, and sugar j ounce, divided into twelve parts, one of them to be taken hourly, and 30 drops of oil of turpentine every hour, and half a grain of opium every three hours—and two grs. of sul. quin. every two hours. The head was kept wet with a lotion of nit. potas., and the patient allowed to drink freely of the decoction of lichen islandicus, as usual. April 1st. The bowels were moved the last night—the patient has a little appetite—raised considerable sputa, tongue better, and his extremities not so cold. The erysipelas better, and the same treatment continued. April 4th. Not heard from the patient for three days. His servant reported him to be better. The disease had evidently subsided. He still complained of debility, and had a diarrhœa. Appetite improved. Decoction of lichen, and lotion of nit. potas. continued, together with oxymel of scillæ. April 8th. The patient was able to be brought to the hospital, but did not get out of his sedan. A course of tonic treatment was then adopted, first sulphate of quinine, and afterwards the saturated tartrate of iron. His servant occasionally returned to say he was convalescent.

While preparing the report the patient has returned, in his official dress, with presents, &c. He enjoys good health. He said he was to set out for Peking in two days, and wished for directions respecting his health and sight, in future.

No. 2986. Sarcomatous tumor. Chang Achun, aged 43 years, of Canton city, had a large sarcomatous tumor upon the right side of his face. It commenced five or six years since. He was a stone cutter, and was much incommoded in his occupation by this pendant tumor. On the 15th of April it was removed in 4 minutes and 56 seconds, and the patient put to bed in 20 minutes. It was 14 inches in circumference at its base, and still more round its centre. It weighed $2\frac{1}{4}$ catties, = 3 lbs. The wound healed almost entirely by the first intention. In nine days the dressings were all removed. The incision being made so as to bring the edges of the wound perpendicularly from the zigomatic process, down posterior to the external angle of the jaw, and thence parallel with it an inch below, quite to the chin, the face was very little disfigured.

No. 3000. April 17th. Lew Akin, aged 12 years, of Tsunchun, a village of Shuntih district, and the only child of her affectionate parents, had a steatomatous tumor upon the right hip, of a magnitude that required the patient to lean forward when she walked, in order to preserve her balance. Her health appeared good, except that she was much emaciated. In ten days she had made surprising improvement under a generous diet. On the 27th of April, the usual indemnity being given by the parent, the tumor was removed in two minutes and fourteen seconds. Its circumference (exceeding that of her body) was two feet at the base, and much larger at the middle: it was very slightly attached, and consisted of concentric layers of

fatty substance, separated from each other by a surrounding cerous membrane, till near the centre it was found of a much firmer structure, resembling cartilage. It weighed five catties, or seven pounds avoirdupois. Upon the third day, the dressings were changed: union had taken place to a considerable extent. In one week the whole was so far healed that the child was able to walk in the room without pain to herself or injury to the wound. She is now in good health, more fleshy than ever before. Since the first twenty-four hours after the operation she has experienced but little pain.—The feelings of the father were particularly noticed by the spectators at the time of the operation. He was in the room, but the unsightly wound that presented, as the integuments retracted ten or twelve inches apart, the incision being about ten inches long, was too much for the father to witness without tears. He left the room, but the cry of his little daughter, when the needle passed through the integuments in applying sutures, soon recalled him, as soon to retreat. His vigilance in his attention to his only child, continually, day and night, have strongly exhibited the strength of natural affections, equalled only by his gratitude for the relief afforded his daughter.—I am indebted to Lamqua, who has taken an admirable likeness of the little girl, and a good representation of the tumor. The more interesting cases that have been presented at the hospital, he has painted with equal success, and uniformly says, that as there is no charge for "cutting," he can make none for painting.

No. 3122. April 17th. Anomalous. Chun Ato, aged 44 years, of Nanhae, has long been affected with apparently a nervous affection. Six inches below the left knee, and on the tibial nerve, a small pimple began, painful from the first. It is now elevated about two lines above the natural surface. For two years the pain has been intolerable: coming on by paroxysms, four, five, and even eight times a day. She had one of the paroxysms at the hospital, when she grated her teeth like a maniac. The spot from being level was drawn in at the centre, and a local perspiration came out for an inch around. When the surface of the spot becomes level the pain ceases. Pulse raised to 120 during the paroxysm. Her tongue was very good, bowels free, and she has a common appetite. Under a tonic treatment she enjoys a slight palliation, the recurrence less frequent, the pains not so severe. A tournequet applied above and below the place, diminishes the pain. The patient is desirous of having it cut out.

The relief afforded to cataract patients, of which there have been more than in any preceding term, has been much as usual. The disturbance to the eye from the operation is ordinarily as slight as that of opening a vein in the arm.

The gratitude and confidence increase rather than diminish. An old Tartar general, who had been some time in the hospital, and who was operated upon for cataract with which he was affected in both eyes, as he was leaving said, "I am now eighty years old, my beard is very long (reaching his breast); I have been an officer forty years; and have been in all the eighteen provinces of the empire; but never

before have known a man that does the things that you perform, and for which you receive no reward. Oh, what virtue! the great nation's arm; under heaven there is no other like you;" and more in the same adulatory strain. It is a pleasure to go to the hospital at any hour of the twenty-four, and witness the confidence and kind feelings uniformly manifested by the inmates. Those who have received some especial benefit often seen to want language to express their gratitude. In some instances the blind of a distant village have united and chartered a passage boat to come to Canton, and have waited four or five days for the hospital to be opened to the admission of new patients.—Justice to my own feelings, require a public and grateful acknowledgment to the medical and surgical gentlemen, Messrs. Cox, Anderson, Cullen, and Jardine, who have so frequently and kindly afforded their counsel and assistance in important operations.

[Since the preceding was in type, we have seen some extracts from the Journal of Dr. Grant, written at Oormiah in Persia, during the early part of last year. The same eagerness for aid, and the same success, are witnessed there as here. Ladies and gentlemen, chiefs and noblemen, Christians and Mohammedans, came in great numbers, importunate for medicines. Many, and among them a son of the governor, were anxious to learn English. A young mírza brought with him "one of Henry Martyn's New Testaments," given him by a French lady. We are glad to see such laborers coming eastward, and hope they will push forward to Central Asia.—We ought to add here, that, according to a statement published in the Register and Press dated the 11th instant, $5 230 have been subscribed for the Medical Missionary Society. The Ophthalmic Hospital is supplied with the requisite pecuniary aid from this fund.]

ART. VI. *Remarks on the opium trade, being a reply to the rejoinder of Another Reader, published in the Repository for April, 1837.* By A Reader.

MR. EDITOR, Before entering on the merits of an article by 'Another Reader,' in your last number, a preliminary observation or two seems to be called for, just to teach 'Another Reader' the relative situation in which he and I stand to each other: my view of the case is, that we are in open arena, discussing an unadmitted point, with the public as our judges: he seems to fancy himself on a bench of justice, with a big wig on his head, and me pleading as a criminal. Did I condescend to argue so situated, I would, indeed, betray the cause I support, for when did judge and prisoner at the bar ever come off even in argument? Therefore let 'Another Reader' take off his wig, descend from his stilts on the bench, and step into the floor of the court, on perfect equality with me; or let him pass a sentence unpled to, for which no one will care a straw. Suppose him then on a perfect

equality in the body of the court, even there his argument is at a disadvantage, because he and his coterie have brought an accusation of *crime* against a whole class of traders, founded on the supposition that opium is solely a destructive poison; unless therefore Another Reader proves this last averment, he has brought a *false accusation*, and the burden of strict proof lies on him and his party. And supposing any difficulty is found in proving such an averment, they should have been more cautious in accusing others of crime. I deny that he has made good his proof, and refer myself to the public!

Another Reader seems not to like my last article, because it was only three pages in length, and applies the epithet *meagre* to it; but some people read meagre, not as applying to want of length, but in opposition to force or strength; therefore, I leave it to the public, whether meagre is best applied to his own letter or mine: his, at least, is long enough! He also is so kind as to say that "*my positions are by no means judiciously chosen;*" so our readers will, in all cases, do me the favor to consider, with my opponent's consent, that my case is better than my arguments make it out to be.

But to the merits of the letter. They are twofold,—the averments of the men in its appendix, giving their respective opinions as to the harm the *abuse* of opium does to the human frame,—next an attack on Dr. Walsh, and on my view of opium-consumers, as supported by figures. First for his appendix. As my position is, that it is the excess or abuse of opium that constitutes the crime, not its *use*, there is hardly one authority in his whole appendix that is not a valuable evidence for me: to the point of over-quantity, every person in his appendix is a proof that, moderately taken, opium is perhaps the most desirable and least hurtful excitement used by man: these evidences, therefore, will show the consequences of excess, but they cannot give evidence as to what never comes before them of the millions who use it without harm, as a safe and grateful luxury. The police reports in London notice the drunken and vicious few, who intoxicate themselves and roll in the streets from abuse of strong drink; these reports cannot mention the millions who daily use wine and beer with hospitality and comfort, as harmless articles of nourishment. As to the many, these reports are entirely negative: and so the evidences in the appendix are entirely negative as to the *use* of opium, though quite decisive that it is *abused*, which never was denied. And all our proofs must remain in this state until we mix more with the Chinese, and understand them better.

Now for Another Reader's attack on Dr. Walsh. Not one in his list of evidences is more respectable, more listened to, or more worthy of belief, than Dr. Walsh; and not one on the whole list (not even Mr. Davis) ever had such advantages or opportunities in traveling through China, as Dr. Walsh had in Turkey, in which country, speaking the language well, he wandered in all directions, and lived in it for many years; every word he says in favor of the practicability of the *use*, as in opposition to the abuses, of opium, without injury to the human frame, stands unimpeached, and unimpeachable!

And in answer to some civil hints as to my trade, I hope Another Reader won't now find out that Dr. Walsh is an opium merchant. Whilst defending Dr. Walsh's general evidence, it may be as well to point out, what is however pretty obvious, the extreme want of fairness in giving a picture of the mad-house in Turkey, drawn in Anastacius, as a correct view of the state of those generally *using* opium: as well might the Piazzas of Covent garden, at two o'clock of a morning with a few reeling gin-drinkers, be taken as a picture of England: as well might a hell in the Palais-royal be held to represent all France: or a quadroon ball in New Orleans, be given as the general manners of the United States.—This is not a relative fact brought to support an argument, it is hyperbolical caricature—one in a thousand of opium-eaters finds his way to the mad-house: so with Another Reader, this one is to be taken for the other 999.

In my last letter I averred, that the emperor of China has no cause to fear the corruption of his army by opium; and brought an instance of a known class in India, who notoriously using opium, yet make good soldiers; when Another Reader finds out that other sepoys, besides this class, also fight well, I never doubted it; my case has to do with those men, who using opium, still fight well, and not with those who fight well without it.

The subject of most importance in a case like this, where proof is so difficult to be got at, is the table of quantity of opium, as compared with its consumers. My list, made out with the help of the best informed here, went to prove, that about half a million of those who abuse the opium could consume all the sea-borne drug: and as we see strong reason to believe that the number of smokers is vastly beyond this, the argument naturally arises, that a large proportion take it in quantities so small as not to be hurtful. And in this argument, the very large sum of money paid for it, year after year, bears us out; as a few hundred thousand, ruining themselves by excess, never could continue to yield such a sum; whereas if opium is an article of safe luxury to the rich and to the industrious millions, it would be easy to account for the sum produced. In answer to Another Reader, respecting the weight necessary to intoxication, I add two accounts, furnished me by those who should know. Another Reader is most singularly ill-informed when he withdraws the fair sex from the number of opium-users. Whether they abuse it or not, I have no proof; but I have the strongest reason to believe that both those of good and bad character do smoke opium.

I again repeat, I see no reason to depart from the view in figures, stated in my first letter, of the number of devoted smokers who could use the whole sea-borne opium. As to what is grown in China, no one can form any approximation to the truth.

When on this subject, I may mention the article VII, being the next in your list, namely, Sunqua's very clever set of pictures against the abuse of opium: they are highly moral and useful, and should be printed and distributed by thousands, in which avocation I should wish to see the £ 100 offered in the VIII article, expended; and I feel con-

fident it would do more good than getting up rival essays, which few will read. May Sunqua prosper! He uses the attendants of our great moral painter in captivating a Rake, namely, idleness, music, and women. Hogarth adds the exciter *wine!* Sunqua the exciter *opium!* I hope Sunqua may assist in putting down the *abuse* of opium, and so greatly add to its *use* and consumption.

Having thus given due credit to Sunqua, who attacks the *abuse*, I will produce one positive piece of evidence to prove the *use* of opium; and as Sunqua shows fortune, health, mind, and body, lost by its *abuse;* I will show fortune increased, health kept, and mind most actively employed, in the course of its use; and I convey to you, Mr. Editor, the name and residence of the party in a private letter.

In 1826, I found a Chinese comprador in possession of the confidence of a mercantile house here, and taking care of one of the best filled and most used treasuries in Canton, and rendering clear and satisfactory accounts to his employers. He smoked opium every day, and had then done so for seven years; he was then about forty. Last year he retired to his native district in perfect health, with a large fortune. Thus, in the use of opium, reversing Sunqua's pictures of its *abuse.* This compradore succeeded to no fortune, but kept health, and made a handsome fortune, *using* opium; Sunqua's example lost both in *abusing* it. The weight of opium daily smoked by the party here mentioned, and for the last ten years, without change, was two mace per day; and no one ever saw him intoxicated.

Men using opium, not drunkards, but attending regularly to business, are known in our neighborhood to use 2, 3, 4, and even 5 mace per day. I abide by my statement that a drunkard in opium will generally use a tael. The plain matter of fact is, there has been a great deal of mystification on this subject of opium; and its smuggling; even the clear-seeing *Marryatt* was deceived: in England it was considered dangerous, criminal, and connected with hourly loss of life—their only notion of an opium merchant being a trucculent looking fellow, dressed in a dread-naught coat, mounted on a fast-trotting horse, with a couple of chests of opium behind him, having just shot a preventive guardsman with each of his holster pistols. This nonsense has had its day, and a reäction has commenced, when men of thought perceive the absurdity of those conveying the most valuable production of the richest country in the world to its great consumers the Chinese, by any other mode than peace and good faith, and the still greater absurdity of a whole nation turned drunkards!

To conclude; Another Reader says, "I am anxious to indentify myself with the honorable E. I. Company, rum dealers," *et id genus omne.* In argument, it is always fair to speak to a majority, and I believe in the appeal I made; I certainly spoke to a large majority of mankind; but those amongst whom I live will bear witness, that, without respect to majority, the attainment of *truth* is my object: yet the definition of what is truth I wont take either from the honorable E. I. Company, or from Another Reader my opponent.

Canton 1st May, 1837. A READER.

P. S. *Weights and Prices.* One Canton authority informs me that ———, and ———, and ———, attending to their business, sober and diligent, who smoke two, three, and four mace per day. Another Canton authority carries the point of harmless use up to five mace per day. Linti authorities state, that a devoted opium-smoker can easily use one *tael weight* per day, the price of which is $1\frac{1}{4}$, ready for use. So a person *using* two mace incurs a daily expense of $\frac{1}{4}$, which is a large sum for a Chinese, equal to 250 cash, the only coin in China.

ART. VII. *Canton General Chamber of Commerce: its regulations, with brief remarks respecting its origin, object, and labors.*

IN our third volume, while reporting the difficulties which followed the arrival of lord Napier, in 1834, we adverted to the existence of a "Canton Chamber of Commerce." The record of passing occurrences, which it was then our aim to give, did not require us to bestow on that institution any minuter notice. It was essentially and exclusively a British Chamber, which the want of a medium of communication between the British merchants and their superintendent, called into existence. On the retirement of lord Napier, this necessarily ceased, and the functions of the Chamber were now confined to the preparation of the usual statements of the trade. This useful service continued to be rendered by the secretary until last autumn. The opinion then became prevalent, that this institution might, with advantage, be exchanged for a "General Chamber of Commerce." A satisfactory expression of this sentiment having been elicited, a public meeting, on the subject, was called, on the 28th of November, and from this day we may date the formation of the "Canton General Chamber of Commerce."

At that meeting, two principles were adopted as the basis of the new Chamber; 1st, that the members shall comprise the most respectable resident merchants *of all nations;* and 2d, that its objects are purely commercial not political. These fundamental principles, as well as the minor propositions submitted to that meeting, were "carried unanimously." A second general meeting was held on the 9th of January, and the following regulations were adopted:—

1. The object of the Canton General Chamber of Commerce, is to protect the general interests of the foreign trade with China, to collect and classify useful information on all subjects connected with its commerce, and to establish a court of arbitration, for the purpose of adjusting all commercial differences and disputes which may be referred to it.

2. All merchants established in China, and others interested in trade, are eligible, at its formation, to become members of the Chamber, on the payment of the following entrance fee, and annual subscription, while resident in China, payable in advance, which sums shall be devoted towards meeting the requisite expense of the Chamber. Entrance fee for each firm $50; annual subscription $25; entrance fee for each individual $30; annual subscription $15.

3. All candidates for admission, subsequent to the establishment of the Chamber, shall be admitted on being proposed by one member of the General Chamber, seconded by another.

4. All visitors to China interested in trade may become honorary members for three months, on being proposed by a member of the committee, and seconded by another; no honorary members being entitled to vote.

5. The affairs of the Chamber shall be managed by a committee of thirteen, to be elected by ballot from among the members at a general meeting; and each firm belonging to the Chamber shall have two votes, and each individual one vote, on this and all other questions submitted to a general meeting; but not more than two individuals of a firm shall be entitled to vote on any occasion, and for the present, the committee shall consist of the following proportion of each nation: English 5, American 3, Parsee 2, Dutch 1, French 1, open to any nation 1.

6. Members shall not be allowed to vote by proxy, nor if their subscriptions, fees, &c., are in arrear.

7. It shall be imperative on parties elected, to serve, under penalty, in case of refusal, of $100 for each year, when the party shall be again eligible, and in the same manner liable to fine for declining service, unless in all cases, a reason be assigned that is satisfactory to the committee.

8. The annual general meeting for the purpose of electing the committee shall be held on the first Monday in November, and six members of the former committee shall go out annually by lot, but be eligible to be reëlected; and in electing any new members the proportion of each nation shall be maintained, but it shall not be compulsory on a member to serve two years consecutively on the committee if reëlected.

9. No two members of the same firm shall belong to the committee.

10. The committee shall elect by ballot their chairman and deputy chairman, who shall *ex-officio* preside at all general meetings of the Chamber, but they shall never both be of the same nation.

11. Five members of the committee shall form a quorum, who shall meet on the first and third Saturday of every month, for the transaction of general business, and all questions shall be decided by the majority, the chairman for the time being having a casting vote beside his vote as an ordinary member. In the unavoidable absence of both chairman and deputy, a chairman for the occasion shall be chosen from the committee assembled.

12. It shall be imperative on the members of the committee in rotation to meet in order to constitute a quorum, failing which, a fine of $5 to be paid on each occasion of nonattendance, unless a satisfactory reason be assigned, or a substitute provided.

13. The chairman or deputy shall have the power of calling a meeting of the committee when he shall see occasion, and it shall be imperative on him to do so, on a requisition being made to him from two members of the committee; but it is required that notice of such meeting and the purport be particularly expressed, and that such notice shall be delivered in writing at least three days before the meeting, unless on occasions of emergency, when it may be dispensed with.

14. On all occasions, a minority on a division in the committee shall have a right to state their reasons of dissent, in the record of the day's proceedings, when they may wish to do so; provided the same be done within forty eight hours of the closing of the meeting, and a certified copy of such dissent shall be granted them if required.

15. H. B. M's. Superintendents, all Consuls, and the honorable East India Company's finance Agents, shall be considered *ex-officio* honorary members of the Chamber.

16. In case of any vacancy in the committee, it shall be filled up *pro. tem.* by the committee, until the general meeting on the first Monday of November, when the person so elected shall vacate his seat.

17. With the view of facilitating and expediting the business of the Chamber, the general committee may, when desirable, divide itself as follows: committee of correspondence, of arbitration, and of management.

18. The committee of correspondence shall take charge of all correspondence with foreign associations, the hong merchants, the Chinese government, and any other parties with whom it may be desirable to communicate. It shall also superintend the preparation of all statements connected with trade, &c.

19. The committee of arbitration shall be elected by ballot every two weeks; but their powers shall be continued so long as any business brought before them during their period of service is undecided; it shall appoint its own chairman, and confine its functions to cases where its interference and advice are requested, and on no occasion shall it proceed on any case, unless both the parties give an obligation that they will abide by the decision of the committee; and should the dispute relate to a sum of money, the whole, or such part thereof as the committee desire, shall be paid into the hands of such parties as they shall name, before they undertake to investigate the case. In particular cases they shall be authorised to accept security.

20. The chairman, or deputy, *ex-officio*, shall preside over the committee of management, which shall take cognizance of things connected with the funds or expenses of the Chamber; and provide a suitable place for the meeting of the committee.

21. A secretary and other officers as requisite shall be appointed by the general committee at fixed salaries, subject to the approval of the General Chamber at their next meeting.

22. An office shall be open daily from 12 to 3, where the secretary shall attend; he shall keep a journal of all proceedings, prepare statements of trade, and be ready to communicate with any members of the Chamber who may desire information or access to the records of the office.

23. Communications of every description shall be received and answered through the secretary, or chairman when requisite.

24. The chairman, or deputy, or in their absence any three members of the committee, or six members of the Chamber, shall be empowered to convene a general meeting, the secretary stating the purpose for which such meeting is called, three days previous to the day of meeting.

25. Funds to provide a suitable establishment and to defray requisite expenses, shall be raised in the following manner: 1st, by entrance fees and subscriptions: 2d, by fees and fines on arbitrations and references, as the committee may hereafter determine: 3d, by voluntary gifts and contributions, either in money, maps, books, or any thing which may be useful to the institution: 4th, by fees for certified copies of the records and other documents in the archives of the Chamber.

26. All orders for payment shall be signed by the secretary and countersigned by a member of the committee of management, and all accounts shall be audited annually and submitted to the inspection of the members of the Chamber.

27. In special cases, the Chamber reserves to itself the power of expulsion of any of its members by a majority of four to one, ascertained by ballot at a general meeting convened for the purpose.

28. These rules may be altered by a majority of two thirds at any general meeting convened for the purpose, fourteen days previous notice being given by the secretary, of the alteration intended to be proposed.

29. In the event of any question arising as to the construction or application of the foregoing rules, the committee shall be empowered to decide the same, submitting the matter to the next general meeting of the Chamber for its final decision.

30. The general committee shall make such regulations and by-laws as shall ensure regularity, responsibility, and despatch.

Persons familiar with these matters will recognise, in the above, the main features of the constitution of like bodies in Europe and America. To some of the members present, it appeared better to confine the sub-committees to deliberation and report, reserving *all decisions* to the general committee. To others, the admission of the official persons resident at Canton to honorary memberships, seemed a departure from the strictly commercial character of the Chamber. The above regulations were, however, adopted, and the Chamber organised. Under the superintendence of the secretary, the statements of the British trade have since been regularly issued. Statements of the American trade are also prepared, and will be printed the 30th proximo, the usual period of the year for closing the annual statements of that trade. That under other flags, will also be noticed, and thus a more full and accurate account prepared, of the foreign commerce of Canton, than we possess of any other commercial city.

While the secretary has been thus employed, a good deal has been done by the general committee. Resolutions have already been passed respecting the detention of vessels and goods at Lintin; the limitation of opium-orders; the charges on rice-ships; the cumshaws at Whampoa; the settlements of duties, in cases of dispute; the custom of the port as to receiving and delivering goods on the Sabbath, &c., &c.

The grievance felt by owners of ships in the detention of their grand chops; the regulation of the postage of letters; and especially the grand question of the responsibility of the hongs, their present condition, and the prospects of the trade as connected with them, are yet under the consideration of the committee. The removal of the restrictions on the export of silk, the extension and improvement of the foreign factories, the acquisition of commodious and safe ware-houses, the formation of a repository of commercial information, &c., will, it is expected, in due time receive attention. The committee have not yet made public their resolutions, lest decisions, which still await the sanction of a general meeting, should be taken as already of final authority.

It is paying a compliment to the resident merchants to add, that their good understanding in their mutual transactions, has made light the labors of the committee of arbitration. We will only add, that the Canton Chamber has put itself in "communication" with the recently constituted Chamber of British India.

As a purely commercial body, wielding no power but that of concurrent opinions, the Canton Chamber of Commerce is not to be looked to, to originate or bring about great and rapid changes. Still we think it matter of congratulation, that by its creation, a number of our most intelligent residents are brought into regular and frequent sessions. From their meetings we may expect a definition of the hitherto uncertain usages of the port, and the introduction of many forms of practical amelioration; and we shall, with pleasure, notice from time to time, the progress of the Chamber, in its course of useful and honorable labor.

Art. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences. Traffic in opium; imperial envoy; manifesto respecting the merits of the emperor's ministers at court and in the provinces.*

Since the publication of our last number there have been but few local occurrences of importance. Nothing decisive has transpired respecting the admission of opium through the custom-house; the traffic, however, continues here and on the coast. An imperial envoy is reported to be on his way hither from Peking.

Edict, in the imperial hand-writing, dated the 27th of February, 1837. The triennial examination of merits is intended to promote and maintain the love of knowledge. All such ministers, whether Tartar or Chinese, as exert themselves with all their mind and strength to fulfil the duties of their several offices, should doubtless receive marks of distinction and commendation; while those whose abilities are of an ordinary standard, and who are incompetent to the performance of their official duties, can scarcely expect to be treated with indulgence. The period for making these examinations has now arrived, and the Board of Office has laid before us a statement respecting all our ministers at court and in the provinces, which statement we have carefully perused.

The cabinet minister Changling has strenuously exerted himself during a long lapse of years; he has reached the eightieth year of his age, yet his energies are still in full force. His colleagues Pwan Shengän and Muchangah, as well as the assistant cabinet minister Wang Ting, have invariably displayed diligence and attention, and have not faltered in yielding us assistance. Tang Kinchaou, president of the Board of Office, has knowledge and attainments of a respectable and sterling character, and has shown himself public spirited and intelligent in the performance of special duties assigned to him. She Cheyen, president of the Board of Punishments retains his usual strength and energies, and in the performance of his judicial duties has displayed perspicacity and circumspection. The assistant cabinet minister and governor of Cheihle province, Keshen, transacts the affairs of his government with faithfulness, and the military force under his control is well disciplined. Hoosungé, the governor of Shense and Kansuh provinces, is cautious and prudent, and performs his duties with careful exactness. Elepoo, governor of Yunnan and Kweichow, is well versed in the affairs of his frontier government, and has fully succeeded in preserving it free from disturbance. Linking, who is entrusted with the general charge of the rivers in Keängnan, has not failed in his care of the embankments, and has preserved the surrounding districts from all disquietude. To show our favor unto all these, let the Board of Office determine on appropriate marks of distinction for them.

Kweisan, subordinate minister of the cabinet, is hasty, and deficient, both in precision and capacity; he is incapable of moving and acting for himself; let him take an inferior station, and receive an appointment in the second class of the guards. Yeihtsih, vice-president of the Board of Works for Moukden, possesses but ordinary talents, and is incompetent to the duties of his present office; let him also take an inferior station, and be appointed to a place in the first class of guards. Narkingé, the governor of Hookwang, though having under him the whole civil and military bodies of two provinces, has yet been unable, these many days, to seize a few beggarly impish vagabonds: after having in the first instance failed in prevention, he has followed up that failure by idleness and remissness, and has fully proved himself inefficient. Let him take the lower station of lieut.-governor in Hoonan, and within one year let him, by the apprehension of Lan Chingtsun, show that he is aroused to greater exertions.

Let all our other servants retain their present appointments. Among them Taou Shoo, the governor of Keängnan and Keängse, is bold and determined in the transaction of affairs, but has not yet attained enlarged views in regard to the salt department; Chung Tseäng, the governor of Fuhkeën and Chěkeäng, finds his energies failing; Täng Tingching, the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, possesses barely an adequate degree of talent and knowledge; and Shin Keheën, though faithful and earnest in the performance of his duties, has in common with these others, been not very long in office.

That all ministers will act with purity and devotedness of purpose, with public spirit and diligence, is our most fervent hope. A special edict.

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ART. 1. *Christian missions in China; edict published in* 1836; *extracts from the Penal Code; with remarks, respecting the disposition and policy of this government towards Christianity, by the late Dr. Morrison.*

INQUIRIES have been made, and very frequently within the last few months, respecting the prospects of Christianity in this country. In former volumes we have stated what seemed to be the principal difficulties and encouragements in extending the gospel among the Chinese, within the limits of their empire. The object of this article is to lay before our readers a few facts and statements, which may aid them in forming correct opinions on this subject. The Romish missionaries have often attracted the notice of government; but until recently it was doubted, by some, whether Protestant missions would be viewed in the same light. Several voyages were made along the coast of China, and many books circulated among those who were eager to receive them. These voyages, especially that of the Huron and the expedition up the river Min, aroused the attention of the local authorities, who sent representations of those proceedings to Peking and likewise to officers of government in Canton. The emperor immediately sent down an edict, commanding the governor to investigate the subject secretly and rigidly, and also to ascertain who were the intruders on the coast, and the traitorous natives in Canton who had supplied them with books. Already three or four individuals, who had professed their belief in Jesus, had been proscribed and had fled from the country for safety; another one, who, we believe, made no pretensions to Christianity, suspected of having been connected with foreigners, was seized by the Chinese authorities in Macao, and, after examination, was sent to the governor in Canton: here for several months he was confined in prison, and was then sent into banishment, but where and for what length of time we do not know.

In the month of May, last year, Altsingah and Wang Tsingleën (the first the financial, and the second the judicial, commissioner, of the province) jointly published an edict, a translation of which appeared in the Canton Register of June 14th, 1836. Their excellencies first alluded to the existing laws on the subject, and to certain foreigners who in times past have clandestinely entered the country, and who, having been apprehended, were tried, and either strangled or expelled; they then spoke of the ships that had a few months before suddenly appeared in the waters of the provinces bordering upon the coast, distributing books "to persuade men to believe in the Lord Jesus;" and, after stating that half a year would be allowed any book-sellers or others, who had received such publications, to deliver them up to the magistrates, thereby saving themselves from punishment for past crimes, they concluded their edict by warning the people to reject 'corrupt doctrines' and to follow the ways of the ancient kings.—We intended to introduce here a translation of the edict, but the copy of it which we obtained has been either mislaid or destroyed. On second reference to the Register, we perceive, that the translation there given is of an edict from Lew, the chief magistrate of Nanhae, and was published on the 21st of May 1836: however, it seems to embody nearly the whole of that which was put forth by the two commissioners, to whom he is subordinate.

Since the appearance of that edict, but little, so far as we know, has been attempted in the distribution of books. Sometime last winter an excursion was undertaken to Hainan from Macao. A small native vessel was engaged for the voyage, a few books put on board, and the gentleman embarked. But, having proceeded down the coast sixty or eighty miles, the vessel was pursued, first by pirates, then by governmental cruisers; and finally the men themselves became mutinous, the books were thrown overboard, and the voyager, by the assistance of a friendly party in a boat, fortunately succeeded in reaching the place of his departure.

The following remarks, 'respecting the disposition and policy of this government towards Christianity,' were prepared by Dr. Morrison, a short time before his death, for a second edition of Milne's Retrospect of the Chinese mission; but the publication of that work having been abandoned, we introduce them here.

"The laws of China are an edifice, the foundation of which was laid by Le Kwei, full two thousand years ago. Successive dynasties have been building thereon ever since,—adding, altering, pulling down, and building up, as time and circumstances seemed to require. When sir George T. Staunton, in 1810, published his elegant translation of "the fundamental laws" of China, Christianity was not noticed in the Penal Code. But it has since been introduced, and in the very place where sir George thought it might have been looked for: see his note to section 162d, which is headed, "Magicians, leaders of sects, and teachers of false doctrines:" the Chinese heading is—*kin che sze woo, seay shuh*, "wizards, witches, and all superstitious practices, prohibited." The translation of the Penal Code contains

only four leaves under the division called "ritual laws;" and it is only here that the Chinese code has any direct reference to religion. Sir George, therefore, fairly enough expected something here, if any where, concerning Christianity; but he looked in vain, for nothing of the kind was then in the original. However, clauses were preparing in the 19th year of the late Keäking, about 1814, and, having been modified in 1821, were printed by his successor, the emperor Taoukwang, in 1826.

"I confess I was a little astonished to find Christianity classed with witches, wizards, and superstitious practices: but the rulers of the earth generally give hard names to religious systems of which they or their advisers disapprove: and some, indeed many, think that the classification does not do much injustice to what are merely the commandments of men. It is deeply to be regretted, that Christianity, as it appears in the New Testament, unencumbered by human additions, had not at first been presented to the eastern world. Even then, however, hostility might have been expected; for the fundamental laws of China are, in some things, incompatible with Christianity. In the first place *they require idolatry*. The 157th section, on the subject of court-sacrifices, makes not only the visible heaven and the earth, with the gods of the land and of the grain, but also the sun, moon, and stars, objects of worship. In a note to the 158th sec., on the crime of injuring or destroying altars, first, there are four great altars mentioned, which are dedicated to heaven, to earth, &c.; and then twenty-four others, which are dedicated to the sun, the moon, the constellations, the polar star, to the gods of the great mountains, the seas, and great rivers, the hills and little streams, &c., &c.; the original runs thus, *choo shin, urh-sheih-sze tan, keae shin sze yay*, 'for all these gods, there are twenty-four altars, on all of which sacrifices must be afforded.' Heifers, cows, sheep, and pigs are the victims; and the officers of government are the officiating priests. These acts of idolatry are performed at court, the seat of the supreme government, by the emperor and his ministers. In the country, throughout all the provinces, the governors, lieut.-governors, commissioners of justice, with all their compeers and subordinates, are required to sacrifice—to the *shin*, "the gods celestial" or gods of heaven; to the *ke*, "gods terrestrial;" also to the *shan, chuen, fung, yun, luy, yu, tăng shin*, "gods of the hills, rivers, winds, clouds, thunder, rain, &c." And further, they are required to sacrifice to the manes of deceased holy emperors, illustrious princes, faithful statesmen, scholars, and to the tablet of Confucius. Therefore, while the present laws remain in force, no Christian gentleman can ever engage in the service of this government. The religion of state is incompatible with Christian duty.

"Further; if *teën*, "heaven," means the Supreme Being, as some argue—erroneously in my judgment,—then by the 161st section of the Penal Code, private individuals are interdicted the worship of the true God. The *teën* is that which imperial and royal personages only may worship; it is a presumption, an assumption of rank not

belonging to them, to worship "heaven;" their offerings would be an indignity. The common people, especially women and those who have committed crimes, must not approach the *teën*. How different, how human, is all this, when compared with the declarations of divine revelation like the following: Jehovah heareth the groans of the prisoner; come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.

"Another antichristian evil is, that the laws of China, unhappily, fully recognize the right of *domestic slavery;* and the children of slaves are the property of their masters. Slaves are punishable in a greater degree than free persons — the crime being the same: and violence against them, even murder, especially if committed by their masters, is punished in a less degree, than when the same act is done against one who is free. The same is the case with wives and concubines. The latter are little better, in the eyes of the law, than slaves.* These circumstances, and the extreme authority of parents sanctioned by laws, make the spirit of the Chinese code hostile to the introduction of Christianity, even if the code passed it over in silence, which we shall presently see is not now the case.

"Under the section to which the law against Christianity is annexed, every sort of folly, knavery, superstition, and crime, is mentioned or alluded to. The folly of alchemy, and the iniquity of Sodom, are both exemplified in most extraordinary cases. During the reign of Keäking (sa yfifty years ago), a priest of the Taou sect pursuaded a whole family of thirteen persons, that if they would retire with him to a certain hill on the borders of a great lake, he would so extenuate their bodies that they should ascend to heaven in broad day. They went with him, and all perished of hunger. The priest confessed what he had done, and was cut to pieces by government, as the murderer of a whole family. The other case, which is recorded under this section, and which occurred during the same reign, was that of a stripling, who, dressing as a woman, and learning to sew, &c., was twice married to men. The fact was at length brought to the knowledge of the emperor, who ordered him to be put to death. However, strange as it may seem, the commentary on the laws avows, that superstitious and foolish rites of the people are not interdicted on their own account, but because of their tendency to influence the minds of the multitude and occasion insurrection and rebellion. This govern-

* The *tse* and *tseë* (wife and concubine) are not well translated by the phrase "principal and inferior wife" If they were all wives, then the word *tse* might be applied to all. But it is not so: the *tseë* are servants, or hand-maids, not possessing the respectability and comfort of the *wife*, or mother of the family. It is their *true* condition of which I speak; for their degradation, in point of law, however, high in favor with their masters, renders their condition *servile* in the extreme. Since they are not wives, they are not allowed by law to use the word *husband*, but instead of it they must say *master* of the house. I know this usage has antiquity to plead in its favor, even the wisdom of our ancestors. Yes! the folly of patriarchs, and the wisdom of druids and of savages. Further; he who has a wife, and marries another wife *(tse)*, is, for bigamy, punished with ninety blows, which is next to death. See section ciii.

ment does not care of what religion a man is, as an individual, or whether he be of any religion or not. The giving of names and congregating the people are particularly offensive in the eyes of the government."

Thus far wrote Dr. Morrison. The law against Christianity, to which he alludes, forms the 6th supplementary clause of the 162d section of the Penal Code. Before introducing the translation of that clause, we will give a translation of the section to which it is annexed. The reader will perceive that our translation (made by the son of Dr. Morrison) is more close and literal than the version of sir G. T. Staunton; it has been prepared with special care, in order to present the subject as fully and impartially as possible before the public—a subject in which every Christian philanthropist cannot but feel a very deep interest.

SECTION CLXII.

Witchcraft and all superstitious practices prohibited.

ALL sorcerers and witches, all who raise evil spirits, all writers of spells, and charmers of water; all who invoke the phœnix and holy spirits; all who take to themselves names which imply these practices; with all persons pertaining to the associations absurdly named Melih Budha, Pelien, Shayming, or by whatever name designated; all without exception whose practices and doctrines are erroneous and heterodox, who have in their possession concealed paintings and images of worship (different from those in common use), who assemble multitudes to burn incense, who meet together by night and separate when day arrives, or who by any pretense of cultivating virtue inflame and mislead the people—shall, if principals, be condemned to be strangled, after remaining in prison the usual period, and their accessories shall severally receive 100 blows, and be banished for life to the distance of 3000 *le*.

If any of the people, whether soldiers or citizens, dress and ornament their idols, and tumultuously carry them in procession, with the accompaniments of gongs and drums, the leaders or instigators of such meetings shall be punished with 100 blows. If the heads of a village or ward, being privy to such unlawful proceedings, do not give information to government, they shall severally be punished with 40 blows. However, this law shall not be construed to extend to the customary and befitting popular meetings, for invoking, in spring, the aid of the terrestial spirits, and in autumn for returning them thanks.

Dr. Morrison's version of the "substance of the new law," which forms the 6th clause, under the preceding section in the original, is as follows.

People of the western ocean (Seyang jin, in Peking understood of Europeans, in Canton of Portuguese) should they propagate in the country, the religion of heaven's Lord (Teën Choo keaou, as the Romanists have designated Christianity), or clandestinely print books, or collect congregations to be preached to (keäng hwuy, 'talking assemblies'), and thereby deceive many people; or should any Tartars or Chinese, in their turn, propagate the doctrines, and clandestinely give names [as in baptism], inflaming and misleading many—if proved, by authentic testimony, the head or leader shall be sentenced to immediate death by strangulation;* he who propagates the religion,

* Strangulation, in Chinese *keaou*, 'the silken-twist.' In similarly delicate phraseology, the rough European word beheading, or decollation, is called *tsun*, 'the charriot-cut.'

inflaming and deceiving the people, if the number be not large, and no names be given, shall be sentenced to strangulation after a period of imprisonment.* Those who are merely hearers and followers of the religion, if they will not repent and recant, shall be transported to the Mohammedan cities (in Túrkestan) and given to be slaves of the begs, and other powerful Mohammedans, who are able to coerce them. Moreover, Tartars shall have their names erased from the register.

In case of a wide diffusion of superstitious speeches, which may have ver important consequences; or in case of the people being deceived by spells and charms, or of wives and daughters being seduced and defiled; or in case of the mad practice of picking out the eye-balls of dying persons being had recourse to;† let the crime be deliberated on at the time of occurrence, and be punished according to its enormity.

If those who have received the religion repent and voluntarily give themselves up to government, and openly recant and come out of the sect, they may all be forgiven and may go unpunished. But if, after they have been seized and brought before government, they still obstinately adhere to the delusion, and will not be awakened, then the law must take its course.

Moreover, Europeans (Seyang jin) are strictly interdicted from buying land or having property in the country. All civil and military officers who may fail to detect Europeans clandestinely residing within their jurisdiction, and propagating their religion, thereby deceiving the multitude, shall be delivered over to the supreme Board, and be subjected to a court of inquiry.

This clause was revised and extended in the first year of Taoukwang (A. D. 1821).

Here, for the present, we must leave the subject. Our readers will severally form their own conclusions. The time may be near, when the revealed truth of God, in its perfect purity and glory, shall be published through all the length and breadth of this empire. Present prospects, however, are dark. The whole land is full of idols; strong delusions bind the people to their superstitious rites; and "the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed." Nevertheless, the promises of Jehovah are sure; the Savior is omnipotent; and eventually he will draw all nations unto himself. Many primitive Christians, not fearing the wrath of kings and magistrates, went everywhere boldly preaching the gospel of Christ; and for a testimony of the word of God died as martyrs. The same commands, under which they acted, are in force now; and who will dare to say, that it may not yet again be the duty of Christians to act with equal boldness, and lay down their lives in attestation of the truth? A vast amount of labor, however, may now be performed without exposure to the least injury. Not to include the tens of thousands of natives in British India, and on the islands of the Indian Archipelago, who are most miserable and wretched for the lack of knowledge there are probably not less than sixty or eighty thousand Chinese, within the same limits, to whom the Christian missionary can gain direct and free access.

* This is always supposed to be a merciful respite, but often encourages hopes which are soon to be disappointed.

† This is commonly reported against the Romanists by the Chinese. Do they thus obtain relics, or is it altogether a calumny? I suppose the latter.

ART. II. *Topography of Bankok: situation of the city; face of the country; river and canals; soil and productions; streets; buildings, private and public.* By a Correspondent.

BANKOK, the capital of Siam, is situated on both sides of the river Meinam, 'mother of waters,' about thirty miles from its mouth, measuring by the course of the river, but only about fifteen by a canal which crosses the 'great bend,' midway between Bankok and the gulph. The greatest extent of the city, including all commonly denominated Bankok, is more than six miles in the direction of the river. The breadth of either part, as separated by the Meinam, varies from one and a half to two miles. Bankok Proper is situated to the right hand, as you ascend the river, on a circular plot of ground, formed by a bend of the Meinam describing the western half of its circumference, and by a large canal which forms the boundary of the other half. Within these limits, a little distance from the water, stands the city wall, which is fifteen feet high and twelve broad, and describes a circumference probably of not less than six miles. The country about Bankok, as far as the eye or telescope can reach, is an entire level. Not even the least hillock can be seen to relieve the wearisome monotony. It is difficult to find in the city, or its vicinity, the least natural scenery, on which the eye can rest with any satisfaction or delight. Although there are forests of the cocoa-nut, betel-nut, palmyra, &c., not far distant, which might afford to a lover of nature some pleasure; yet these are almost entirely concealed from an observer in Bankok, unless he ascend a "mast head," or an observatory near the king's palace. A few bamboos, plantains, betel, and mango, trees, with a small variety of shrubbery, are interspersed among the dark and dirty buildings, which it must be confessed, seem pleasant in the absence of all other comforts belonging to natural scenery.

The Meinam is about a hundred rods wide at Bankok, where its course is exceedingly serpentine, as it is also both above and below the city. On entering Bankok, its course is first southwest, then south, then south-southeast, then east, then again southwest. It is truly a noble river. Ships of the heaviest burden are safely anchored near either shore. At Bankok, and to a great distance above, it is at all times under the influence of the tides, which rise from six to seven feet. In consequence of the great abundance of the water, at the close of the wet seasons, the current is very strong. But at the close of the dry seasons and beginning of the wet, the tide rushes up much of the time with great power. At such seasons the water of the river becomes a little brackish. The spring tides, in October, November, and December, overflow almost all the ground on which Bankok is built; and the ebbing tides of April, May, and June, leave a large majority of the canals dry many hours every day, to the no small inconvenience of

the inhabitants. The Meinam is the broadway of Bankok, while the canals are the inferior streets. Of these, there are many hundreds, intersecting each other at every angle. One, denominated the king's canal, flows out of the [illegible] opposite to the city walls and leads down to the sea. Probably, however, it may be one of the natural mouths of the river. The water both of the river and the canals is at all times considerably turbid; but on standing a few hours it becomes in a good degree pure, and is rendered clear as crystal in a few minutes by adding a minute proportion of alum or sulphuric acid. The water thus purified is used for culinary purposes, by a few of the higher classes of the natives; but many of them, and all the common people, do not care to have it purer than their "mother of waters."

The soil of Bankok is entirely alluvial, and to a great extent argillaceous. A small proportion of quicksand is intimately mixed with it, which probably occasions the turbidness of all the streams, and renders their banks quite unstable. For richness this soil cannot be surpassed by any other on the face of the earth. In the vicinity of Bankok it is in a high state of cultivation, and is employed chiefly for gardens. Go out from the river, in almost any direction, you first find yourself in the midst of Chinese gardens, and then in extensive fields of paddy. The gardens produce lettuce, parsly, cabbage, sweet potatoes, yams, turnips, onions, peas, beans, maze, egg-fruit, oranges, limons, pomegranites, plantains, guavas, dorians, jack-fruit, mangosteens, mangoes, cocoanuts, betelnuts, sugar-cane, and countless other kinds, which cannot now be named. Onions do not grow well here. The probable cause is ignorance of the mode of cultivating them. Peas are rather a rarity. Beans are of an inferior kind, although abundant. Cabbage is also a rare article, and but recently introduced. Maize does not arrive at the greatest perfection, though it answers well for a substitute for that of American. All the other fruits, named above, together with very many not named, grow to the greatest perfection in this soil.

Excepting a few comfortable streets, within the walls of the city and a very few outside of them, there is scarcely anything that deserves the name of street. There are many which are so called, but they are little more than foot-paths, so narrow that two cannot walk abreast. The Siamese style of walking is precisely the 'Indian file' of the American aborigines. Their paths being raised a little out of the mud, by a scanty supply of brick, are quite tolerable to themselves, with their bare feet and bare legs, while they are scarcely passable to one who wears shoes. That carriages or beasts of burden of any kind can be employed in these lanes, is wholly out of the question. An American or European residing in the city sighs after no one of the pleasures of his own country so much as that of his former pleasant grounds, where he may enjoy free exercise. He seeks in vain for such enjoyment in Bankok.

The ordinary style of building is to erect two small houses in close proximity to each other, on the same level. One of these is occupied

by the husband and the other by his females. The posts are sunk into the earth three or four feet. The floor is raised six or eight feet from the surface of the ground, and above this the elevation of the room is ten or twelve feet. Thus the houses are all two stories high; but in consequence of the dampness and the spring tides, the lower story is seldom occupied, or even enclosed. Some of these buildings are made of teak boards, others are constructed of bamboo wicker-work; and some of bamboo slats, and a species of palm leaf. Many of the wealthy Chinese live in brick houses, having only one story. The floors of these are raised a little above the common level, so as to clear the high tides. The style is peculiar to the Chinese. Their external appearance is rather gaudy; and the rooms are close and dark. Such buildings line both sides of the street, denominated the great Chinese bazar. This bazar is about one mile in length, and affords a market of greater extent and variety than is usually seen in the east. The following are but a few of the many who occupy it, viz.: tailors, blacksmiths, druggists, goldsmiths, butchers, dyers, shoemakers, fishmongers, and venders of fruit.

Floating houses constitute no small part of the city. They line both sides of the Meinam, for a distance of six miles or more, and also many of the canals. They are chiefly inhabited by Chinese, and are principally occupied by merchants as shops. There is a remarkable similarity in their size and construction. Their base is about twenty by thirty feet; and from the floor to the eaves is eight feet. That their roofs may be sufficiently steep, and at the same time low, they are made double, as though there were two houses joined together, side by side. These roofs are covered with a species of palm leaf. Every house has a small wing on each end, and a verandah in front. One of their sides is made to front the river. As a whole, they are neat and pleasant. They are bubyed up above the water two or three feet, by means of bamboo poles. The front of each shop can be taken out at pleasure, and thus exhibit all its contents, so that in passing along in his boat, the purchaser has a continual display of merchandise before him, and in "shopping" he has only to sit in his boat and point out the article he wishes.

Within the ramparts of the city, is situated the palace of "his magnificent majesty," the king of Siam, towering quite above all other dwellings. It is a rich structure, and displays not a little taste. Around it are several wats (or temples) which, with their gilded spires and many whitened dormitories for the priests, give that part of the city a pleasant aspect. The buildings in this vicinity are constructed chiefly of brick, neatly whitened, with their roofs covered with tiles.

It remains to describe the wats. Within the city and its suburbs are about one hundred. Upon these the Siamese concentrate all their wealth, and taste, and hearts. As might, therefore, be expected, the temples far surpass, in richness and beauty, all their other buildings, the king's palace even not excepted. The best locations are chosen for them. The amount of ground occupied by a single

wat and its appurtenances is from three to five acres. A wat consists, generally, of one, two, or more, large and lofty buildings in the centre of the plot. They are constructed of brick. Massive pillars support the centre and roof of their spacious verandahs. The whole is neatly covered with a white cement, which gives the brick somewhat the appearance of marble. The doors are very large and numerous. The windows are closed with double shutters, made of thick plank. Both these and the doors are finished in the richest style. Some are ornamented with many varieties of colored glass, cut into small pieces, and set so as to represent various images. Some are finished with a profusion of gilding, others are thickly set with pearls. There is much in their external appearance to remind one of the churches in Christian lands. Each has but a single room, which, were it not for an immense gilded image of Budha, seated on a throne at its farther extremity, would give the visitor an impression that he was in the house of the living God: with but slight alterations they would be well adapted to public preaching. Is it too much to expect that some of them erelong will be converted into Christian churches?

These large buildings are surrounded by small pagodas, many of whose spires are gilded. Their bases are set with party-colored glass and earthen wares of the most showy character. They give a splendid appearance at a distance, but are found to be coarse on close inspection. Some of the pagodas display huge and frightful representations of Budha; some display a variety of evil spirits. And some represent, or design to represent, souls suffering the torments of hell-fire. In the back ground are the houses of the priests. Their workmanship is plainer than that of the buildings already described; yet they are tasty and spacious. There are generally from four to six of these houses at each wat. Dormitories are so many and spacious as to lodge comfortably a hundred priests, which is probably about the average number inhabiting every wat in Bankok. There are many other smaller structures designed chiefly to give variety and taste to the sacred enclosures; such as bowers, marble platforms, monuments, &c. The ground between the chief buildings, and in front of them, is very pleasantly diversified by brick, marble, and granite, pavements. Shade-trees and shrubbery are of rich variety, with flowers of beautiful hue. Some of the older wats have become so thick and dark with trees, and are so frequented by crows and other birds, that they seem somewhat like a superb castle in the wilderness.

ART. III. *Historical and descriptive account of China: volumes second and third; by Messrs. Murray, Crawfurd, Gordon, Lynn, Wallace, and Burnett.* Edinburgh: 1836.

THE first volume of this work was noticed in the Repository for last September; the second and third, excepting some parts of the latter, are quite on a par with that one. Language and literature; religion, government, and the political state of the country; national industry and social state, manners, and arts; a historical account of British intercourse; a geographical description of the provinces; view of the trade and navigation to China; mathematics and astronomy; geology and mineralogy; botany; and zoölogy—are the leading topics: and each is treated separately, at considerable length. Our remarks and extracts shall be brief, yet sufficient to afford the reader a just and adequate idea of the work. Mr. Murray has evidently no personal acquaintance with the Chinese; and should he ever visit this country, he will look in vain for many of the "striking peculiarities," described in his book. His selection of authorities, also, is not good; he having often taken for his guides, works which were written when the Chinese empire and its inhabitants were very different, in some particulars, from what they now are. Moreover, when he has had the best books before him, he has, not unfrequently, failed to discriminate between what is and what is not correct. Like John Webb of Butleigh, who wrote in 1668, Mr. Murray seems to have sought chiefly for *memorabilia*, and to have received as verities whatsoever of this kind he could find written in books; and, *à la Chinois*, the more ancient and extravagant the narratives, the more implicitly has he followed them. Peculiar celebrations, peculiar buildings, peculiar names, peculiar forms, &c., &c., many of them "very striking," are conspicuous throughout the book. His orthography of Chinese names is in "good keeping" with the other parts of the work: it is neither English, French, nor Portuguese; nor does it conform to the *usus loquendi* at court, or in any of the provinces.

The first chapter of the second volume is long and labored, occupying a hundred and ten pages. Had the writer done nothing more than copy out entire paragraphs from the writings of Morrison, Marshman, Davis, Rémusat, Prémare, Klaproth, and Julien, his compilation, if judiciously made, would have been valuable. Now it is not so; and the reader, who has but a partial knowledge of the subject, will find so many erroneous statements in the chapter, as to prevent his believing any part of it, unless he knows, from better authority than Mr. Murray, that they are true. Frequent references are made to the writers mentioned above, and also to Montucci, Fourmont, Grosier, De Guignes, Amiot, Gaubil, Mohl, and others; but often it is not evident what and how much our author intends to have received on their testimony. Let the reader with us examine the following paragraph:

"The written language of China was originally framed on similar principles with the Mexican and the Egyptian, but under a somewhat different form. While the one represented objects by painting in colors, and the other by sculpture in relief (or an imitation of it), the Chinese never employed any mode except outlines drawn by a pencil on wood or paper. But the striking peculiarity is, that while the tongue has been cultivated for thousands of years, there has never been the slightest departure from the original system of expressing every object and thought by a separate character. No approach has ever been made to a *phonetic* alphabet, or one like our own, expressing the sounds of the human voice as used in speaking. Considering the various and decided changes actually made in the written language, and the important inventions in respect to the mechanical implements employed, this remarkable fact can scarcely, we think, be imputed to mere veneration for antiquity. It seems rather connected with peculiarities in the disposition and habits of the Chinese. The people of the west, and especially the Greeks, may be generally characterized as speaking nations. Oratory, discourse, and conversation, were the favorite modes of communicating ideas; and hence many of their most valued remains are harangues and dialogues taken from the mouth of the sage by his disciples or admirers. The Chinese, on the contrary, have been always a writing nation. 'They never,' said an Arabian traveler in the ninth century, 'answer by word of mouth to any business whatever, nor will they give any answer at all to anything that is not written.' The commands of men in power are made known by written placards borne before the officers who are charged with their execution. The counsels of ministers to their sovereign are submitted in written documents of peculiar name and form. There is little of what we call society, where men meet to enjoy themselves, or to display their powers in familiar intercourse. The most important part even of their formal visits are the written cards, announcing, accepting, and returning thanks for them. Speech is considered altogether a secondary and subordinate mode of communication. The idea, therefore, of making the written subservient to the spoken language, seems never once to have occurred to the mind of a Chinese. The hieroglyphic quality, or that of forming actual images of the objects to be expressed, can now be very faintly traced in the Chinese characters. De Guignes has even denied that they ever possessed it, and has advanced the extraordinary hypothesis, that they were corruptions of the Phœnician alphabet. The examples, however, of the early symbols supplied by Amiot, and more recently by Klaproth and Morrison,* remove every doubt that they were representations of the things intended to be expressed." *pp.* 19, 20, 21.

It is evidently true, that the Chinese language was originally framed under a somewhat different form from the Egyptian and Mexican; and it is probable, but not certain, that it was framed on similar principles with them. To us it appears plain that nothing is known, with any degree of certainty respecting the origin of either of the languages in question. A knowledge of the Chinese as now used, if possessed by Mr. Murray, certainly might have saved him from entertaining so many erroneous ideas of the language itself, if not from unfounded conjectures regarding its early history. What does he mean by this "striking peculiarity," "that while the tongue has been cultivated for thousands of years, there has never been the slightest

* Amiot, Mémoires, tome i. p. 306, &c. Klaproth, Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie (2 vols. 8vo., Paris, 1826), tome ii. p. 101-131. Morrison's Chinese Miscellany (4to. London, 1825). Plates 1, 2, 3.

departure from the original system of expressing every object and thought by a separate character?' Farther onward, in the same chapter, he is more explicit: 'while with us, one word has often several different senses: in the Chinese, on the contrary, each character bears a single and precise meaning:' hence, "it is said" to be more copious than the European languages: and this circumstance, he suspects, with regard to facility of acquisition, is rather in its favor. The case stands thus: while with Europeans a word has various significations, each requiring a separate exercise of the memory; in the Chinese, on the contrary, every word has one, and only one meaning. Therefore the facility occasioned to the learner, by always knowing, in any particular passage, the single and precise meaning of each character, will more than counterbalance the perplexity experienced from a multiplication in the number of vocables. Again it is observed, that 2000 characters will enable a European to convey ideas upon any common topic, and that there are not a greater number used in the Penal Code of the empire. This last statement should be given, we suppose, on the authority of sir G. T. Staunton; and it is no doubt true: but does Mr. Murray fancy that only 2000 single and precise ideas are to be found in the whole code? The truth is, there are very few characters in this language that have but a single meaning; usually they have several; and this diversity in the meanings which are attached to the same character is by no means less, and is a source of no less difficulty, in Chinese than in English. The correctness of this remark may be exemplified on almost every page of Kanghe's or Morrison's dictionary. It is so evident, at first sight, to every one who has any knowledge of the language, that we even doubt if we have rightly understood our author, notwithstanding his repetition of his remarks.

It is not quite correct to say, that no approach has been made to a *plonetic* alphabet, or one like our own, expressing the sound of the human voice as used in speaking. There are instances, in Chinese lexicons, of a very near approach to a phonetic system.

Mr. Murray would next fain have his readers believe, that the Chinese are a nation of *mutes*. The people of the west are speaking nations; the Chinese, "on the contrary, are a writing nation." It is very true that the Greeks and Romans were fond of oratory and conversation: but were they not equally fond of the style? Their ponderous tomes leave no doubt on this point. The modern Germans, too, are they not a writing nation? Look at the periodical literature, the cabinet libraries, and cyclopædias, annually poured forth from the English press. In number, they far exceed the literary productions of the Chinese; and, like many of the modern works of the celestial empire, not a few of them are mere compilations. Witness the volumes before us. If Mr. Murray really believes that the Chinese never answer by word of mouth to any business whatever, nor give any answer at all to anything that is not written: or if he fancies that they have no gift of *the gab*, or fondness for conversation, chit-chat, and harangues, he altogether mistakes "the peculiar disposition and habits

of the Chinese." No people in the world are more loquacious than this, though "a writing nation" they truly are. Thousands we have seen in the streets, listening hour after hour to noisy story-tellers, or to the rehearsals of players on the public stage. And if the time ever comes when popular and deliberate assemblies shall be permitted here, certain we are that orators will not be wanting.

As in Europe, and among all civilized nations, "the commands of men in power are made known" in writing often, and scarcely less often orally, at least, not less frequently than they are so given in Europe; it is very common, too, with the authorities here, to make known their commands by placards pasted up on the gates and walls of the cities, in the markets, and other places of concourse; but never have we seen, or before heard of, placards being borne before the officers who are charged with their execution. The ordinary counsels of ministers to their sovereign, submitted in written documents, have nothing more peculiar in "name or form," than belong to similar papers in the courts of Europe. It is erroneous to suppose that men do not meet here "to enjoy themselves, or to display their powers in familiar intercourse." Equally far is it from the truth to say, that "the most important part, even of their formal visits, are the written cards, announcing, accepting, and returning thanks for them." Nor is there the least foundation for affirming, "that speech is considered altogether a secondary and subordinate mode of communication."

We should like to see a second edition of Mr. Murray's book, with all that is erroneous printed in black letter, so that the relative proportions might be seen at a glance, on opening the several volumes. The paragraph which we have just had under review, would make a black page indeed; but we fear it would not be a solitary one. On many pages, one half or two thirds, and sometimes nearly every line, would appear in black. In reading the work we marked scores of paragraphs which should have been corrected or expunged. Besides the palpable errors, there are many sentences so vague that it is utterly impossible to determine what the author would mean. He is speaking of "married words," that is, compound terms, when he says:

> "Even in the very inartificial arrangement mentioned by sir G. T. Staunton, where, *moo*, signifying a tree, *moo-moo*, is a thicket, *moo-moo-moo*, a forest; the last two [two last] are still real compounds. Thus the Chinese, after all, even in their spoken tongue, possess resources equal to those of other nations. Still it is a most singular circumstance, that while in very rude dialects these compounds have been run into each other, and their angles, as it were, rounded off, so as to combine into one word, no such union has taken place in Chinese; and its primitive syllables continue still to be sounded completely like separate words. This seems accountable only by the circumstance, already mentioned, that a paramount importance is attached to writing, and a very secondary place allowed to speech.

We have not sir George's work at hand, and do not remember how he has explained the subject, but we challenge any one, who is not conversant with the Chinese writing, to tell what our author means by his *moo*, *moo-moo*, and *moo-moo-moo*, so inartificially arranged. If he

knew himself, it would have been only fair to have given the explanation. One of the several characters which are pronounced *mŭh* (not *moo*), according to Morrison's Dictionary, means 'a tree;' the same character *(mŭh)* being doubled, yet so as to form a new word, becomes, not moo-moo, nor mŭh-mŭh, but *lin* 'a grove;' and when trebled it forms a new word, which is not moo-moo-moo, but simply *sān*, which means 'a woody appearance.' The three words *mŭh*, *lin*, and *sān*, are distinct monosyllables, whether written or spoken. The meaning of what follows *moo-moo-moo*, quoted above, we will not undertake to conjecture.

The second chapter is occupied with remarks on the religion of China. The first paragraph is a good index of the whole. "Religion in China presents an aspect extremely peculiar." "The national religion, namely, that professed by the learned and the great, and which has always labored to proscribe every other, is founded on very simple principles, comprising scarcely anything that can be branded with the name of idolatry." *Scarcely anything that can be branded with the name of idolatry!!* "The belief of an Almighty superintending Power," he says, "comprehends almost the entire circle of orthodox faith and observance." If the reader, after perusing the first article in this number, has any doubts on these points, we beg he will turn to the Ta Tsing Hwuy Teën, and the Ta Tsing Leuh Le, where under the head *le*, "rites and ceremonies," he will find most ample and unequivocal testimony diametrically opposed to Mr. Murray's affirmations. A brief sketch of what constitutes the state religion of the Chinese may be found in our second volume, at page 49. That article was written by Dr. Morrison, and we know that, "though incomplete, it is faithful as far as it goes;" and it goes far enough to settle the question before us.

The government and political state of China form the leading topics of the third chapter, which contains a full complement of erroneous statements. The remarks respecting the literary examinations, the use of the bamboo, and the infliction of capital punishments, are "peculiarly striking," though very far from being correct.

The fourth chapter gives us a view of the national industry of the Chinese. "A deep veneration for agriculture is inscribed on all the institutions of China." "A homage to this primary art, altogether peculiar to the Chinese, is still seen in the annual celebration, by which the emperor makes a show of performing its operations." An annual festival is also celebrated in each province, described by Mr. Murray in the following language, not a word of which is correct.

"The governor marches forth, crowned with flowers, and accompanied by a numerous train, bearing flags, adorned with agricultural emblems and portraits of eminent husbandmen, while the streets are decorated with lanterns and triumphal arches. Among other figures is a porcelain cow of enormous magnitude, carried by forty men, and attended by a boy, who represents the genius of industry; at the close of the procession the animal is opened, and found to contain numerous smaller cows of the same material, which are distributed among the people. *p.* 195.

In this narrative, as in many others contained in our author's "complete account of China," there is a "striking resemblance" to what actually does occur. But no such near approach to reality is discoverable in the following: "The stage-barges, which convey the mandarins and other high officers, are, as it were, floating palaces, where all the splendor of an official mansion is maintained." In the approach to Canton by the Bocca Tigris, "fishing boats are arranged in long rows, leaving intervals like streets for the large ships to pass through."

The following are some of the "striking peculiarities" which we have noticed in the fifth chapter, respecting the social state, manners, and arts. A man who has reached, unmarried, the age of twenty, is considered a prodigy; while a young lady, arrived at eighteen in single blessedness, bemoans herself as in the most distressing and alarming condition. p. 263. So great is the influence of the empress-mother over the sovereign, that, as long as she lives, he is scarcely a free agent. p. 278. To supply the emperor and grandees with wives and concubines is the object of a regular traffic, of which the chief seat is the gay city of Soochow foo. The dealers go round the country, buying up all the female children who afford any promise of beauty, who, after a course of fashionable training, they sell for 500 or 600 guineas each. p. 280. When a man furnishes his house, a coffin is the first and most expensive article; and as soon as he is dead, one of his relations mounts the roof of the house, and three times calls upon the soul of the deceased to come back and reënter his body. After due preparation, the body is borne to the grave, covered with a spacious canopy, laid upon an extensive framework, which in some cases requires upwards of sixty bearers. p. 284. Some lanterns are of stupendous size, measuring twenty-seven feet in diameter; the more ordinary ones are about four feet high and three feet in diameter: at the feast of lanterns, every street, and the *windows* of every house, are illuminated by them, making a most brilliant show. pp. 289, 290. Open violations of the laws are comparatively rare; and in domestic life, with a few serious exceptions, the conduct of this people seems on the whole laudable. p. 294. The result is, that although there is no national provision for the infirm and unemployed, nor any private associations for their relief, and though the laboring-classes are generally poor, it is believed, that through the kindness of relations they are never reduced to absolute want, nor to the necessity of begging on the public roads. p. 295. These quotations—and their number might be increased to a very great extent, are put forth by Mr. Murray as grave matters of history "to instruct a British reader."

A historical account of British intercourse with China forms the sixth chapter, and closes the volume. "It can pass."

On opening the third volume, we are first entertained with "a geographical description of the Chinese provinces." It is every way equal to the "general view of China," given in the first volume; to those who have read the chapter, comments thereon will be of no

use; to those who have not, an extract or two will give a more "striking impression," than any remarks of our own. We select descriptions of places and things which are well known to thousands of "our countrymen." They are admirable; and we hardly know which to admire most, their graphic beauty, or the patient research of the author, "who has made every exertion," as he says, to render his work complete.

"The factories of the Europeans are spacious structures, situated without the walls, and ranged along the water. The English house is particularly large and commodious, affording, according to Mr. Barrow, a more comfortable residence than the most splendid palace of which the empire can boast.* It is built in a style of mixed oriental and western architecture; and an elegant veranda commands grand views up and down the river. The beach is covered with vast piles of goods which have been landed from the country-boats, ready to be transferred into others for conveyance to the ships at Whampoa. The crowd of clerks and porters running to and fro, and vociferating to one another; the numberless boats upon the water, crowded with people, pigs, and poultry, render this, in Mr. Wathen's opinion, the most tumultuous and noisy scene in the whole world; the buzz is deafening and almost intolerable. * * * The English gentlemen have liberty to make short excursions into the country, or to the shores of the river and bay, which present in many places agreeable and beautiful prospects. Sumptuous entertainments are given to them by the hong merchants, and they even receive visits from the hoppo or chief officer of revenue; but they seldom or never see the greater mandarins, who affect to hold in contempt everything connected with commerce.†

"In the approach to Canton by the Bocca Tigris, at the distance of twelve or fourteen miles, is the fortified station of Whampoa, above which no European vessels are permitted to ascend. Here, also, is a chop-house, as it is called, where even boats are subjected to strict examination. Farther out, on the western side of the entrance, the Portuguese settlement of Macao, scarcely eight miles in circuit, lies on a small peninsula projecting from a territory called an island, though separated from the continent only by river-channels. This city, though it has lost its early importance, is still handsome and well built, and according to Staunton contains about 12,000 inhabitants, of whom more than half are Chinese; but other authorities raise the number to 30,000, and even higher.‡ The government interdicts strictly all communication with the country, a wall being built across the isthmus, and closely guarded, which the Portuguese are never allowed to pass. They are, indeed, reproached as extremely subservient, and are defended by a garrison of not more than 300 black soldiers. The government having so closely hemmed them in on this little spot, seem to have ceased to consider it as part of the celestial empire, and allow the English and other foreign merchants to place their families there, while they can proceed to Canton only for purposes of trade. The peninsula is rocky, and the cliffs are of varied and highly picturesque forms, presenting from their summits magnificent views of land and sea. A chasm in the loftiest of these formed the cave of Camoens, on a stone seat in which that most illustrious of the Portuguese poets was accustomed to sit and compose. It is still held in reverence, though Mr. Ellis, with some reason, doubts

* Travels, p. 609.

† Wathen's Voyage to Madras and China (4to., London, 1814,) pp. 185-187, 192, 193, 196-198, 210, 206.

‡ Abeel, Journal of a Residence in China and the neighboring countries from 1830 to 1833; (12mo., London, 1835), p. 35.

the good taste of enclosing it by an abutment of masonry. On a spot of broken ground adjoining is his garden, still cultivated, and filled with beautiful trees and shrubs irregularly disposed.* On the opposite side of the Bocca Tigris is the island of Lintin, already mentioned as the seat of a most extensive contraband trade." *pp.* 33, 34, 37.

The view of the trade with China, furnished in the second chapter, is more accurate than any of the preceding parts of the work; yet it cannot serve as a very safe guide to those who are engaged in this commerce, though it may afford the general reader "a comprehensive view" of its present extent. The writer estimates the whole of this trade at ninety millions of dollars, or, in round numbers, at about twenty millions sterling. He regards it as yet in its infancy; and thinks there are two ways in which "a general trade" might be carried on. "We may take possession of an island," and there form a commercial emporium; or an intercourse might be maintained with additional ports "by smuggling." No doubt either of these methods *might* be effected; but whether it would be right to do so; and if right, whether it would be expedient; are points on which there is a diversity of opinion. There is, we think, a better way, and one which deserves early and careful consideration: it is by the establishment, through the joint agency of western nations, of friendly relations with this government, upon those broad principles of reciprocal rights, which, wherever enjoyed, never fail to prove mutually beneficial and satisfactory.

On the subject of imports, the propriety of the measures suggested and recommended by our author, will be questioned by some, and denied by others. He says, "We are encouraged to suggest (the importation of) colonial spirits, or that manufactured from sugar, from perceiving that the Chinese in the Indian islands are large consumers of Hollands or Geneva, and knowing that there is no good and can be no cheap spirit prepared in their own country." p. 74. Thus the Edinburgh Cabinet Library would encourage the importation of alcoholic spirits. It is quite true the Chinese have none that are *good*, though they think they have, and are satisfied with the price they have to pay for such drink; so that even as a matter of gain we would never encourage the importation of such an article.

As the question whether it is right to embark in the opium-trade is still in the hands of able correspondents, we quote the following paragraphs without comment: the writer, who we suppose is Mr. Crawfurd, gives his reader the following remarks respecting its manufacture and traffic.

"It occurs to us, that it may be possible to introduce among the Chinese the *sulphate*, or other natural salt, of *morphia* as a substitute for crude opium, which, in its present state, is a manufacture of about the same degree of refinement as pitch or tar. The opium, before it is smoked by them, is known to be boiled and purified: the result of which process has been ascertained, by a chemical analysis, to be no other than a rude morphia. Now, if the well-prepared article, which contains the essence of the drug in about

* Wathen, p. 170-173. Staunton, vol. iii. p. 132-138. Ellis, vol. ii. p. 304.

one sixteenth part of the weight of the raw material, could be introduced, many advantages would follow:—it would be cheaply and conveniently transported to China with little risk of seizure,—the natives would be saved their own imperfect and wasteful operation,—and they would be supplied with a more wholesome commodity, which might be conveyed to them at a smaller cost than even the precious metals. Britain also would become the seat of a new and extensive branch of manufacture,—for we cannot suppose that in any other country it could be conducted so advantageously. Certainly the participation in a rising branch of trade which, even at present, gives employment to three millions and a half of British capital, and is obviously capable of a very great extension, is well deserving of national consideration.

"Two objections have been urged against the opium-trade; namely, that it is discreditable as an evasion of the national law of China, and that the drug is deleterious to the health of the consumers. These are easily answered. If the Chinese government impose absurd rules—if they set themselves in opposition to the practice of other countries—and above all, if they make laws which they have no power to enforce, and which even their own subjects openly set at defiance, they must take the consequence of their folly. The fact is, that the sovereign, and especially his principal officers, do not expect that their decrees on this head are to be obeyed, and they enforce them only partially, and for the purposes of extortion. With respect to the deleterious quality of the drug, we consider this opinion to be a mere prejudice; for opium, as it is prepared by the consumers, when taken in moderation,—and it is much more rarely taken in excess than ardent spirits, or malt liquor, or wine, in European countries—seems in no respect more pernicious than any of these intoxicating beverages. It is, in fact, not the use but the abuse which is hurtful. Men of all ages and countries solace their cares with some intoxicating material or others; and whether this be brandy or wine, as in France, ale, as in England, whisky, as in Ireland, fermented mare's milk, as in Tartary, the expressed juice of hemp, as in some parts of India, or opium, as in China, is a matter of comparative indifference,—depending on the taste, habits, or caprices of a people." *pp.* 63, 64.

A view of the navigation to China by different routes forms the third chapter, including 126 pages. It is a very poor essay, fitted neither to assist the mariner, nor to "amuse or instruct a British reader." Nearly the whole of it is either mere compilation from Horsburgh's Directory, or from some old observations, in manuscript we suppose, made thirty or forty years ago. A few pages, including notices of all the recently discovered dangers, with remarks respecting the relative advantages of the several routes, the times of sailing, the typhons, &c., might, for want of something better, be admissible in a historical and descriptive account of China.

Most of the last half of the third volume is occupied with astronomy and natural history. The strictures on the history of astronomy, meet our own views of the case: this science "has always been in the state of an edifice which is continually destroyed as often as it rises one stage above the ground." Professor Wallace has treated the subject faithfully, and exhibits it to the reader just as it is.

Scarcely less satisfactory is the account of geology and mineralogy. In truth, however, it can hardly be said that "China is to a considerable extent visited by earthquakes." We question the correctness of the story about Yushan in Szechuen; and doubt whether there are

any hills in Kwangse, "from which every third and fifth night flames are seen to issue." Nor have we met with satisfactory evidence of the abundance of mineral wells in China, though their existence is not improbable.

The late professor of botany in king's college has likewise performed his part of the work very well. He esteems too lightly the Puntsaou: the extracts, however, which he has made justify his opinion; but those extracts do not afford a fair sample of the character of the Chinese original.

In the last chapter, that on zoölogy, we meet again with Mr. Murray, or some one else who writes exactly like him. See

"The rivers, lakes, pools, canals, and even ditches, are full of fish; and there are boatloads of water containing spawn, which is carried to distant parts, where it cannot naturally be so easily procured. The young fry, when so small as to be almost imperceptible, are fed with certain lentils, which flourish in the marshes, or with yolks of eggs. *p.* 431.

"In the province of Kiangnan, a very large fish is brought from the Yellow river and the sea, and which is taken by means of extensive flat meadows, covered by water, but so ingeniously contrived as to be capable of being suddenly left bare, as soon as a certain number of them have entered those treacherous shallows. *p.* 432.

"The Chinese are known to follow the singular practice of hatching the eggs of fishes under fowls. For this purpose they collect the spawn from lakes and rivers, place it in vessels, and dispose of it to the proprietors of ponds. When what is called the hatching-season arrives, they empty a hen's egg of its natural contents, and substitute for it the gelatinous spawn. The opening is then closed up, the egg is put under its natural parent, and is, after a few days, removed, reöpened, and placed in a vessel of water warmed by the heat of the sun, where it is kept till the young fish are developed and acquire sufficient strength to bear the ordinary temperature of the larger masses of fluid."* *p.* 435.

Here we close the book, to which we must refer those who may have any doubt respecting the justness of our strictures. We did not expect to find so much to censure, with so little to commend; and we shall be sorry if in either respect, we have exceeded proper bounds. When a new book comes before the public, and holds out promises which are not fulfilled, there are just reasons for complaint against its author. If the work is a bad one, or contains on the whole such an amount of errors as to overbalance its merits, and thousands of volumes are sold and read, thus unprofitably consuming much time and property, loss and injury are necessary consequences. Some parts of Mr. Murray's work we fully approve; but others, we think, had better never been published.

* Bulletin Universal, 1829, p. 82. [*Bulletin Universal!!!*]

ART. IV. *Outline of a consular establishment for the United States of America, in Eastern Asia.* From a Correspondent.

[To us the consular establishment, proposed by our Correspondent, seems so feasible, so desirable, and even necessary for the preservation of peace and the security of international rights, that we sincerely hope it will soon be in operation. If the American Congress can send out ships on voyages of discovery far into the South Pacific, they will find equal encouragement for maintaining an efficient consular establishment, with a few of their best vessels, in these eastern seas. There should be no unnecessary delay in carrying this plan into execution. Both the honor and the interests of the United States demand something of this kind, as do also their obligation to other nations and their own people. Great care should be used in the selection of men, in order to secure those qualified for this servive. Hitherto there has been so much bad management on the part of the western governments, in sending hither their agents, that the repetition of any such measures at once excites suspicions and alarm. The proposed plan will give no just occasion for such feelings, and when in successful operation it will do much to promote confidence and goodwill.]

THE right of sending diplomatic agents, or representatives, is a natural right of sovereignty. All powers competent to treat with other powers, in their own name, may exercise this right of sending ministers. This right may be, and often is, delegated,—for instance, to the governor-general of British India. The right to send, and the obligation to receive, embassadors, are not, however, correlative. The former is a *perfect* right; the latter, an *imperfect* obligation. No government is under a perfect obligation to receive the minister of any other government, unless bound by treaty. Still less is it obliged to grant him a permanent or perpetual residence. If willing to receive him, it may dictate the terms of the reception. To refuse to receive a public minister, is no ground for breach of peace and amity. Nevertheless, the refusal, unless for peculiar reasons, is deemed unfriendly, and, say the books, with mock solemnity, "it may be attended with serious consequences." In this maxim of the European law of nations,—that there is no obligation to receive embassies, much less resident ministers,—the Chinese concur entirely. As to the unfriendliness of a refusal or dismissal, they protest they do not mean it so, and they manifest no proper sense, no becoming apprehension, of the aforesaid serious consequences.

The European code is equally explicit on the admission of consuls. Not only a reception, but the exequatur of the supreme government of the place of residence must be granted, before the consul can enter on the execution of his functions.

This useful class of public servants, dates from the 12th century. The usefulness of a body of commercial agents, first became apparent on the shores of the Mediterranean, consuls were then appointed by the wealthy and trading states of Italy. With the extension of

commerce, consular establishments extended also; and in our times, there are few ports so remote or so unimportant, as to lie beyond or beneath their ramifications. We have not been able to find any account of the composition and powers of the early Italian consulates. In the commercial cities of Spain, '*consulados*' existed prior to the discovery of America, and thence, they were transplanted to Mexico, Lima, Manila, &c. These were, however, commercial tribunals, domestic, and not international, in their character and functions. The resemblance in name, seems to be the only reason why we find them classed and described along with *foreign consulates*. In this contact, some portion of the judicial character of the 'consulados' seems to have been wrongly imparted to foreign consulates.

The powers of consuls differ in different countries, and under the varying definitions of political writers. Among European governments, the French has invested the consular office with most dignity and importance. The French consuls are forbidden, books say, to engage in trade, and foreign consuls in France, enjoy a portion of diplomatic inviolability. Among writers on national law, Vattel is on the French side, and claims for this office the most respect and deference. But the greater number of governments and authorities have conspired to spoil the consular character, until not a shred of ministerial honor or privilege is left it, in law or usage.

In British and American law and practice, the consul is merely a commercial agent, entrusted with the care of seamen, the prosecution of private claims, the settlement of intestate estates, the granting of certificates, the protection of property wrecked, &c. He is also a kind of counsellor to his countrymen abroad, a friend to travelers and scientific men, and a special correspondent of his government, on commercial subjects. In countries with which his government has diplomatic relations, he is subordinate to, and corresponding with, the minister resident. Where no such relations exist, he communicates directly with his government. As to his powers, it is held that the British or American consul has no judicial authority. Even the right of police jurisdiction over crews of his own countrymen, while on board ship within his consulate, is not now conceded. As to privilege, the consul has no immunity from the civil, criminal, or municipal jurisdiction of the place, in which he is resident. If he offend, he may be arrested, sent home, or punished; that is, he is subject to all legal pains and penalties, with the especial addition of banishment. An exception, as to power and privileges, is found in the case of consuls to the Levant and the states of Barbary. There the consuls of Christian nations have been, in fact, diplomatic agents, duly accredited, and under the protection of treaty stipulations. The usual permission to trade, is denied, in their case, as if to counterbalance the gift of so extraordinary privileges. Hence it appears that there is no harm in still calling accredited commercial agents, by the name—consuls.

The consular establishments of Great Britain and America, resting on this basis, seem not to answer the purposes of their creation, or to satisfy their respective governments. At least, we have met with severe,

and apparently just strictures on the expensive and inefficient system of the former power, and have heard like complaints of the American consulates, in the department of state at Washington. We do not intend in this article to touch the consular system of Great Britain, much less that part of it which respects China. That part, we say, because, call the British political envoy to China by whatever name, he is, in Chinese acceptation, either a tribute bearer, or a commercial chief, that is, a consul. The former office is in abeyance until the next embassy. As to the latter, Chinese and British ideas very nearly correspond, the former recognising the consul only as a controler of turbulent seamen, and as the headman or foreman of his nation. Judicial power may be added, and liberty to trade withheld, but a recognition under treaty, is still wanting, to raise the British resident from a consular to a diplomatic rank and character. Such a recognition is extremely desirable, but until it be drawn or wrung from the Chinese government, we cannot rank the resident as an international officers, higher than a consul, and by no means with the accredited officer, under that name, to the Levant or Barbary. It is to the American branch of this subject, that our attention has been engaged, by meeting recently with the "Report on the consular establishment of the United States," made to the senate in 1833, by Edward Livingston, then secretary of state, but which has never since been acted on by Congress.

From this report, it appears, that the consular establishment of the United States arose out of the act of 1792, the principal object of which was, to give effect to a convention with France, on the subject of consuls. When this convention was afterward annulled, the provisions, which authorise consuls—'to receive protests and declarations, to give copies of acts under the consular seal, to settle the intestate estates of American citizens, to secure property saved from wrecks, to provide for the deposit of ship's papers, and to afford relief to destitute American seamen,'—were left standing. The act of 1803 renewed these provisions, and further enacted, that 'the specification of certain powers, and duties to be performed by consuls and vice-consuls, shall not be construed to the exclusion of others, resulting from the nature of their appointments, or any treaty or convention, under which they may act.' The able author of the report proceeds to insist on a legislative definition of these 'powers and duties resulting from the nature of their appointments' and strenuously recommends that the American consuls be paid by regular salaries, and forbidden to engage in commerce.

The list of consuls and commercial agents, given at the close of the report, amounts to one hundred and fifty-six. Their places, the secretary proposes for the present, to dispose of, as follows.

Thirty consuls, at $2000 - - - -	$60,000
One hundred and twenty-six vice-con. and agents	126,000
together	$186,000

For this annual cost, he calculates, that the consular establishment of the United States may be redeemed from its degradation, and 'its offices filled with men of talent, education, and respectability of character; commanding the respect of the functionaries of the ports in which they reside; doing honor to the national character; and devoting their whole time to the duties of their office.' Doing honor, say we, to their own disinterestedness, not to the character of the country which estimates the life of the talented, educated, devoted citizen, spent in lonely, remote and costly residences, at $1000 per annum!!

There is reason to believe, that the United States are soon to act a prime part in the drama of maritime influence and ascendency. The American people are aware, that the time of their feebleness is past, that they may now advance far on the policy of Washington, and fearlessly throw their whole weight into the scale of universal amelioration. The late attempts to negotiate treaties with Muscat, Siam, and Cochinchina, attest that these distant countries have not escaped the notice of the American executive. The appropriations for the expedition of discovery, now fitting out for the South Pacific, attest that liberality is not wanting in the American Congress. The same authorities will admit and grant whatever the renovation of the consular system requires, in its general provisions, or in particular application to the regions around us. The establishment will not be sacrificed to a false economy. We do not suppose that this article will command a new consular establishment for our part of the world. Let it, however, be the means of eliciting opinions as to what kind and amount of action, the United States can and should exert, in eastern Asia. To this point we will return presently. First we wish, to give our full assent to Mr. Livingston's opinion, that the reörganisation of the system in question is due, first to the officer, secondly to all having official business with him.

First. It is due to the American consul to raise him above the contributions and the alms of his countrymen, and above collision with the officers of the naval service. Four dollars for the deposit of a ship's papers, two dollars for an act under the consular seal, one dollar for a debenture certificate, half a dollar for a certificate to the discharge of a seaman, 2½ per cent. out of the wages paid him on discharge, are the present scale of remuneration. Liberal only with the money of the dead, government empowers the consul to charge 5 per cent. on the settlement of the estates of persons dying intestate within his consulate. On the voluntary declarations or protests of parties applying, he is expected to charge the usual fees of public notaries. This unhappy mode of collecting the consular *viaticum*, seems to have impressed Mr. Livingston very strongly. He pronounces the system "degrading to the officer, and the misunderstandings attending it, injurious to the reputation of the country." But, beyond this, it is apparent to every one, that there is a large class of services, not specified in the above list of rewards (or punishments), for which the United States' consul receives no compensation whatever. For his letters to the department, his commercial returns, his general coöperation

with government, in short, *for all his public services*, he receives not a dollar. *Bonds*, however, he must give for their due performance. Two alternatives are left him, the *virtue* of resignation, and the *right* of resignation. Under such circumstances, Mr. Livingston supposes that the consular post is sought, "for the advantage and the influence it will give to extend the commercial affairs of the officer." To us speculation on this point seems like conjecture why men become hong merchants. But services, without pay, are not all that the American government demands of its consuls. The following are further requisitions. "The consul's business should be transacted, if possible, in another apartment from that in which his ordinary affairs are carried on;" but, "*no allowance is made for his office rent, or for the expenses of his office.*" "Statements of fees received and commercial returns are to be made half yearly;" "all communications to the department must be made on foolscap paper, leaving an inch of margin all round the page, and duly enclosed;" "letter books and books of record must be kept by every consul;" but, "*no provision is made for the consul's stationery.*" To work for nothing and find one's self, is a common expression for serving a hard master. The American government, though the only one upon earth burdened with a surplus revenue, cannot afford to bear this character.

After these disclosures, it cannot surprise us to hear the American consul abroad complaining of the neglect of his government, or the department at home expressing equal dissatisfaction at the imperfection of his returns and the meagerness of his correspondence. See the results of a better system in the following extract. "Through her enlightened consular agents, France has drawn, from various countries, treasures of useful information. In the midst of revolution this great object was not forgotten. At the request of the French committee of public instruction, the department of foreign affairs enjoined the consuls to keep up a regular correspondence on subjects of science, manufactures, and the arts. Through this medium, it was proposed to facilitate communication between the French savans and the learned of other countries, to disseminate new publications, accelerate the circulation of thought and discovery, and increase the fame and prosperity of France, by uniting the fruits of her genius, to those of other philanthropic nations." "French consuls, at the request of the National Institute, and agricultural, and other societies, have furnished interesting accounts of the countries in which they resided. The Academy of Sciences, by addressing a series of questions to M. de Guignes resident consul in China, obtained new and accurate information, concerning a country, whose productions have been carefully concealed from the eye of strangers." (Warden on consular establishments.) The contrasted results of the American consular system are a sufficient commentary. So long as the same mean economy shall continue to characterize it, no requisitions from the state department will mend the matter. They will not weigh against the universal conviction, that what men or governments will not pay for, they do not value. We remember a testimony on the point in the

circular sent to all American consuls under heaven, some years since, by direction of J. Q. Adams. The circular called on all these officers to send home plants, seeds, &c. &c., from their respective residences. Why was it treated with ridicule? Because the department added to its earnest request the following caveat, "Congress having made no appropriation for this service, the consuls must not call on the treasury for any money." The consuls, with perfect correctness, dishonored these drafts on their patriotism, for the drawers had advised that they would treat the consular drafts on them, for necessary expenses incurred by their order and in their behalf, with the like dishonor.

The subject of consular remuneration, as a practical one, must be treated in connexion with the permission or prohibition to engage in commerce. The salary of $1000 or $2000 per annum might be a 'consideration' to a man, at liberty to combine the office to which it is annexed, with private business. Mr. Livingston, however, insists that for this sum, the consul or vice-consul shall give his time, exclusively, to his office. In this, we think, he shows his fear of defeating a favorite measure, by its apparent costliness. It is an engineer's estimate. The footing must not look extravagant, and some "extras" may be allowed in the consulates, as in the post-office. We will not attempt to state the marked value of "talent, education, and respectability of character" west of the Cape of Good Hope. On this side, we should rate it higher than Mr. Livingston does in his scale of salaries. Let exclusive services be required, and for aught we know, the consulate of Liverpool, which is said to yield at present $15,000 per annum, may find applicants at $2000. But the consulate at Canton, which now yields but $600 or $800 cannot be worthily supported for less than $5000.

An economical man, eating rice, dressing in cottons, inhabiting a bamboo cottage, in some minor island to the southward, might lay up a part of his $1000 per annum. But in the principal ports of eastern Asia, a public man, without private pursuits or resources, could not sustain himself with less than $3000 or $4000. Let government first settle the question whether the consul's services shall be exclusive, considering, on the one side, the advantages of an experience in matters of trade, of an interest in whatever affects it, a lower salary, &c.; and on the other, the evils to be apprehended from divided attention and loss of dignity by connection with private pursuits, and from commercial rivalry. If it decide against exclusive services, Mr. Livingston's salaries will be little enough; if for them, it should annex about $3,500 to the consulates of Manila, Batavia, &c., and to the consulate in China, $5000.

The only remaining point, on which we plead for the American consul is, as respects his intercourse with the naval officers of the United States' service. The regulations now in force on this point require that the naval commander should send an officer to the consulate, and that the consul should, on receipt of this invitation, visit the public vessel. These regulations were evidently drawn up by

some body, who imagined that there never could be any great distance between an anchorage and a consulate. But in China, for instance, this distance is 70 or 80 miles, and between Lintin, Macao, &c., there rests some confusion on the point of arrival. Hence collisions have more than once arisen here, between naval officers and the consul, seldom as the port has been visited by public vessels. Hence also, the consul at Canton has been represented as one of the 'genus irritabile' of republican sticklers for the point of honor. (Vide China and the Chinese, by J. F. Davis.)

We would prefer that the point of precedency should be settled in favor of the consul, for these reasons. A naval commander arriving from the home government, puts a kind of 'last construction' on the rank and character of a remote consulate, by his treatment of the incumbent. In many cases, the consul cannot leave his office to visit the public vessel. Many days would be lost in going through this exchange of invitations and visits. Nor is it possible that the consul can know the exact time of the day or night, when wind and tide may bring the naval commander within calling distance. Therefore, 'cedant arma togæ' on this point. Let the naval officer be required, in all cases, to pay his respects to the consulate, on his arrival within its limits. To the stranger, it is an immaterial concession; to the resident it is important.

Secondly. The revision of the United States' consular system is due to all who transact official business with the consul. On this point, we quote again from Mr. Livingston. "All fees paid to public officers are taxes; fees to consuls are taxes on commerce. Are such taxes equal? Are they just? If it be said, that those who derive the benefit should pay the expense, this is not a satisfactory answer. It is not for the sole benefit of the ships, which touch at a consular port, that the office is created. The whole country is interested. The concerns of its general commerce, the protection of its citizens abroad, are concerned. But the principle itself is a false one. Public officers are established for the public good, and though particular individuals may have more occasion for their services than others, yet the former cannot, with justice, be exclusively taxed." "The judge receives a salary, but not one tenth of the community are suitors in his court." This argument is not conclusive as to those voluntary declarations which the consul may be requested to receive by persons not American citizens. To these, notarial fees may be annexed, if it be thought that it would burden the consul to bind him to comply with every application, gratis. All such applications by American citizens must arise out of some legal necessity, and be in fact compulsory. As to the common sources of consular revenue, Mr. Livingston's reasoning is conclusive. The deposit of ships' papers is required for the preservation of the American flag, not for the sake of the depositor. The merchant-captain bears the trouble and the tax, but whose is the benefit? Whose would it be, if he were required by the treasury to show his cargo, as well as his papers, and pay fee to the search officers?

So with respect to ad valorem and debenture certificates. They are fancied securities devised by the treasury, for the protection of the customs. In these cases the merchant is the suspected party. He is compelled to make oath in the latter, that certain goods which he took out of bond, on leaving America, have been actually landed abroad, and this, the consul must fortify with his opinion, though in a multitude of cases it is impossible that he can know anything about the matter. Were the books of the hoppo's office at Canton, for instance, thrown open to aid him in the verification, he would not find there one half the goods, which, as the consignee of a vessel, he would known to have been landed from her. In fact, there is hardly a possible case in which he can refuse his official declaration, that certain goods have actually been landed. In the ad valorem certificate, the merchant is made to swear that the invoice prices are the true ones, &c., and thereto the consul certifies. On this point, the character of the merchant is his only guaranty. If it satisfy the consul, it should satisfy the treasury. But in fact, on the arrival of the invoice in the United States, the oath and the seal are held alike at the custom-house, and an appraisement supersedes them both, if the merchant has bought his goods too cheaply.

The ad valorem certificates will cease to be required in 1842, when appraisement becomes the basis of the calculation of duties in the United States, instead of the invoice value. The treasury should, at the same time, give up the requisition of all foreign certificates and rely on the only effectual precautions—those taken in the American waters. We believe and trust, that the consular practice makes it unnecessary to say anything on the percentage, which the consul is authorized to deduct, out of the wages paid to discharged American seamen. This useful class of our fellow-citizens should be the object of special relief and sympathy, not of special taxation. It is altogether unworthy of government to make the sailor pay, in the day of his abandonment, a price for the consular protection. The consul should in all cases, refuse to levy it. The consul's dustman should sweep it into the kennel, if any proud sailor threw it down in his office. When all these objectionable provisions shall be rescinded, leaving only the right to inspect (not to have in deposit) ships' papers, the American consulates will cease to be an annoyance and aversion to all who come in contact with them.

We agree, therefore, with Mr. Livingston, that the consuls of the United States should be paid out of the public treasury. We have no objection *now* to his claim for their exclusive services. A little while ago we should have said, that it would be necessary, in China, to cloak the official, under the commercial, character. Now the reception given to the British superintendent has removed the difficulty. We only contend that the salaries of the consuls must be regulated by the amount of labor laid on them, and the remoteness, ineligibility and expensiveness of their official residences. Thanks to nullification, public economy, and that dire necessity—a surplus revenue—the American merchant is soon to be as free, under his Christian

government, as if it were Mohammedan. We despair indeed of its ever coming quite up to the Usbek pattern, and remitting all duties, when the owner swears that he is a poor man and cannot afford to pay them. Nevertheless there is one point of danger. The American legislators are very many of them lawyers from the interior. How many of them never saw a ship, we do not know; but we think our merchants have often suffered from neglecting to enlighten these freshwater disciples of Blackstone, touching trade and commerce. Hence this humble presentation of our own, and desire to elicit other's opinions, in time to obtain a consular establishment suited to the wants of eastern Asia. The subject cannot much longer escape the attention of Congress. We commend the following plan to its adoption.

1st. Let the countries around the Chinese sea be erected into a consulate general, Canton being the residence of the presiding officer, who shall also be consul for China.

2d. Let the islands subject to the Spanish crown, extending from the Bashee islands to Basilan, be made a second consulate, with residence at Manila.

3d. Let the insular region lying between the Spanish claims on the north and the Dutch claims on the south, form a third consulate, with residence at the Sooloo group or at Borneo city.

4th. Let the Dutch islands be a fourth consulate, with residence at Batavia.

5th. Let the eastern shore of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula form a fifth consulate, with residence at Singapore or Rhio.

6th. Let Siam be the sixth consulate.

7th. Let Cochinchina be the seventh and last consulate.

To such of these governments as are independent, the consuls should be duly accredited, and authorized to correspond directly with them, and protected by treaty stipulations. Recognition like this cannot, of course, be expected from colonial authorities. Let the consuls be required, in addition to their usual duties, to give minute information of their respective countries, to the consul-general and to the state department. Let it be the duty of the consul-general, to collect and arrange this information, and to present it, in a digested form, with his further views, to the department. Let him report on the working of the consular system, and thus bring about its extension and perfection. Especially let all naval movements be made only with his concurrence, and no retributive measures resolved on, but with his express and responsible sanction. The annual cost of this establishment at $4000 or $5000 for the consul-general, and $3000 for the consuls, with some allowances for interpreter's services, and for commercial agents, would be about $30,000. It is not much for so important a region, and on which nothing is expended in dipolmatic establishments.

In explanation of this system, we remark, that, Canton as the central seat of eastern commerce, exchanges, and intercommunication, is

the best point for a general consular office. The intimate connection of the regions washed by the Chinese sea with each other, their remoteness, and the unity of the naval and other measures of the home government, in their behalf, require the presence of one able and responsible officer. It will be easier to find and cheaper to maintain one such officer than seven; and this one, if established at Canton, can seize the moment, come when it may, in revolution or gradual change, which sahll throw open the Chinese empire.

The second consulate has long been on the American list, the officer residing at Manila. Should the Christino party triumph in Spain, the Philippine islands will feel the influence of a more liberal policy, and the intercourse with them deserve more attention. If, on the other hand, factions arise there, and the tie which binds them to the mother country be parted, they are capable of becoming a commercial empire. The disturbed state of Spain has probably led to the recent appointment of a French consul, with extraordinary powers to these islands.

The region lying between the Spanish and Dutch possessions, has seldom been visited by American vessels. There is, however, reason to believe, that a little attention, on the part of government, would make it a safe and profitable resort, as well as save it, a poor remaining belt of independent soil, from sinking into a colony.

If we are not misinformed, the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies in this Archipelago, are equally far from the enjoyment of civil, commercial, and religious liberty. Whether the Dutch colonial policy be worthy of the descendents of the patriots of the United Provinces, and consistent with the rights of maritime nations, should be discussed in Holland, not in China. Our desire is that the American government should immediately inform itself of the nature and extent of the Dutch claims, how far they blockade the ports of eastern Asia, how far they repress the native industry and stifle native improvement. Let an efficient consulate be the instrument of placing these data in its possession. The authority of the existing consulate at Rhio or Singapore, may be extended, so as to meet our plan, over the ports of the Malayan peninsula and those situated on the eastern coast of Sumatra.

The western coasts of that island form a distinct commercial region, and any officer appointed to reside there, should correspond directly with the home government. We would not have these shores forgotten, though they do not come within our proposed establishment. One spot on this coast, has already been crimsoned by innocent, as well as guilty, blood, shed by the hands of Americans. The most solemn considerations call on the American government, to guard against the recurrence of this sad event, to watch over the conduct of its citizens abroad, to ascertain what provocation has preceded outrage, before it inflict vengeance; *remembering*, that not only is it providential, that what a man soweth that shall he reap, but that often in this world *one* sows and *another* must reap—one must suffer from the outbreaking of savage passions, to whose excitement others

have ministered. Interest, stice, and benevolence, look back to the mournful act referred to, and forward to f ture intercourse with the more eastern islands, and repeat, with united voices, this solemn memento.

The treaty lately ratified with the king of Siam, has, we trust, fully prepared the way for the immediate appointment of a consul to that country. We refer to the Repository for April last, for an explanation of the real causes why we are not able, at this moment, to say as much in reference to Cochinchina.

This brief review of the region in question is sufficient to explain the plan which we have proposed, as worthy to be adopted by the government of the United States, and to be carried into effect, with all convenient celerity.

Not to extend this article too far, we will only add a few remarks on the character of the officers needed for the proposed service, the naval coöperation requisite, and the benefit fairly to be expected from its competent fullfilment. We claim, along with Mr. Livingston, for the American consul to eastern Asia, "talent, education, and respectability of character." But, inasmuch as mercantile business here is easy and simple, the detail falling on native assistants, we would rather say 'devoting his whole heart,' than 'his who time,' to the duties of the office. Let him be acquainted with the region in which he is to reside, no stranger to commercial affairs, a lover of freedom, civilization and Christianity, and after the great code of human rights and rule of human conduct, let him study the life and imitate the example of sir Thomas Stamford Raffles.

With the best qualifications, the American consuls in eastern Asia will find some naval coöperation desirable. And if the naval officers, appointed to this station, be men of the right spirit, their presence need not startle us. Their business is to preserve peace, not to break it; to prevent outrage, not to avenge it. In one direction, a piratical spirit is to be awed into peaceful and honest industry. In another, a fearless front is to be opposed to the shameless visage of colonial avarice and rapacity. In others, surveys and investigations are to be made, which merchant vessels, bound by their policies to their track and their destination, cannot stop or turn aside to execute. In all, knowledge is to be acquired, commerce to be subserved, benevolence assisted, and their great ends, prosperity, civilization, and Christianity, promoted. While these noble ends are secured, let the American government be assured, that all the honor which can accrue to it from costly expeditions of discovery, will reward these cheaper attentions to the shores and waters of eastern Asia. The navy department should remember, that these waters are still completely unknown, a *mare clausum*, to the American naval service. Without putting one more vessel into commission, without weakening other naval stations, it can certainly find the means of introducing its young *elèvés* to this new school of public service. We old Cantoners, will take them under our especial monition; we will catch a little of their youthful fire and buoyance; we will realize the mutual

instruction system. But let not this service be assigned to vessels, bound to, or returning from, the South American station. We shall never get our pupils out of the first form, if the 'go-ahead' spirit, and the love of home be brought into so direct contradiction. Seriously, the department must know, that we want public vessels, which can show us the way, and not humble students of the chart, followers in the beaten track, backing their topsails to keep in the safe wake of the merchant service. And what else can the department expect, from hasty visits of perfect strangers, hurrying home, or to another and distant station?

The fact that our naval commanders are strangers in eastern Asia, makes us prefer, for the present at least, that the consul-general should have a discretionary power over their movements. So directed, one or two sloops of war (like the Vincennes,) might be made to pass the summer on the coast from Canton northward, and the winter on the south, in the Archipelago. Their rendezvous should be made known privately to the American merchants, and under this apparently casual protection, their enterprise fostered, and their property covered. On this point — the union of commercial and naval enterprises — we cannot expect to make ourselves fully understood by the American government. Experience will, however, show how important it is, that whatever is *gained* in Asia by negotiation, be *secured* by custom. Here, a commercial intercourse immediately induced on a commercial treaty, is its true and only valid ratification. Treaties with eastern powers are written in "*papyro bibulâ, qualem amat Sinicus penicillus,*" and not "*in charta bene preparatâ quæ calamum Europeum non reformidat.*" Their obligation is as frail as the material on which they are written, until strengthened by concurrent and established usage. Hence we counsel the American government to deign to couple the eastern merchant with the eastern negotiator, and thus to secure its diplomatic conquests.

We come finally to the local benefits to be expected, from the system which we have developed. Much that is objectionable and oppressive in the eastern colonial usages, is, we believe, local regulation and local abuse. Would British manufactures have been charged in Java, for many years, with higher duties than express treaty stipulations allowed, had there been a British officer on the spot? Would charts be withheld from American navigators, and passports from American philanthropists, in the same colonies, were an able agent of the American government there present? Though unrecognised himself, is there no public opinion in America and in Holland, and is the American government without influence at the Hague? Our system will, moreover, hasten the time when the yet independent portions of the Archipelago will be confirmed in their freedom, and become rich and grateful tributaries to the commerce of the United States. The secondary governments of the continent, will, by the same means, be fixed in friendly relations, and a period put to restriction and distrust.

Even in this great primary of eastern Asia, some good may be expected to result. ***This empire is so grand a division of the political world, that it is worth the while of every western power to have one intelligent correspondent resident in it.*** At present, political relations with it seem distant, but we know not how near we may be to a better era. We believe there is a weapon by which Chinese exclusion can be vanquished. That weapon is *public opinion*, the mind and will of this intelligent and vastly numerous people among whom we dwell. Concede to Chinese pride or patriotism (synonymes in the west), that theirs is an ancient, extensive, rich, populous, splendid, empire. Concede that in all the elements of national greatness, no western state is in all respects their rival. Let all haughty posture-making be avoided. Let all attempts to gain a free intercourse be regulated by honor, equity, disinterestedness, and Christian principle. Let the benefits of such intercourse be mildly, prudently, constantly, pressed. What is said to the authorities, let the people hear. And let us console ourselves, as we wait for better times, with the recollection, that "vox populi vox Dei" is not a doctrine of yesterday, but was held by the ancient politicians of this empire, the government of which has been regarded as a master-piece of despotism. Perhaps the representative of American democracy is destined first to remind Chinese statesmen, that the ancient basis of their government, as well as his own, is *the will of the people*. He can press on them, with the best effect, the true interests, and the strongly expressed wishes of their countrymen, on the point of foreign intercourse. He can address to them, out of the mouths of their venerated poets and sages, exhortations and warnings like these. 'Nourish the people, as a mother does her tender offspring.' 'The people are of the first importance, the prince least of all.' 'How delightful is it, when a prince is the father and mother of his people.' 'He who loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, *is* the father and mother of his people.' 'He who gains the hearts of the people, gains the throne; he who loses the hearts of the people, loses the throne.' 'If the prince obtains the hearts of the people, the Most High will look on him with affectionate regard, and He will secure his throne.' 'The appointment of princes depends on heaven, and the mind of heaven exists in the people.' (See Four Books, passim: Collie's translation.)

We do not suppose that the Chinese will, at once, come to respect the foreign character, or to be convinced of the justness of foreign claims. Very partial perceptions and very poor memories they must have, to do so. But the longer the course of conviction, the sooner should we begin. It is, moreover, an advantage possessed by the American government, that it is *new* to the Chinese. It has happily no mistakes to correct, no *faux pas* to recover here. From implication in the obnoxious traffic in opium, its citizens are comparatively, and will probably soon be entirely, free. With the wisdom of the ancients and the interests of the living on his side, its agent, can stand up in China, the natural, consistent, best-appointed advocate, of freedom.

How is it, that the government of the United States has done and is doing so little for the general good in eastern Asia, while private citizens and benevolent societies are attempting so much? We owe it to that government to acknowledge, that the American residents here have never made any proper application for its aid, nor given it the information on which to act. This deficiency, we have attempted in part to supply, and we call on our countrymen around us, particularly those resident at Manila, Batavia, and Singapore, to join us in making the application successful, and the information complete.

ART. V. *Central Asia: description of the country of the Kirghís, and the kingdoms of Kokan and Bokhára, with notices of their respective inhabitants.*

THE country of the Kirghís is bounded on the north by the Ural river and the Ulu mountains; east by Soungaria; south by the valley of the Sir, the Aral, and the desert between the Aral, and the Caspian; and west by the Ural river and the Caspian. For our imperfect acquaintance with this country, we are indebted to the Russians who have traversed it, from Orenburg and Troitskoi, to the Jaxartes. The face of the country in the northwest is rolling; and one chain, the Mongkodjar, 1000 feet high, is crossed on the former route, 250 miles from Orenburg. It has rocks of quartz, serpentine, porphyry, &c. South of this range, the country is generally level; some eminences, however, are met with. The dry argillaceous soil, is crossed in many places by deep ravines, in which are seen indications of coal, malachite, red sandstone, &c.

The hollows and dry beds of lakes and rivers are incrusted with salt, and abound with shells, marine exuviæ, and petrifactions. On the banks of streams, and in the ravines, grow a few poplars and willows. Prickly shrubs and saline plants, are thinly scattered over the desert, and in the summer the vales are clothed with a short forage. In some parts, wild horses, jackals, antelopes, &c., are found, and vast flocks of aquatic birds frequent the lakes and marshes. Tigers, wolves, wild boars, &c., are said to harbor in the marshes, overgrown with reeds, along the Aral.

The climate of this country is severe in winter. It is then swept by cold north winds from Siberia, which are indeed the prevailing winds the whole year, as far south as the Oxus. The Sir is annually frozen, so firmly as to be crossed on the ice by caravans. The climate is considered healthy. The barometer stands at the high average of 30 inches.

The Kirghis are, it is generally believed, of Túrkí origin; and they speak a dialect of Túrki. They are divided into three principal hordes. The western, from Orenburg to the Mongkodjar hills; the middle, thence to the Saras river; and the southern, thence to the borders of Kokan. Of these, the middle horde is the most powerful. The total population is estimated at 1,200,000. Their flocks and herds afford them employment and subsistence; and with these, they roam, in summer, from Badakshan to the steppe of Issim, and return to their encampments, along the sheltered ravines and banks of the Sir, for the winter. The broad-tailed sheep afford them excellent mutton. They rear great numbers of horses, for use and for the market of Bokhára. Camels of the two-humped or Bactrian breed, are bred in great numbers. This camel yields a wool, which is made into a coarse camlet. It carries a much heavier burden, than the common or one-humped camel. Some grain is purchased by the Kirghís, but none cultivated. Southward, on the borders of the Aral, and toward Tashkend, the Kara Kalpaks live in more permanent huts or houses, and are, to a small extent, agriculturists.

The character of the Kirghís may be inferred from their name, *Sara Kaizák* "robbers of the desert." This designation is Arabic, and is of course as late as the Arab conquest of Túrkestan. They scarcely merit the name at present, so well as do their neighbors, the Khívans and Túrkomans. Perhaps the influence of Russia is now overawing them. Like most half-barbarous men, they seem capable of, and enjoy, the extremes of activity and indolence. They are fond of athletic exercises, horse-races, &c. They are excellent horsemen, and can traverse their deserts, on horseback, at the rate of 100 miles per day. Other observers, who have seen them when the occasion for exertion was over, have described them as a "melancholy race," passing long periods of time in indolence, approaching to a stupid abstraction. Their features are Tartar, probably from intermixture with Mongol tribes. In dress, they follow the Tartar fashion, wearing caps, wide drawers, tunics, pointed boots, &c. They are a frugal, simple, hospitable, long-lived people. Fevers, colds, asthmas, &c., are said to be their most fatal diseases. The small-pox has committed great ravages among them at times, and is of all their disorders the most dreaded.

Russia supplies them with cloths, ironware, &c., in exchange for which they carry sheep, horses, &c., to Troitskoi and Orenburg. For a few firearms, which are refused them in Russia, they take horses and some slaves to Khíva and Bokhára.

The Kirghís live under a patriarchal government or that of elders, each horde having a khan, whose authority is despotic, and under him chiefs and elders. They give an escort to caravans passing through the country, and levy on them a moderate duty. Their code is the Koran. Offenders are convicted summarily, and punished with death, the bastinado, fines of cattle, &c. The Kirghís are said to have been converted to Islámism as late as A. D. 1600. They seem to be much less bigoted Mohammedans than their southern neighbors.

The Kara Kalpaks, to the number of 100,000, are also Mohammedans. The accounts extant of this region, and of the ruins of the cities and districts of Tashkend, Sáram Otrar, &c., attest, that it is now fallen from a comparatively high state of civilization. Under the influence of Russian vicinity, it may, at some future day, regain its lost elevation. Russia already claims the sovereignty over the Kirghís, but they, on their part, hardly yield a nominal allegiance.

The dominions of the khan of Kokan lie chiefly in the valley of the Sir, from Uzkend on the east, to Uratippa on the west (about 200 miles), and from the Alatag on the north, to the Asferah on the south (about 100 to 150 miles), corresponding nearly with the ancient Ferghá'na. The only detailed accounts we have of Kokan date back to the reign of Bá'ber. In his time Andejan, on the Sir, was the capital, and hence the people of the country came to be called 'Andejans.' This fortress was then second in strength only to Samarkand. His description of his paternal kingdom, and its chief towns, Ush, Marghinan, Asferah, and Kojend on the south, and Aksi and Kasan on the north of the Sir, leaves untouched many of the points most interesting to modern geographers. Little or nothing is said of the geology of the country. From Abulfeda, we learn that "stones that flame and burn" were abundant, and used for fuel; a statement confirmed by later authorities. This deposite of coal, so valuable in the winters at Kokan, will, no doubt, at some future day be of the greatest importance in opening communication with the neighboring countries.

The winter climate of Kokan is known to be severe, but its summers are sufficiently warm to clothe the fields and gardens with all the fruits and flowers of temperate climates. Baber relates that it was a standing quarrel between the people of Ush and Kasan, which spot was the more healthful and beautiful. He praises the meadows and gardens, the tulips, roses, and violets, the melons, grapes, apricots, and pomegranates, the hills and running waters of his native country. In the heaths and highlands which surround it, he tells us that the pheasant, stag, white deer, and mountain goat, were abundant. The Usbek invasion has since changed the state of things, but as to the face, (or rather the capabilities,) of nature, this is still, in all probability, a faithful picture.

The population of Kokan, the modern capital and seat of government, is differently rated at 35,000 to 100,000. It is not probable, that it exceeds 50,000. We have met with no estimate of the population of the whole kingdom. Till within a few years, it included Uratippa, within its limits, but the half of this district, lying between Khojend and Samarkand, has been lately annexed to Bokhára. The people of Kokan are made up of Tá'jiks, Túrkí, &c., under Usbek masters. The Tá'jiks (if not aborigines?) are of Persian origin, and their extensive dispersion over Túrkestan probably took place before, or not long after, the age of Alexander. They form, everywhere, the fixed, industrious, agricultural, and urban population. The Túrkí and Mongol races, on the contrary, are distinguished by their love of a nomade

life, and aversion to civilized confinement. They dislike labor and prefer of all things, opportunity to plunder. The Mohammedanism has been, for some centuries, the religion of the people of Kokan. Of course their law and equity are both drawn from the Koran.

The government has been in the hands of Usbek chiefs, since their progenitors drove Ba'ber from the throne of Fergha'na. Omar, the present khan, is said to be a bigoted follower of Mohammed. He claims descent from Báber, and styles himself, "the commander of the Mussulmans." It will be seen from numbers 6, 7, and 8, of our fifth volume, that Jehangír was bred at the court of Kokan, and aided by the troops of the khan in his irruption in 1826 into Chinese Túrkestan. The khan of Kokan commands the passes of Sir, leading to Kashgar. He is said to have been, on that occasion, at the head of 50,000 horse; but so large a force could hardly have been collected for anything more than a plundering inroad, for Báber tells us, that in his time, its revenues were only sufficient for the maintainance of 3000 to 4000 troops, and the power of Kokan is said to have since declined. The result of the invasion of Jehangír will be found in the last of the numbers above cited. It appears from the Chinese account, that after the death of that invader, peace was made between the Chinese officers, and the khan of Kokan. Trade was however interdicted beween the two countries, until a second irruption of the Kokanese, or Kirghís, or both, admonished the Chinese to relax their restrictions. The cause of dissatisfaction was thus removed, and an arrangement entered into, but we are told that all this has not put an end to the unfriendly feeling before existing between the rulers of Kokan and Kashgar.

It is not clear how far the passes of Sir are now open to mercantile communication. The commerce of Kokan is not important. It exchanges fruits, silk, &c., with the Russians, Bokhárans, and Chinese, for hardware, manufactures, tea, &c. The prospects of this country are gloomy. It is oppressed by Usbek tyranny, and Mohammedan bigotry. Some powerful agent must act on this insoluble compound, before the elements of the state can form new and happy combinations. Perhaps such an agent is preparing in the growing power of Russia.

The kingdom of Bokhára is now the most important of the divisions of Usbek Túrkestan. It is, too, the section which has received most attention from late travelers, and of which we have the fullest information. It lies between 35° and 45° north latitude, and 61° and 67° east longitude. Uratippa and the desert of Kwaresm, bound it on the north; on the east, the Karatag mountains; on the south, the Oxus; and on the west, the desert of Kwaresm separates it from Khíva. The district of Uratippa, as far as the river Aksi, belongs more properly to Bokhára, but has been for a long time in possession of the khan of Kokan. Within a few years, however, the western half has been reännexed to Bokhára. The Oxus is the natural boundary of Bokhára on the south, but the khan at present holds Balkh, Andkho, and Maimuna, on the south of that river. The distance from Balkh

to Bokhára, is about 260 miles, and from Eljík on the Oxus, to Dizzik (or Juzzak) about 240. These are the length and breadth of Bokhára. The subdivisions are, six districts in the vale of the Kohik, the district of Ka'rshí, the district of Balkh, and the district of the Oxus.

The plain between the Oxus and the Kohik, has an elevation of near 2000 feet; and the vale of Kohik from 1000 to 1500 feet. Patches of clay, with ridges, hillocks, and strips of sand, characterize the desert. The low stony ridges are of limestone, with oolite, gravel, &c. Bokhára has no valuable minerals, except a deposit of rock-salt, near Charjúe on the Oxus. Nearly all the water of the country is brackish. The climate is dry, but healthful. The purity of the atmosphere makes it a delightful region for the astronomer. The stars shine with unwonted lustre, in a firmament spanned by a bright milky way, and lighted up by brilliant meteors. The cloudless, serene, and brilliant skies of Bokhára, charm the traveler, and perhaps these made it, in the days of the Arabs, the celebrated sea of astronomical observation and discovery. Like all sandy countries, it is subject to extremes of cold and heat in summer and winter. The sands of the surrounding deserts are often heated to 150°, the air to 100.° The vales of Bokhára and Kárshí are cooler, evaporation lowering the temperature. In winter, snow lies three months, sometimes a foot deep, as far south as Merve beyond the Oxus. The climate of Balkh is unhealthy and oppressive.

The beauty and luxuriance of the vale of Bokhára have been celebrated ever since the Mohammedan conquest. The Arab and Persian geographers describe it as the first of the three terrestrial paradises. European travelers, however, ascribe a considerable part of these praises to the contrast of the surrounding deserts. Still they agree that all within the limit of irrigation is a sheet of gardens scarcely to be surpassed in beauty or productiveness. The crops of rice, wheat, barley, millet, maize, grain, beans, sesamum, &c. are abundant. The vegetable gardens yield, turnips, carrots, onions, radishes, greens, pumpkins, cucumbers, and the celebrted Bokhára melons. Báber, however, tells us, that when he was master of Samarkand, he caused the melons of Aksi to be compared, at an entertainment, with those of Bokhára, and that the former were pronounced incomparably better. The orchards bear peaches, plums, apricots, cherries, apples, pears, quinces, walnuts, figs, pomegranates, delicious mulberries, good grapes, &c. The wines made of these grapes are not palatable, but the raisins are excellent. Cotton is extensively cultivated. Excellent tobacco is produced at Ka'rshí. Hemp is grown for oil and bangue, but not manufactured. Madder is cultivated, and a plant which yields a better dye, the 'esbaruk.' Indigo, sugar-cane, and the potatoe, have not been introduced. In some districts, south of the Oxus, wheat becomes triennial. In the deserts near Ka'rshí and Samarkand, the 'camel thorn' exudes a kind of manna, or wild honey, called 'turunjubeen,' which is collected and used extensively as a substitute for sugar.

The wild animals of the country are, the deer, antelope, wild hogs, and asses, wolves, jackals, foxes, &c. A small tiger is sometimes seen near the Oxus. The enormous lion which Alexander killed, seems to have no modern representatives: we find them existing, however, as late as 1363, in the memoirs of Timúr. Bears are found in the mountains to the eastward. The eagle and the hawk are often seen, and waterfowls are abundant. Game is scarce, but fish abound in the lakes and rivers.

Besides the cultivation of grain and fruits, the mulberry is planted and the silk-worm reared extensively, by the Túrkomans, along the banks of the Oxus. The horned cattle of Bokhára are inferior, and there are no buffaloes. The broad-tailed sheep affords them always excellent mutton. The Cossak horse and the Bactrian camel are brought from the region north of Kokan.

Bokhára, the modern capital, is six miles south of the Kohik, at a point where it has already turned southwest towards the Dingís. It is within five or six miles of the western limit of irrigation. Meyendorff, who approached it from the north, speaks of the distant view, as beautiful and striking. From Burnes, who came from the south, it was almost hidden, until entered, by orchards and gardens. It is surrounded with a high wall, eight miles in circumference. Within, the streets are narrow and crooked, and the houses of brick, are, as to exterior, without architectural beauty. The wood used in their construction is poplar. Twenty caravanserais, alloted to differeut nations, are open to the traveler. While the water does not fail, it is freely distributed by canals, shaded by mulberry trees, to private houses, baths and fountains. An artificial hill, 240 feet high is crowned with the palace of the kings of Bokhára. The public square or 'registan,' is crowded with busy or idle men, of almost all the Asiatic nations. The population of this city was estimated by Meyendorff, and Moorcroft at 70,000. Burnes, who visited it some years after, in 1832, gives it 150,000. The latter estimate is thought excessive, but security of property, and life, and excellent police, may have drawn to it, in the interval, this additional population.

Samarkand stands 120 miles eastward, and on a level 150 feet higher, once the capital of an empire, but now reduced to a dependent town of 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. Its habitations and gardens, are said to have once covered an arena of 48 miles, but are now included within a sixth of that circumference. Of all its splendid edifices, there remain only some colleges. Its site is beautiful on the level near Kohik, the hills rising behind it. In its decline it is still venerated.

Katta Kurgan, 50 miles west of Samarkand, and Dizzik 60 miles northeast on the borders of Uratippa, are villages of 2,500 inhabitants. Fifty miles south of Samarkand stands Shehri Sebz, and as much farther southwest, the city of Kárshí, in the beautiful oasis of 22 miles breadth, watered by the river Kárshí. This tract. though of less extent, rivals in richness the vale of the Kohik. Kárshí, the more populous of the two towns, is meanly built, but has 10,000 inha-

bitants. The desert again commences fourteen miles west of Kárshí. The observatory of Ulug Bey is still preserved at Shehri Sebz. This city was formerly called Kesh, and is celebrated as the birth and burial place of Timúr. The route from Kárshí to Bokhára, leads by numerous ruined towns and caravanserais. The ruins of Bykand, the royal capital in the time of Afrasiab, are still seen twenty miles southwest of Bokhára.

We leave to a further page any attempt to describe the races, which have been in succession to the masters of Túrkestan. Of the modern population of Bokhára, a large proportion is said to be Tájiks. The estimate of the total population made by Meyendorff, was 2,478,000. Burnes reduces this to 1,000,000, one half nomade and agricultural, the other half collected in the cities already named and in 400 villages. The Usbek of course occupy the high places of society, by the right of conquest. The Tájiks are mechanics, traders, and laborers. The Túrkí tribes follow the nomade life, from which nothing can draw them. Four thousand from Meshed are found in Bokhára, retaining all their national peculiarity of features, and in some individual cases of remarkable beauty. Great numbers of Persian slaves have been brought from Túrkomania and Khíva, within the last 100 years, and they and their descendents now form a considerable portion of the population of Bokhára: 130 Russian slaves, still remain in confinement, though by an arrangement with Russia, none have, within the last ten years, been sold or brought into slavery. A few Chinese, too, shorn of their tails, are said to live in the same servitude.

The mass of the people, in easy circumstances, are fair, portly, and well dressed in white turbans, dark pelisses, drawers, boots, &c. The love of enormous boots, would seem to be an Usbek idiosyncrasy, even the ladies wearing them in their seclusion. The female dress differs but little from that of the men, except in being longer. Turbans and pelisses, and plaited hair, may not be unbecoming, but huge boots and blackened teeth must detract from the comfort and the charms of the fair ones of Bokhára. They are however beautiful, and though "born to blush unseen" in our time, still have right to the homage paid them in the early Persian and Túrkí poetry. Nor is this the earliest celebration of Túrkí beauty. It was here, that the lovely daughter of Oxyartes, won the heart of Alexander.

The Usbeks have been said to live on horseflesh, but it appears that this is seldom eaten. The lower classes eat beef, but mutton is the animal food preferred. They are fond of the both cheese and milk, and these, with fruits and ice, are consumed in incredible quantities, in summer. From the Kirghís country to the Hindú Kúsh, the taste for tea is universal, and the use of it also. It is presented on all occasions of business and hospitality, and the Usbek in his fondness for greasy things, often boils it with fat, salt, &c. This diet does not seem to be injurious. The health of the people suffers most from the dryness of the air, and from bad water. Guineaworm, ophthalmia, rheumatism, rieketts, leprosy, &c., are prevailing disorders.

There being no mines in Bokhára, iron and copper wares are imported from Russia. Sugar, indigo, muslins, shawls, &c., are the chief imports, via Cabúl, from India. Russia has also supplied this market with cotton and woollen cloths, chintzes, cochineal, &c., but British goods, by the route of Cabúl, now come into successful competition. Bokhára furnishes in return, raw-silk, cotton goods, wool, and the curled lamb skins, which are so much prized in Persia, Turkey and China. Two hundred thousand of these are obtained annually from the small district of Karakúl, near the Oxus, out of which, it is said, the fleece immediately degenerates. A good deal of the internal commerce of Bokhára, is transacted at fairs on market-days, which are held in all the towns, and to which the buyers resort from all sides, on horseback. We shall trace, farther on, the routes of communication through Túrkestan.

No analysis can detect in what proportions, Persian, Túrkí, and Mongol, blood is mingled in the veins of the Usbeks of Bokhára, or of the population of Túrkestan generally. Some of the Usbeks are handsome; but in most, the small eyes, short, stout forms, flat noses, broad foreheads, high cheek-bones, and thin beards, are evidences of Mongol origin. Their language is a dialect of the Túrkí, the speech of Central Asia, from Turfan to Constantinople. This widely diffused language has probably come down from the ancient Scythians. When the region from Cobi to the Caspian, was allotted to Jaghatá'i, one of the sons of Genghis, the Túrkí dialects then spoken within these limits, were gradually blended, and the product, the Jaghatá'i Túrkí, became a regular language. Its original alphabet, being an imperfect one, the Arabic was adopted. The Arabian domination, and the large proportion of Tá'jiks speaking Persian, had already given a strong infusion of Arabic and Persian terms to the Túrkí. Down to the time of Timúr, it does not appear that many Túrkí writers flourished. Timúr himself seems not to have profited much by the schoolboy privileges, in which he tells us that he participated. The world is probably indebted to his secretary for the memoirs and institutes, of which interesting translations, in English, have lately been given us. The interval between Timúr and Bá'ber was the golden age of Túrkí literature, and the productions of that period are said to merit the attention and admiration of the oriental student. Even then, however, the Túrkí seems to have been the language of poetry and description, of sentiment and genius only, while graver subjects, theology, and the sciences, were given over to Persian and Arabic. Bá'ber himself, and many of the princes of his time, were poets, and their native tongue seems to have been the object of their warmest choice and affection. It is said of the compositions of that time, that two ninths of the words are of Persian or Arabic extraction. Their style is simple, unadorned, and forcible. They are as remarkable for grace, freedom, and naiveté, as most oriental writings are for pomp, metaphor, and hyperbole.

After Báber's time, the Túrkí was gradually neglected, and for a long period, nothing of importance has been written in it. The

mollahs have filled Túrkestan with their Arabic and their religion, and the spirit of Túrkí poetry is forever departed. It is mentioned, as a singular fact, that afterwards, when the Persian was the language of polite intercourse and diplomacy in the neighboring countries, the Túrkí was the court language of the Soofi masters of Persia. The same is said to have been the case in Persia, under the first sovereign of the reigning dynasty. This is one proof of the love which the princes of Túrkí extraction, from the Caucasus to the Sir, have ever borne to their native language. Though in a great degree superseded, as a written language, the Túrkí is still spoken as widely as in the days of Jaghatái. It is the speech of Kashgar, Bokhára, the Crimea, the greater part of Turkey, and half the Persian empire. The dialects of the Turkomans, Usbeks, Kirghís, Kassáks, Bashkirs, &c. &c., are radically the same.

The government of Bokhára, is that of 'church and king.' There is no 'state' within the region of the Usbek domination. Wherever the Usbeks have come, every vestige of popular rights has disappeared from before them. No public assemblies, no aristocracy, remain. While the Turkomans everywhere boast that they live 'without the shadow of a tree or a king,' the Usbeks, on the contrary, have obliterated every trace of popular or presbyterian forms, and established their unmitigated despotism. The Koran seems to be the only check on the will of the king. In this region, at least, democracy has not been able to contend against bigotry and despotism. It is singular, that when innovation is changing the political and religious systems of the central and western Mohammedan states, the same system should revive and gather strength in the most eastern. In this direction, the old and decaying trunk still shoot out vigorous branches. The Uskeks long ago adopted the whole detail of Islámism. The era of bigotry, however, began with Begí Jan, fifty years ago, and is perpetuated under his decendants.

The present king, Bahádúr khan, ascended the throne in 1825, and under him Bokhára has enjoyed comparative quiet and prosperity. Substantial justice is secured by the decisions of the mollahs on the Koran. It is not however justice in mercy. The decisions are rigid and the punishments severe. The king is an example of strict observance, and those who do not keep Friday must not expect the royal clemency. The state of society and domestic manners may be supposed to resemble those of other Mohammedan countries. It is to be expected that the Mohammedan should seek to enjoy on earth, the pleasures which give its charm to paradise. Slavery may almost be ranked among the religious institutions of Bokhára. The súnies of this country regard it as a favor done to the Persian shíah to buy him from the manstealing Turkoman, and give him all the chances of paradise, afforded by a forced conversion and a life of slavery. In other respects, we are told, these slaves are not ill treated, and the Usbeks being a simple people in pecuniary matters, they often acquire property. Comfortable treatment does not stifle the captives' yearnings after their native land, but with all their efforts, few com-

paratively can escape from servitude. The idea, that they will relapse into heterodoxy, is an insuperable barrier to their general redemption, and thus the religion of the súnies perpetuates, as well as originates, their slavery. These religious differences go on to national aversion, and the Usbek and the Persian despise and hate each other.

The revenues of Bokhára are drawn from the land tax of one fourth, a capitation tax on all foreigners, not Moslems, and a duty of 2½ per cent. on commerce. It amounts to 277,000 tillahs=$700,000. Balkh yields no revenue, the little levied there being granted to a Turkoman chief, who is charged with its defence. It is pretended, that the king is maintained by the capitation tax, and that the rest of the royal revenue is exhausted on the faith and its ministers. But Bahádúr khan knows the value of a good body of troops, and that largesses are popular with soldiers. He has an army of 20,000 horse, 4,000 foot, and 41 pieces of artillery. To this may be added, on emergency, 50,000 militia, and further levies from among the Turkomans. He is still young and ambitious, and ably supported by his vizier. A part of Uratippa, the country around Shehri Sebz and Balkh have been already acquired by him, and it is probable that his dominions will go on extending. His patronage of the mollahs and students, has brought to his support the whole of their powerful influence.

The number of the latter is set down at 12,000, and so many as there may be of them, it seems there are so many perfect drones in Bokhára. They occupy the 366 colleges of this learned city; one third of which are large institutions, and all well endowed. These endowments consist in lands, bazars, baths, &c., and out of these, the professors and students receive their allowances. The colleges are built like caravanserais; ranges of small apartments surrounding open courts or areas. Half the year they are shut, that the students may labor in the field. Returning from their field exercises, these schoolmen plunge again into the mazes of Moslem theology. Classes are open from sunrise to sunset, and here, in the presence of professors, the day is passed in speculation and dispute. The early literature of the Tájik era, the science of the Arabian rule, and the later cultivation of Báber's time have passed away, and there remains this *caput mortuum* of dogma and delusion. Bigotry apart, Bokhára is the best governed and most promising state of Túrkestan. Its rulers desire the alliance and commerce of British India; but towards its neighbors of Kokan and Kúndúz, it looks with distrust, and neither of them will be likely to let pass an opportunity of encroaching on the others. New struggles and new ravages must be considered probable, unless Russian ascendancy, or the influence of reform in Turkey, should extend to Túrkestan, and place on a new basis, its future destinies.

P. S. From a memoir on Kokan, by W. W. Wathen, esq., we gather the following additions and corrections to the above notices. Mohammed Ali the present khan, succeeded his father Omar, about 1822. His authority extends over to the vale of the Sir, from Ush to Tashkand, inclusive. He claims the country northward to the Kúk Sú, or Blue River, which has been

agreed on as the boundary line between Kokan and Russia, thus adding another partition to Russian history. Kokan is subdivided into eight districts, governed by chiefs appointed and removed at the khan's pleasure. Mohammed Ali, did not favor Jehangír, but held him in honorable restraint, till he made his escape and engaged the Kirghís to support him in his invasion of Chinese Túrkestan. Mohammed Ali, irritated by some ill-treatment of his people, made a simultaneous irruption. When peace was restored, Mohammed Ali bound himself to keep the Kirghís in check, and was, by stipulation, permitted to send a deputy to rule the Mohammedans in Kashgar, and entitled to receive a share of the transit duties.

Mr. Wathen thinks his description of the city of Kokan, its hundred colleges, five hundred mosques, and 100,000 inhabitants, rather exaggerated. (See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 32, August, 1834.)

ART. VI. *Remarks on the opium trade, in reply to the communication from A Reader, published in the last number of the Repository.* By Another Reader.

MR. EDITOR,—I hoped that I had, with the aid of my authorities and supernumeraries, given my opium antagonist, good humored as he is, the *coup de grace*, in my last; when, to my no small surprise, up he jumps again, in this number, as lively as ever. I say I hoped this, as this "thrice routing one's foes" is no agreeable task, and this is now mine, if I again go over his ground. All his arguments, as he would call them, or assertions, as I would prefer, I have had the pleasure of meeting before—in his former letters; but "even though vanquished, he will argue still." *He* complains that *I* said *too much; I*, that *he* says *nothing*—so we are quits, as to this. I will not now detain him long; and that for the reason given. I do not know that he, *individually*, is on his trial; nor did I mean it. I asserted, or wished to do so, that the system of opium dealing, and its advocates, of whom he is the present chosen one, were at the bar of public opinion, for trial. And so they are; the plea is read; archdeacon Dealtry has made the opening speech. I followed with V. P. M., and brought a cloud of witnesses: he has pleaded not guilty; and lugged in Dr. Walsh, the Rájpúts, and a Chinese comprador; and, though last not least, his own opinion, as his evidence:—the public is the jury; you shall be recorder; and now, as the heralds in the old trials say, "God favor the right!"

But, Mr. Editor, I must go on in form, and cross-examine the witnesses. Call Dr. Walsh into court!

"Are you a merchant?"—"No."

"You are a traveler and a bookmaker?"—"I am."

"You are a great hand for finding mare's nests, in the shape of old stones, inscriptions, &c., and in decyphering clearly what others are puzzled to see!"—"There can be no doubt of it."

"In the matter of opium, pray what may be your opinion?"—"Why, I cannot say that it is worth much; you see, I went through that part of the country at a hand-gallop; and all the information I got was from a pudding-headed landlord of a *kebaub* shop, where I stopped for a snack."

"He, I believe, told you that a boy could eat some pounds of this in a week, without harm?"—"Something of that sort, sir, as I remember."

"And that poor laborers in Syria, under the generous and liberal sway of the Turk, can afford to use the best lands (on which the poppy grows), merely for their own use; and that all take it, rich and poor, turn and turn about, share and share alike?"—"I think, I was told something about it."

"And you believed it?"—"That was no business of mine: but you may, Mr. Counselor, if you like."

"Thank you, Dr. Walsh, for nothing—you will excuse me. But, as to what you report about its use falling off, and its only making people a little glorious or so, *kef*, I think, you call it—did you believe that too?"—"You seem to mistake the point, sir; my object was not to *inquire* as to opium, I only wanted to write a thumping book, *de omnibus rebus*, &c., so what I heard, I put down. Had it been an inscription, indeed, that no one could make head or tail of, *that* would have been a different thing. I should have compared, weighed, and sifted the evidence; quoted all the old books, that I could see or hear of; and, if I had not either convinced or sickened you, I give you my honor, I would, at least, have done my best."

"Good morning, Doctor, you may stand down."

[*Note.* In confirmation of my opinion, as to Dr. Walsh's book, expressed in your April No., as well as the above, I refer you to the Edinburgh Review, for October 1836, received in Canton since the above was in your hands. You will see that I am borne out in my opinion, all but word for word, as to his facility for roadside stories, &c., &c. Where did 'A Reader' find that Dr. Walsh is 'so respectable, so listened to, or so worthy of belief?' My opinion is not much, though I formed it from a perusal of the book; the authority of the Edinburgh Review, he will, I fancy, allow.]

"Now you, *Mohammed Cawder Bux Shah Allum Behauder Singh,* tumble up! You are, I think, by birth a Rá'jpút; and, by occupation, a sipahi, in the Company's army."—"Hei Sahib!"

"Come, never mind your Hindústa'ní, or whatever it is; but let us have truth and plain English."—"Very good, sir."

"You are an admirer of opium?"—"Yes."

"May I ask why; is it a good thing?"—"Excellent; when I can only get enough to make my soul happy, I don't care a *cowrie* for any one—naib, subahdar, captain, colonel, or general."

"So that it makes you forget yourself?"—"To be sure; what else do you think I take it for?"

"Why, is it not a nice thing?"—"Not at all, quite the contrary; you foreigners take it when you are sick; how do *you* like it? If it was not for the consequences, I would not swallow it."

"Do all the Rá'jpúts take it?"—"Do all *topi-wallahs* drink brandy pauí?"

"No, and those who do, are not the most respectable of them."—"Just so with us as to opium."

"Is it allowed or forbidden by your wise men?"—Forbidden, of course, as are all sorts of intoxication."

"Are you sure?—"Yes, look in Hamilton Sahib's book about India, you will find it; and he knew, as well as I do."

"You have not that book in your waistcoat pocket, have you?"—"To be sure I have; here is the passage, (p. 100, vol. 1,) read for yourself."

["The extracts of poppy and hemp are, by native moralists, considered more innocent than spiritous liquors, yet they are much more apt, than distilled spirits, to lead to the most beastly private intoxication. A brahmin who intoxicates himself with these drugs, is considered highly blamable; but it does not involve the loss of caste. Many of the lowest tribes use them, whenever they can.]

"And if you know that it is forbiddden and a bad thing, why do you use it?"—"Because I cannot help myself; I have begun, and I must go on, though I know that it is killing me, and though I fear it may, some day or other, cost me my life, for mutiny or murder, when I have too much or too little of it."

"Very good, my friend, you may stand down!"

"Now, Mr. Reader, let us hear how you will stand a cross examination—up in the box, if you please."—"I am not in court, and I won't be cross-examined by you; pull your wig off, and we will talk the matter over."

"Oh, very good, very good, sir; just as you please."

"Mr. Chinaman, come now, let us have a look at you: you were comprador to a large house in Canton, for many years?"—"Yes."

"And you for many years, took opium daily?"—"Yes."

"Do you still continue to take it?"—"No."

"No! I thought you did; why not?"—"I gave it up more than three years ago."

"Why, if I may ask?"—"Because I was afraid of it; I saw the fatal consequences in many of my countrymen; and I was afraid of them on myself."

"And so you gave it up?"—"Yes; but after a dreadful struggle; I fell off to a skeleton, and became very weak, and could eat hardly anything; but I went on; my family wept, and begged of me to take to it again; but I saw the hold that it had of me, and so I persevered."

"You must be a strong-minded and a clever man; pray what is your opinion, and that of your intelligent countrymen, as to this—is it a deadly poison, or merely a social and harmless article of luxury?"—"What is the use of asking me such a question; worse than you think of brandy, we think of opium."

"But, then, *a little* is no such a dreadful thing as is said to be by some people?"—"I'll trouble you! whoever *continued to take but a little of it?*"

"You think that, then, impossible?"—"To be sure I do."

"Pray are you better, since you gave up the practice?"—"Ama-

zingly; I eat four bowls of rice, a catty and a half of pork, not to mention more small matters, per day; and, what is better still, I now enjoy what I eat. Before opium was meat and drink, board, clothing, washing, and mending: it was all I cared about."

"I thank you, sir, Mr. Chinaman, you have given excellent evidence."

But you, Mr. Recorder, will ask if this is the same man whom 'A Reader' speaks of. It is, and I think our friend ought to have told the whole story. This man was an extraordinary person for a Chinese; and the substance of what is above given, is what he assigned to European friends for his renunciation of the 'elegant' habit; and a bitter time the poor man had of it; and well must he have known the depth of the abyss into which he was rushing, before he could have found resolution to continue the struggle, and *triumph*, as, highly to his credit, he did. Would he, think you, have so *writhed* to give up a harmless and agreeable enjoyment?

I send you, Mr. Editor, the name of the party, as 'A Reader' does, that you may see if I am right. As I have not seen him for a great length of time, I cannot insist on his continuance in his determination. I speak of the early part of 1834 (I think); and, for the facts, as told, I vouch. Should he have again taken to opium, it will be to me the strongest possible proof of the impossibility of any one continuing long to refrain when once he has begun; but, for his sake, as an intelligent and amiable man, I hope he has persevered.

As to *my* evidence, a dozen witnesses are in court; and I have subpœnaed two dozen more — let 'A Reader' examine them, before he goes on. But to leave banter, Mr. Editor, 'the reäction' that he talks of, in his last, has, he truly says, commenced; and time it was it had; but not as he avers; it is 'a reäction' *against vice*, from which the gilding is being torn; and not in its favor. It is 'a reäction' to redeem the odium on the foreign name, that has accrued from the inpouring, for many years, of an unneccessary and destructive nastiness into China, corrupting the public health, undermining morals, producing vice, disease, and misery, and recoiling on ourselves, by forming the grand argument, the insurmountable one (save as a consequence of the use of successful force) against the introduction of our religions, morals, sciences, and commerce, into this prodigious and favored land. May 'the reäction' be a speedy one!

I believe that 'A Reader' is right in saying, that some women use opium in China; but I think, as I hope, that they are but few; and that *they* are all to be looked for in a degraded class. Were it not so, the obvious evils would be yet greater than I have asserted. As to the constant use of five mace per day not killing, I recollect a story of an old major, at Barbadoes, who condemned sobriety, and despised temperance; as to abstinence, I doubt if he ever thought of that — and this on the ground that he had been on the island five years; had seen sets after sets swept off, while he, the surviver, drank three bottles of Madeira and one of brandy per day; and had never once gone to bed sober: yet this would scarce excuse spirit-drinking.

The picture of the opium smuggler, on his high trotting horse, armed to the teeth, ready for all comers, and jogging along with two chests of opium slung, as the sailors say, fore and aft, has, as he says, given way to that of a merchant, at his desk, his pen behind his ear, folding up opium orders, which is, certainly, as I before said, 'genteel,' at least; and this is something.

As to the tael per day, I will not reassert what I said about a mace; but do you, or any of your readers, ask any of your Chinese friends—better that he should not be an opium broker, or a smoker if possible,—and you will see or hear, who of us is right, as to the quantity, and, consequently, the number of *victimised*, as A Reader will call them, ("I thank thee friend, for teaching me that word!") the number of VICTIMISED smokers of opium in China.

I am your's, Mr. Editor,

Canton, June 2d, 1837. ANOTHER READER.

ART. VII. *Education: defects of the institutions for educating the Chinese; Anglochinese College; Singapore Institution; Morrison Education Society; the desirableness of uniting them and founding a College.* From a Correspondent.

[Our Correspondent has here touched on a subject which ought to be thoroughly canvassed. In the great business of education it is time for the 'day of small things' to pass away; though, in fact, many of the first principles are yet to be established, primary measures adoped, and the deep and broad foundations laid. The college at Malacca ought to be reënforced, and rise at once to the dignity of similar institutions in other countries, otherwise its name should be changed. The trustees of the Singapore Institution have so modified its original design, or at least, so suspended its execution, that it seems now to stand nearly on a level with common schools: however, the day for it to rise may yet come, we hope soon. The members of the Morrison Education Society have not, we suspect, embarked in their enterprise without having considered the difficulties to which our Correspondent alludes, nor are unprepared to encounter them. His friendly counsels, and those of others who may feel the same interest, the Society will, no doubt, duly appreciate.]

THE Evangelization of China is a topic of momentous importance. It might be shown that the human family does not present one of equal interest, certainly not one of equal magnitude to the philanthropy of a Christian. The first inquiry is—Is it to be accomplished? And the next is; How should it be undertaken? What are the means that should be used? What plan or plans should be adopted? In answering these questions, some difference of opinion, as to the mode, would appear in the plans of those, even, who believe that erelong China will become a kingdom of Christ. Education, all will agree, is of great, if not of essential, importance, for the purpose of diffusing light

and truth among the dense population of that vast empire. The object of this communication is to make some remarks, and to throw out some few suggestions, respecting the efforts that have been made or are making to establish colleges, schools, &c., for the superior instruction of the sons of Han. While the writer does rejoice sincerely that so many efforts are making to benefit the numerous subjects of the 'son of heaven' and the surrounding nations, still he cannot but regret that those efforts have not a convergent direction given to them, so as to produce a decided effect, instead of the present divergent direction, which divides the energies that are now exerted, and their influence to be, consequently, to a deplorable extent, unfelt and unknown. The common and ordinary schools do not come within the scope of this communication, they are, therefore, passed by unnoticed. At some future time an opportunity may be afforded to offer some hints respecting them also. In referring to those of higher pretension, we shall begin with the

Anglochinese College. We do so because it is the first that has been permanently founded, on an extended scale and an enlightened plan. Nothing more need be said here than, that it was the intention of its founders that this institution should be a *college*, in the common acceptation of that term, and we believe the people of Christendom think the work of a college is now done within its walls. But that such is not the case will appear from its Report for the year 1835, published in 1836. 'The senior class,' it is reported, 'continues to improve in Scriptural knowledge; also in geography, writing, arithmetic, practical geometry, translating Chinese into English, and vice versa, general reading,' &c. This is the account given of the senior class, nothing therefore need be said of the junior classes. When also it appears by the same report, that there is only one individual, with the exception of two native assistants, to conduct all its departments, it is self-evident it can be a college only in name. In reality, then, it is only a school. It is plain also that it has failed so far in answering the original intention, for it does not afford, neither can it, indeed, as at present conducted, that kind of instruction which is compatible with the idea of a college. It is not intended here to attach blame to any individual, but to point out the obvious fact, that its plan is defective, and consequently that its operation is inefficient, and the studies are not of that advanced kind which they should be. There is then need for something more and better.

The next establishment that claims attention is the *Singapore Institution.* All your readers know the failure of that effort. We shall not attempt to detail here the circumstances that led to that result, but express an ardent hope that there is life yet in it, and that it will rise like another phœnix to triumph in its strength and vigor. But there is perhaps a well founded reason to fear, that it will be, like the Anglochinese college, a failure in every thing beyond and better than a school: if it be a mere school, let it be a good one. It does appear to me, after mature and repeated reflection, that such will be the fact—and I state this conviction from knowing pretty well what

the prospects of its trustees are. It is true that this institution does not contemplate the state of the Chinese, particularly, because of the existence of the college at Malacca; but still it hopes to do something towards the instruction of those who are descended from the inhabitants of the 'middle kingdom.' There are here two sets of trustees, whose object it is to benefit the surrounding nations, and thereby erect a monument to the memory of sir T. S. Raffles. Many of their friends fear that that memento will be only a school!

The last Institution to which reference will be made now is, the *Morrison Education Society*, a pretty full account of which is found in the Chinese Repository for December, 1836. This institution has commenced well—subscriptions are liberal, if its supporters are not yet numerous. Now when the Anglochinese college was established, subscriptions were liberal also—and donations of books and money were poured into the hands of the trustees in considerable abundance, and they have not wanted, as far as their present plan entails expense, all that they required to carry on the labors of the institution; but if they carried it on upon the plan of a college, appeals to the public would be essentially necessary still. And ought not the 'Morrison Education Society' to fear that disappointment may be in reserve for it also? Malacca and Singapore speak somewhat powerfully in this way; the former being confined to a contracted plan, and the latter, for years past, to non-existence!

Now, this anticipated failure is founded on past experience, for which there must have been a cause. And that cause will operate also in future time, unless it be obviated by making such provisions and arrangements as will overrule its influence. But it is apprehended, that so far from such arrangements being made as will keep the above institutions in vigorous existence, they will, in consequence of the division of energy which they will inevitably occasion, linger in an infantile and inactive existence. One prime cause of this will be the want of funds, and that because the same friends must supply them all with the 'essential;' and it cannot be expected of them to make princely annual subscriptions, although they may make such donations: but such donations are like angels' visits, 'few and far between.' The expenditure at Malacca for the year 1836 was $1639.45. There is not the least doubt but that they have been as economical there as it was possible to be; but it is evident that, if that institution had been conducted on an extended scale, the annual expense would have been four and perhaps five or six times as much. Hence the apprehension, that the above institution will, to a great extent, fail to accomplish what is incalculably desirable—a college! Some, no doubt, will say, oh, remember the disasters of Singapore! All this is well remembered, and still the attempt to establish a college in extragangetic India is most urgently pressed on all who are interested in the spread of science and religion, among the nations of the east. How can this be accomplished?

Let the subject be fairly discussed in the Chinese Repository, as well as in all the other publications in this part of the world that will

admit any contributions on the subject. Further, let the trustees of the above institutions open friendly correspondence with one another, with a view to unite — to act — and to accomplish. The *animus* of this communication is this; *let the above institutions become one.* Then, and not till then, will there be erected a monument worthy of the names of sir T. S. Raffles and Dr. Morrison! The object is well worth the attention of Christian philanthropists, and it will reflect honor on Britain and America, and all the enlightened kingdoms of the west, that engage in it.

ART. VIII. *Religious and literary intelligence. Mission to the Dayaks; the fourth annual report of the Parapattan Orphan Asylum; second report of the Temperance Society at Penang; report of the Schools at Singapore.*

THE Dayaks, within a few years, have excited unusual interest among the friends of humanity; and the consequence is, direct effort to carry to that people the blessings of the gospel of peace. The following paragraphs are extracted from a letter dated at Sambas, December 30th, 1836, written by the Rev. William Arms.

"I took my passage in a native práhu, embarked on the 26th of May, 1836, from Singapore, and reached Pontiana on the 26th of June, happy in arriving in the land of the Dayaks, and I trust thankful in having escaped the dangers of the sea, and specially in being rescued from the pirates, by whom we were attacked, and from whom we were delivered by a kind Providence, without having the means of defending ourselves. During my stay at Pontiana, I accomplished but little. At Sambas I was kindly received both by the resident and sultan, by whom I was allowed to visit the Dayaks with a Malay guide. The manner of my reception you will learn from the following extract from my journal.

"'Thursday, October 6th. Having made the necessary arrangements with the sultan, I proceeded this morning to ascend the river, for the purpose of visiting the Dayaks at a place called the Brow. Our boat was rowed by four men; and a son of one of the pangerans accompanied me for a guide. The river, at first, was about twenty yards wide, but soon grew narrower, and the marks of the tide were left behind in a short time; and the banks, which, at first, were low, and sometimes marshy, continued to rise till they were at least ten feet above the water. Our course was extremely crooked, and very much interrupted by trees lying across the stream, many of which were of the kind called "iron-wood," and from their appearance they had been there for ages. In consequence of this it was necessary for us very often to lie flat, in the boat to allow it to pass under the logs, or to climb over them, ourselves, while the boat was pulled under, and sometimes over, them. We arrived at the Dayak village about dusk.

Its appearance, as one approaches it, is not unlike that of a Chinese bazar, being one continuous building, but differing in being elevated some six feet from the ground, having a platform about fifteen feet wide in front, and the whole surrounded with a fence made by driving strong stakes into the ground. On inspection, the houses were found to be built of poles, covered with a thatch made of grass and bark. Poles were also used for the floors. On ascending the platform I was led by my guide to the door of the headman, where I was met with a bamboo dish of water to wash my feet; thence I was invited to enter his apartment, where a fine bamboo mat was spread for me to sit upon. It was unnecessary to invite the people to assemble. We were in the front hall, which extended the whole length of the village, and as I was conducted by one whom they knew, there seemed nothing to prevent them from indulging their eager curiosity to see a white man, none having visited the place before; and I was soon surrounded with about 200 people, old and young, all ready to catch the words as they dropped from my lips. The grown up wore a piece of cloth around the loins; the children had nothing but a string of teeth around the neck. Their dusky forms, piercing eyes, bushy heads which seemed to contain a sleeping intellect within, the anxious gaze of the countenance, the wretched hovel with which they are surrounded as their home, and the sight of a quantity of blackened sculls hanging over our heads, all combined, made an impression on my mind which will not soon be erased. Such was my first audience among the Dayaks. Never shall I forget the expression of their countenances, when, in explaining the object of my visit, I brought to view some of the leading doctrines of the Christian religion, and preached to them Jesus Christ as the sinner's friend and only hope. In the conclusion of the conversation, they said they should be glad to have me come and live with and instruct them. They also said, in answer to my query, if I would come and live with them they would *cease cutting off heads*, and gave me some of their weapons as pledges of their sincerity and friendship. At length, I lay down where I had been sitting and slept sweetly, with about thirty heads hanging over me, all the property of one man; several Malays with their krises being on one side, and about twenty stout Dayaks on the other.

"'Friday, the 7th. On leaving this morning, several brought rice, eggs, fowls, &c., as presents, and we parted with every token of mutual regard, and the visit will be long remembered. In passing on, I stopped to see their pantak or idol. It stands by the side of the stream, at some distance from the village. It is a piece of wood, roughly carved into somewhat the shape of a man, with shells nicely fitted in for eyes, mouth, &c. At this place there were eight, which seemed to be the representatives of as many generations. It is said that when a head is taken, they make a feast, in which their pantak takes a part. At such times he is clothed and receives from them a precious bit—a part of the flesh of the face, the remainder being eaten; and when their *tuéh* dies his body is burned, and the ashes are given to this idol, either by scattering them in the winds, or by putting them

into a hole in his body. Other than this, I was not able to learn that they bestowed upon it any worship, or that they worship anything else. They evidently believe in transmigration, supposing that the Dayaks become deer, and the Malays swine, and consequently they eat the flesh of the latter, but not of the former. To nearly all my questions, in regard to their opinions on the subject of religion, the only answer that I could obtain was, 'I do not know.'"

2. *The fourth annual Report of the Committee of the Parapattan Orphan Asylum*, read before the members and friends of that institution on the 31st of last March, has just reached us. The number of children now on the list of the Asylum is thirty-seven, nineteen boys and eighteen girls: two of the latter are living in a private family. The total receipts during the year have been *f* 12,476 02; the disbursements, *f* 14,665 93; which reduces the balance, *f* 6,245 80, left in the treasury at the close of last year, to *f* 4,055 89. The Report exhibits a good account of the institution, which is conducted, so far as we are able to judge, with wisdom, energy, and economy. Its object and direction are specified in the 2d and 5th articles of its constitution:

"*Art.* 2. The object of the institution is, to lodge, feed, clothe, and educate such orphans and other children, descendants of Christians, as may be left, in this part of India, *destitute*, or with means insufficient to procure suitable care and instruction to render them useful members of Christian society.

"*Art.* 5. *(a)* The business of the Society shall be managed by a Board of Directors, who shall be chosen at a general meeting of the members, to be held annually on the second Tuesday of March, with the exceptions hereafter to be mentioned. *(b)* This Board shall, for the present, consist of a president, a treasurer, a secretary, and twelve members, one of whom shall be named by the Board, to act as vice-president. *(c)* The president, treasurer, and secretary, when once elected, shall be considered permanent, until relieved from their duties by unavoidable circumstances, such as change of residence, and continued infirmity of body or mind, the vote of the members at the annual general meeting, or in extreme cases, that of the Board of Directors. None but members of the institution may be elected Directors. *(d)* All the members of the Board may be reëlected and eight must be, i. e. not more than four shall retire annually. *(e)* The Board shall meet for the transaction of business on the first Friday of every month, and oftener, if necessary, at the discretion of the president, or the desire of two of the other members of the Board. These extra meetings shall be convoked by written notice from the secretary on the order of the president. *(f)* Six members and an officer of the Board of Directors shall form a quorum."

3. *The Temperance Society at Penang*, the second report of which is before us, was established April 13th, 1835, and is auxiliary to the British and Foreign Temperance Society. The Society requires those who wish to become members of it, to sign the following pledge:

"I, A. B. do hereby agree to abstain from the use of every kind of ardent spirits (except when medically prescribed); and that I will not myself sell, or cause any to be sold, but that I will discourage the use of them to the utmost of my power; and I furthermore bind myself to be temperate in the use of wine, beer, and every other intoxicating liquor not prohibited by the regulations of the Society."

The report shows that the Society has had to encounter opposition and ridicule, while it has already accomplished much good, and is prepared to effect much more. The following extract is from a letter, written by the patron of the Society, the honorable sir William Norris; it is dated December, 26th, 1836.

"My best wishes are with the society; nor is my opinion of its utility at all shaken by the ridicule with which I have heard it assailed. Fortunately for us, this is the extent of the opposition on which we have to reckon; and such opposition is perhaps matter for congratulation, as implying a lack of argument on the side of our opponents. Had we lived and proclaimed our opinions in a less enlightened age, I verily believe that many amongst us would have had a good chance of martyrdom. Let it never be forgotten, that when Christianity itself was reviled by Tacitus and Pliny, as 'an execrable superstition,' and when tortures and death awaited its professors, the worst that could be urged against them was, 'that they were accustomed to meet together and bind themselves by an *oath* to abstain from all wickedness!' I do hope, however, that our worthy chairman can assure us of our personal safety—guilty as we certainly are of pledging ourselves to abstain from ardent spirits!!"

4. *The Report of the Singapore Schools* for 1836–37, appears in the Chronicle of the 10th instant. We have no room for remarks or comments, but only for a single extract, which in few words exhibits the present state of the schools.

"In the report published last year it was stated that the number of boys in the English school was 45. This has since gradually increased to 66, the present number—with a promise of an addition within a few days. The school is divided into ten classes, each being made small so as to be rendered more manageable in the confined room in which the school is held at present. Those of the first class are daily engaged in the study of ancient history, of geography, in which they are now tolerably proficient—and have lately commenced learning the outlines of astronomy. They are frequently exercised in English parsing, and it is intended to set them soon to composition, not the least important branch of education. The highest stage in arithmetic, that any of them have attained, is the rule of three. The acquisition of the English language being considered of the first importance, to advance the scholars at present to a higher rule has been considered unnecessary, as this can be attended to with more facility hereafter. The second class are examined daily in grammar, geography, reading and repeating a portion of Walker's pronouncing dictionary. The lads of the first and this class constitute the daily monitors of order and are teachers of junior classes, when not engaged in repeating their lessons. All of them write tolerably good hands. The third class repeat daily a portion of Carpenter's spelling—recite a verse or two of poetry, as an exercise of memory—and read, spell, and write. The fourth class rehearse a portion of easy English phrases, the meaning of which they are obliged to give in the Malayan, the language most familiar to them, as it is indeed to almost all the boys. They likewise read, spell, and write on paper. The junior classes are variously engaged, according to their standing, in reading, spelling, repeating easy verses and phrases, and in writing on slates, the tenth or lowest being composed of little urchins who are acquiring the alphabet, and who, during writing time, endeavor to print the characters on slates, from a large copy-board placed before them. But amidst these

multifarious exercises, religious duties are not omitted; the school opens and closes every day with repeating the Lord's prayer, and the collect of the week: a portion of every Wednesday and Saturday is devoted to the reading of the Holy Scriptures in regular course, the first and second classes reading from the Bible, and the third and fourth classes from the New Testament. This exercise, however, is not made imperative on any boy, should objections be made to it by his parents; and it is pleasing to add, that none has ever been made. Those boys who are of the Protestant persuasion are questioned on Saturdays, from Watts's Catechisms."

ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences. Arrival of his B. M. ship Raleigh; the hoppo's appointment continued; a new hong merchant; stoppage of the European passage-boats.*

His Britannic majesty's ship Raleigh, M. Quin, esq., commander, arrived off Macao about the middle of this month; and was forthwith dispatched "on a cruise." The admiral, on the Indian station, has received orders, it is said, to keep one ship, at least, continually in these eastern waters.

The hoppo Wăn (commissioner of maritime custom) has received orders to remain another year in Canton. A new hong merchant has just been admitted into the cohong: the name of the hong is *Paouho*.

An edict from Tăng, president of the Board of War and governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, to the senior hong merchants.

On the 15th instant (June 19th), I received a communication from Wăn, the commissioner of maritime customs. It contained the following statement.

"Wang Shing, one of the officers connected with the custom-house, has presented a report, made in obedience to commands to inquire whether the large passage-boats are engaged in smuggling, that thereby evidence might be procured for an investigation of the subject; it is as follows:

'Having received your excellency's commands, I went at midnight, on the 14th instant, in a boat, to make secret inquiry on the river near the thirteen factories. I saw there three large boats, having decks and two masts, and three small ones, with decks and one mast, anchored in the middle of the stream; but saw no goods taken from or put into them. I continued the watch until 4 o'clock the next morning. On returning home, passing near the west side of the Dutch Folly, I saw another large boat, with two masts and a deck, anchored close by the rocks. I then returned to the rear (i. e. front) of the factories, and sent for the linguist Atom, and asked him, whence and wherefore those seven boats had come to the city, and to which of the devil-factories they belonged, making all the inquiries requisite for thorough investigation. It is my opinion, that hitherto, according to the established regulations, the large boats, with two masts and decks, have been interdicted; and that only the small ones, with but a single mast and no decks, have been permitted to go up and down the river. Moreover, repeated orders have been given to the hong merchants and linguists, not to permit those large boats to come to the city: and they ought to require obedience. As the language of these barbarians is different from ours, I was afraid that if I went on board the boats to examine them some disturbance might ensue; I have, therefore, to request your excellency to call together all the hong merchants and linguists, and instruct them in what they ought to do. Though I cannot presume to act according to my pleasure, yet it is my duty, having found out these circumstances, as I was directed, to lay the same, fully attested, before your excellency for a thorough investigation. Postscript. The following are the boats in the river: one with two masts and a deck belongs to the barbarian Edwards, residing in the Imperial devil-factory; a second, of the same kind, belongs to the barbarian Marks, residing in the English devil-factory; another belongs to the barbarian Jardine, residing in the Creek devil-factory; a fourth belongs to the barbarian Just, residing in the French devil-factory; two others, having decks and a single

mast, belong to the same person; another with a single mast and a deck belongs to the barbarian Charles [Markwick], residing in the imperial devil-factory.'

"This coming before me, I find on examination, that the large boats, with decks, have long been forbidden; that repeated orders have been issued from the custom-house requiring examination and seizure; and that prohibitory edicts have been proclaimed: moreover, that instructions have been given to the said merchants and linguists, to maintain a strict watch and expell the boats, and likewise to transmit instructions to the barbarian merchants requiring their obedience to the existing laws. These particulars are all on record. They are attested by the statement of Wang Shing. Besides again giving orders to the said hong merchants and linguists, to be transmited immediately to all the barbarian merchants, requiring them to obey, and without the smallest degree of evasion to drive away all the boats if they attempt to anchor in the river; I likewise submit this document for your excellency's inspection, to take such measures thereon as are right."

Having received the above, I find, that, of all the foreigners trading at Canton, only those of the English Company have been allowed to send boats, with flags hoisted, up and down the river; on the dissolution of the Company it was right to discontinue those boats. The other foreigners who come in ships to Whampoa, when at Canton or Macao, and wishing to send letters back and forth, are only allowed to use small open boats; which when passing the custom-house stations are required to stop and be examined; and if they have on board any contraband goods or weapons, they must be immediately expelled. The late governor Loo, having sent up a memorial to the emperor, received his majesty's pleasure, for establishing these regulations, and requiring obedience thereto. This is on record. But now, Edwards and others have dared to employ boats having decks, some with two masts and others with one. As the said hong merchants and linguists have not driven them away, and have failed to report concerning them, it is impossible to warrant that they have not been concerned in clandestine transactions. It is most absolutely necessary clearly to investigate the statements received, as given above; it is my duty also to send this edict to Howqua, Mowqua, and Pwankequa. On its receipt, let the boats be immediately expelled. And let inquiry be made as to the reason why these boats have come to the city, and whether any clandestine transactions have been carried on between the owners and the hong merchants. Let a report be immediately made, that the subject may be investigated Let there be no opposition, which will subject the parties to trial. If proper exertion be not made, and the boats be not driven away, assuredly both those who have the management of affairs in the said hongs and the linguists shall be brought in chains to my office, and subjected to trial. There shall be no lenity. Hasten, hasten obedience. (June 19th, 1837.)

Edict from Tăng president of the Board of War and governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, in reply [to a report of Howqua, Mowqua, and Pwankequa].

Respecting the passage-boats of foreigners running up and down the river, I find there are regulations, sanctioned by the emperor, forbidding the use of such as have decks. How then can the foreigners be allowed to act disorderly as they please? Recently they have dared to act in opposition to the regulations, because the said hong merchants have hitherto allowed them in everything to do as they like, and have not faithfully examined, and reported to me, respecting their proceedings. And now, after they have received instructions to investigate the subject, they wish to give it a false coloring. They report that the boats have decks, which have been constructed to guard against injury from winds and rains; but I would ask, when formerly the said foreigners, in conformity to the regulations, used boats without decks, whether there were no rains and winds?

Again I command the said hong merchants with severity to enjoin the orders on all the foreigners, and require their obedience. Hereafter they must conform to the regulations that have been sanctioned by the emperor. In passing to and from Canton and Macao they must always use boats without decks. The large ones with decks are forever interdicted. If again they act in opposition as before, I will hold the said hong merchants responsible, and I fear they will then be able to give no false coloring to the conduct of the said foreigners. Tremble! Be careful! Make not work for repentance! These are the orders. Taoukwang, 17th year, 5th month, 20th day (June 22d, 1837).

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ART. 1. *Remarks on the Japanese language: the subject but little understood; character of the oral language; its different forms, and grammatical structure.* From a Correspondent.

THE works written upon this country are very numerous, and partake of all the errors of Kæmpfer, their common source. Whatever he wrote, about a hundred and fifty years ago, is reiterated, with some additions, by almost every subsequent author. Like Du Halde's, his folios contain a mass of valuable information, the most authentic that can be obtained, but at the same time sadly disfigured by prejudice. Hence the opinion of the tranquil state of that empire, whilst grinding oppression and the feudal system are fraught with evils subversive of all good order. The rebellions, as we are informed by natives, are bloody, and the acts of government cruel. A dense population and the barrenness of several districts make famine a frequent occurrence. Then the number of desperadoes increases, order ceases to exist, and all the horrors of the most sanguinary revolution take place, with unbridled fury. Hitherto, however, the supreme government has always been enabled to quell these disturbances; while the leaders have been obliged to betake themselves to the mountains. It would have been impossible to retain in allegiance the many feudal princes, amongst whom the territory is divided, if resort had not been had to most arbitrary measures. These princes are either themselves prisoners at Yedo, or else, during their absence from the palace, send their wives and children as hostages. The same precautionary measures, for ensuring the fidelity of influential persons, are adopted in all branches of government; an officer fills with trembling his station. Yet even the laws of a Draco, written with blood, cannot fully establish absolute dispotism. The rigid system of responsibility is there accompanied with the same results as in China, all-providing corruption and bribery. In speaking thus, we do not give our opinion, but

merely record the sentiments of natives who are enthusiastically fond of their country, and always ready to represent their nation in the most favorable light. It is time, however, for foreigners to consider the welfare of a nation so long neglected.

The grand features of the Japanese, do not differ much from those of the sons of Han. That government is in the main, the same as the Chinese. Their philosophy, religion, literature, &c., were derived from China, but have received additional polish from the natives. Persevering industry is the most redeeming quality in the character of the people; they are moderate in their diet, living almost entirely upon vegetables and fish; but they indulge in spiritous liquors, and in every kind of licentiousness, to far greater excess than the Chinese. They are not, in the same degree, slaves to antiquated customs, and are shrewd observers and imitators of whatsoever they consider excellent amongst foreigners. When they were permitted to leave their country, they served with great credit in the armies of the Dutch and the king of Siam, and were even more useful than the Chinese as colonists. In their struggle, however, against the Roman Catholics, they had to invoke foreign aid, and it was only thus that victory was decided in favor of the pagans. The story related by Kæmpfer, about the attack upon a Spanish vessel, stands on a par with the flaming edicts of the celestials; and the account of barbarian vessels, which were loitering about in the inner seas, having been burnt and sunk by the courageous and invincible navy, are equally worthy of credit. The best comment upon the same heroic exploits, is an account we read in a late periodical, stating that an English frigate, having returned to the harbor of Nagasakí, it was resolved to burn her with straw, which a number of small boats, each rowed by three men, were to carry along side of her!

The exclusive system which the Japanese have long maintained is more owing to the willingness of foreigners quietly to submit, than to the actual strength of the government. If the power of the foreigners, which was employed to crush the Portuguese influence, had been used to maintain a liberal intercourse, Japan would have remained open to foreign commerce, according to all human probability, until this day. However, as no resistance was made, and every degradation submitted to, for the sake of visionary advantages, it was very easy to perpetuate this misanthropic absurdity. Let foreign influence be felt, and this unnatural prohibition will be annihilated. China and Japan placed in a similar situation as Turkey and Egypt, would soon have done with their vain and whimsical notions. The only safeguard of this embargo, which excludes the whole human race, results from the apathy of foreign powers; as soon as this is exchanged for a friendly interest in the real welfare of this nation, the rulers will soon be constrained to abandon their crooked policy. Only those in power uphold it; the struggle, therefore, when popular influence is once felt, can neither be long nor arduous.

Allowing that the substance of the statement respecting the anti-national conduct of the Japanese government be true, yet we ought,

in fairness, to adduce the instances which show that it has often been relaxed. The attempts made by sir Stamford Raffles to open a trade with that country, are by no means so very disheartening as to preclude all further hopes of success. A small British schooner, which subsequently went to a place near Yedo, was well treated and had intercourse with the natives. A whaler, a few years ago, went into one of the harbors and was not only well received, but most amply supplied with all kinds of provisions. A captain meeting with a Japanese junk, which had suffered very much in a gale, went on board of her, supplied the vessel with a compass and water, and received in return a casket of gold bars, a present which the Japanese gave entirely on their own account. We ourselves have been on board of some of their junks, and met with unreserved kindness. To this we must add, that the present monarch, Teënpaou, is an enlightened man. A gentleman who twice went as an embassador to the court of Yedo, and who had a long and interesting conversation with him, when he was presumptive heir of the throne, has spoken in high terms of his liberal sentiments. When the choice of presents for the ensuing embassy was proposed to him, he preferred a Dutch nautical dictionary to every other thing. We know that, some years past, commercial intercourse between the prince of Satsuma and an English house was to have been commenced; and that the individual who took the lead in this speculation, having previously become acquainted with this chief, was only prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the most untoward circumstances. The supreme government went even so far as to consult with a Dutch chief upon the feasibility of dispatching young men to the mother country, that they might be instructed in ship-building. These well authenticated facts may stand as counterparts to the continual cant, that there can be nothing done for this country. This, however, is certain, that hitherto nothing has been done. We conclude our prefatory remarks with the observation of a Japanese writer, who, in the preface to his Dutch-Japanese dictionary tells his countrymen: "that Asiatics, in general, are to be compared with wood, whilst Europeans resemble iron; now as the former will remain a shapeless block, unless it is fashioned by iron, so also the Asiatics, without intercourse with the Europeans, will continue rude and uncivilized tribes."

After this long digression, we proceed now to speak of the language of the Japanese. We ought, however, to inform the reader, that our remarks will be confined to the oral medium, from which the language of books differs very considerably. In performing this task we are not the first to venture upon this ground. The Jesuits of olden time have bequeathed numerous vocabularies, dictionaries, and grammars, the only fault of which is, that they make the Japanese assume the garb of the Latin. The language, moreover, has been amply cultivated by the natives themselves, who have compiled dictionaries and grammars in European fashion, and of their own accord published Chinese and Dutch dictionaries with explanations in their own tongue. In this matter they have far excelled the celestials, whom, in the

way of reciprocal compliment, they honor with the title of *karache* or barbarians. The Dutch themselves have also written a few works, or compiled them, in conjunction with natives; but of all these we have seen very little. The Japanese may be said to be an original language, which coincides somewhat, in its grammar, with the Mantchou, bears some affinity to the Corean, has imported a great number of words from China, and is, on the whole, the most polished and perfect language spoken by any of the inhabitants of Eastern Asia. Language constitutes the best clue for tracing out the origin of nations. We were rather astonished to find so much similarity in its sounds to those of the Mantchou, and therefore concluded, that the great and original stock of the inhabitants of Japan came from Tartary. As this emigration, however, took place in remote antiquity, we shall not enter upon a disquisition for determining the exact period. Though the Chinese language is of a most uncongenial nature, and might as easily conform to the idioms of the Japanese, as the Greek mix with the Russian, yet it has in some measure been amalgamated with the Japanese. For this process it has undergone far greater changes than the Latin, in the dialects of Southern Europe, and but few words have entirely escaped the general lot. China, according to the best authenticated accounts, sent a colony to that country as early as 300 B.C. The further progress of the intercourse is hidden in the darkness of ages, long past. Yet at the time of the introduction of Chinese civilization, the natives must have been in a rude state, the majority of abstract words being all Chinese: in numbers, there are no original words for a hundred and upwards, and all the arts and sciences have received a Chinese nomenclature, though now scarcely to be recognized as such.

We will give a few instances to illustrate the above remarks: the first column is Japanese, and the second Chinese.

Japanese,	ten,	*Chinese*,	teën,	*English*,	heaven;
	che,		te,		earth;
	nin,		jin,		man;
	cheyokoo,		teyŏ,		hell;
	honjeroo,		sin,		belief;
	dokoo,		tĭh,		virtue;
	niche,		jih,		day;
	rokosokoo,		lăchŭh,		candle;
	nekoo,		jŭh,		flesh;
	eshe,		esăng,		physician.

The higher and learned classes use Chinese words in preference to their own, as our scholars do the Latin. For many ideas there is both a native and a Chinese word, and the latter is the most current amongst the common people. Unlike the Chinese, this language has no material dialectical varieties: a native from one province easily understands those who come from other and distant parts of the empire; and the variations are very trifling, and consist in the interchange of some letters. However, to balance this advantage

the superior classes have framed for their use a language of their own, at once stiff and fulsome, and even wanting in the mellifluous harmony of the vulgar tongue. This is difficult to be understood, and requires intense study. It partakes of the style of books, a diction mixed up with Chinese phrases, like our old books with Latin. This pedantry is carried to such an extent, that there exists scarcely a single native work of which a very great part is not in the Chinese jargon; yet to write thus is the prevailing taste, as it was once in Germany to write German-Latin.

No nation has adopted such various modes to express thoughts in writing, as the Japanese. First of all is the complicated Chinese characters, to which the Japanese have added a number of their own invention, not even to be found in Kanghe, whilst they likewise have taken the liberty of discarding some altogether. It has been confidentially affirmed, that these symbols are generally known, yet it does not appear that they are understood to a greater extent than the Latin in Italy. The majority of the people, however, possess only a very slight knowledge, and this, principally, for two reasons; first, the Chinese books are generally published with an explanation in Japanese, and thus it is not absolutely necessary to learn the characters in order to understand them; and secondly, to acquire a thorough knowledge is a most laborious task. The Japan-Chinese style, moreover, differs considerably from the pure Chinese, the genius of the native tongue being so entirely at variance with this foreign idiom. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the Chinese character is held sacred, and no body can call himself a gentleman, who is not in some measure acquainted with Chinese literature. This prejudice we consider rather a bar to the country, for when years are required merely to learn to read, but little time can then be bestowed upon the study of useful knowledge. From the moment the Chinese character is discarded from the schools, and left to the research of professed scholars only, we may hope much for the renovation of this nation. So long as Chinese ideas and principles are circulated, the nation must bear the shackles forged by its own hand.

The sounds with which the Chinese characters are read, are very different from any dialect spoken in this country. We will give some specimens.

Chinese,	wang,	*Japanese*,	bau,	*English*,	to perish;
	ting,		tei,		a portico;
	heäng,		keyaou,		to enjoy;
	hoo,		koöu,		mutual;
	tow,		toöu,		to steal;
	peën,		hen,		partial;
	hwuy,		heï,		kindness;
	woo,		baöu,		to wake.

In some instances the sound is the same. Though the native language has not the intonations, it being polysyllabic, these are carefully marked in the dictionaries. The explanation given to many of

the characters, often differs materially from the original Chinese. The Japanese have improved upon their masters, and not only possess all the standard works, but have a valuable Chinese literature of their own manufacture.

At a very early period, the Japanese discovered, that the Chinese characters were not well adapted for writing their own language, and therefore they selected from them a syllabary of their own, in which all the sounds of the spoken medium could be expressed and every word written with ease. It is the most perfect written medium which has come to our notice, at once both simple and comprehensive. Unfortunately, however, they multiplied the syllabaries, thereby rendering writing, as well as reading, very complicated. Those now in use are three, the first is the *katakana;* this, consisting of the simplest Chinese characters, is very distinct, easily to be acquired, and legible. Each sound has one or at the highest two representatives, which never change their form by the context. This species of writing is principally used for the explanation of Chinese characters, or in religious books; no whole works, we are told, are extant in it, but it is intermingled with the Chinese sentences. The second is the *hirakana;* this is a syllabary, framed from more complex Chinese characters, in the short hand writing: some sounds have three, four, five, and even six, representatives, which are moreover so much drawn together, that one ought first to understand the language, before he is able to read. On paper, it looks like scrawls, drawn at random; yet the nation uses this mode of writing in every business of life; it is also employed in books. A foreigner must possess a great deal of patience in order to become fully acquainted with these characters, and, unless he be previously familiar with the sense of the writing, he will be liable to very great mistakes in reading it. The third is the *imatokana*, still more complex than the former.

The Japanese composes syllables in order to form words with due regard to euphony, and partakes, in this respect, as well as in many others, far more of the genius of our western languages, than of the Indo-Chinese. It has words as long as *novinokirimono*, 'embroidered clothes;' *takamagahara*, 'paradise;' *kanewoatskarusto*, 'a cash-keeper.' Of these there are not a few. To this, it would be difficult to find in all the languages of Eastern Asia a parallel. The compounding and framing of words is carried on to such an extent, that we have often been strongly reminded of the Greek and German, which equally excel in this perfectibility. We will give one single instance, and this by no means one of the most prolix; *yama*, 'a mountain;' *yamabato*, 'a wild pigeon;' *yamatori*, 'a jungle-fowl;' *yamaori*, 'a sphynx;' *yamagara*, 'a kind of sparrow;' *yamakame*, 'a tortoise;' *yamadatche*, 'highway robber;' *yamakarasoo*, 'a raven;' *yamarashe*, 'a breeze;' *yamakakache*, 'a kind of snake.' As the language admits, according to fixed rules, ad infinitum, such compositions, we do not hesitate to affirm, that there is not a work in any language, which may not be translated into Japanese. This is more than we can say of the Indo-Chinese languages, which in this point are very

defective. Hence, we may easily conclude, that it is a very rich language. But the most extraordinary thing of all is, that there are no more than seventy or seventy-two sounds, which constitute the elements of the whole language. It is perhaps the minimum to which the articulation of a language can be reduced, and it shows how much can be made of so few materials. A syllable never ends with any other consonant except *n;* nor, with the exception of *sk*, *ts*, and *ds*, are any two consonants used together. The language is, therefore, soft and euphonic. With the exception of some few labials and finals, all the letters of our alphabet may be traced in the Japanese syllabary.

The demarcation between the various parts of speech is drawn very distinctly; and by means of grammatical changes a word may be used as a noun, a verb, an adjective, &c. This facility imparts to the language a copiousness of which only the Greek can furnish a parallel, with this difference, however, that in Japanese almost all words, including conjunctions and prepositions, have a declension, which is the same throughout all parts of speech. Of the above remarks, we will adduce some examples.

Sta, the preposition, below;
stawa, the substantive, lowness;
stano, the adjective, low;
stani or *staye*, the adverb, below;
stanisheru, to make low;
staninaru, to become low;
stawonarsoo, to lower, &c.

All words undergo this process according to established rules; the advantages are incalculable and self-evident.

The noun adopts, with all other words, the affixed article *wa* or *ga*, but it has no general marked termination, by which it may be distinguished from adjectives, though some generic terms apply to diverse classes: thus, for instance, *hansoori*, a printer; and *hanhori* a block-cutter, &c.; where *soori*, a maker, expresses the nature of the substantive. The gender is seldom expressed by words denoting male or female, which are prefixed to the noun, and this, as in Chinese, is only done when a stress is laid upon the destinction of the genus. For the plural, an additional syllable is suffixed, which, however, is omitted if the number is not expressly to be indicated. A noun has five cases, resembling very much the Latin.

Nominative, *tenwa;*
genetive, *tenno;*
dative, *tenni;*
accusative, *tenwo;*
ablative, *tenye* or *tende.*

Many nouns are formed from verbs, and vice versa, by means of slight grammatical changes. To the numerous compounds we have alluded above.

The adjective alters its termination either for euphony's sake or by position; for instance, *akae*, red; *akae hana*, a red flower; *kono hana akashe*, this flower is red; *hanawa akowo naroo*, the flower becomes

red; *aka irono hana*, a red colored flower; &. When put before a substantive it does not partake of the declension, nor has it any generic termination.

Etiquette and despotism have invented a great number of pronouns for the first and second persons, not unlike those of the Indian languages. It is surprising not to find a relative pronoun, whilst the demonstrative is so very copious. The former is always expressed by the construction, or the participle, thus, *washino miroo sto*, 'the man whom I saw;' and *washiwo miroo sto*, 'the man who saw me.' From this circumstance results great conciseness of diction, and the want of a relative is never felt.

The most perfect part of speech is the verb, and though it has no conjugation to distinguish the persons, and only three tenses, it carries the variety of moods to a great extent, while the voices are still more multifarious. A few instances of the latter will illustrate this subject.

Tatakoo, to beat;
tatakeroo, can beat;
tatakerareroo, to be beaten;
tataeteoroo, to be in the act of beating;
tataetaroo, to be able to beat;
tatakeäoo, to beat each other, or fight;
tatakasheroo, to make one beat;
tatakasashereaoo, to make each other beat, or stir up war;
tataeteyaroo, to beat out, &c;

There is, thus, not merely an active, passive, and neuter, but such a variety of verbs, that action can be expressed in every possible shape. In the above enumeration, we have not yet included the negative verb, which is a whole in itself.

Tatakanöe, not to beat;
tatakenoo, can not beat;
tataakarenu, not to be beaten, &c.

With all this, however, the positive verb substantive is wanting, though there is a negative one. The former is always understood and indicated by the construction. This formation of the verb takes place according to the most simple rules, which may easily be acquired. There are no anomalies; nor does the Hebrew, and other Shemetic languages, with the piel, hithpael, &c., in any degree equal the Japanese in this point. The most prominent part of the verb is the participle, which is more frequently used by the Japanese than by the Greeks, and renders the construction very concise. There is a conjunctive, an optative, an infinitive, and other moods, for which our grammar has no names. Such a copiousness of language we never expected to find in this corner of the earth. The advantages thus enjoyed by the natives are very great. There exists no difficulty in clothing foreign thoughts in a Japanese garb, and even the abstruse writings of the Greek philosophers might, without much trouble, be translated into this tongue. Nor is this merely the language of the

learned, the common people also speak it, and know the distinctions between the indicative, conjunctive, and optative, as well as the Chinese do their intonations.

They have two kinds of numerals, the one derived from their original language, and the other from the Chinese. These are not used promiscuously, but according to certain rules; the former, however, do not extend beyond ten; a sure proof that the natives, on the arrival of the Chinese, could not yet have made great advances in civilisation. The adverb is not materially distinguished from the adjective, and is often included with the verb. There are only a few conjunctions, the various moods, and participial constructions, rendering them superfluous. The number of prepositions is considerable, some of them being used as verbs, whilst others may be changed into adjectives. In general, we may say, that the particles are few: the interjections are almost entirely wanting. The construction is not free, but the order of words is, in nearly every case, settled by rule; first the nominative; then the object; then the attribute; and finally the verb.

A nation possessing such a language, has the means of arriving at the highest state of civilisation. If the celestial empire were blessed with this treasure, the most formidable obstacle against the introduction of science and religion would be removed. With that insatiable spirit of curiosity which marks the Japanese, and with such a perfect language, we trust, that, notwithstanding the exclusive system, better days will soon dawn upon this nation. If they were only permitted to leave their country, the emigrants on their return would certainly improve their countrymen. But the avenues of science being closed against them, they must be satisfied with studying the few Dutch works which they now possess. We have seen several specimens of the result of their labors in this department, and can only regret, that some other foreigners cannot assist them. They have shown more desire to improve themselves by the assistance of foreigners than any other Asiatics, and are, notwithstanding, entirely debarred from indulging in this laudable propensity.

ART. II. *Lewkew kwŏ che leĕ: a brief history of Lewchew, containing an account of the situation and extent of that country, its inhabitants, their manners, customs, institutions, &c.*

THE efforts now being made to visit our neighbors on the north, at Lewchew, Japan, &c., induce us to lay before our readers whatever information we can collect respecting those countries. In our third volume, were published two long articles, giving a succinct account of Japan and its inhabitants. That information was derived from the works of Kæmpfer, Golownin, Klaproth, Siebold, Don Rodrigo, Van

Fisscher, the Jesuits, and one or two Chinese authors. About a year and a half ago, three Japanese, who had been driven in a gale across the Pacific to the American coast, and from thence carried to London, reached Macao. Recently four more arrived from Manila, and joined their countrymen — all anxious to return to their native land. These seven men, so long absent from their homes, embarked in the ship Morrison, captain Ingersoll, early this month. On a voyage, liable to so many contingencies, and yet one of so much interest, we forbear to remark, preferring to wait until its results are known. We may state here, however, that much of the information, contained in the preceding article, was obtained from those three Japanese who first arrived in Macao.

The work, the title of which stands at the head of this article, was written by Chow Hwang after his return from Lewchew, whither he was sent as an envoy in the 21st year of Keënlung, A. D. 1757. It is in twelve octavo volumes, of about forty leaves each; and is divided into sixteen chapters, preceded by an introduction. Chow Hwang was a member of the national academy, Hanlin; and besides the advantages derived from a visit, drew largely from the works of others, who, before his time, had written respecting the same country. He gives a long list of the authorities which he consulted, among which are the Ta Tsing Yihtung Che, and the Ta Tsing Hwuy Teën. The work is 'embellished' with a series of maps and plates; the former are of no value; and the latter, also, are sadly executed. The first map was designed to show the situation of the country, and contains its name, that of Japan, and several other places, as Ningpo, Fuhchow, &c., on the coast of China, with the names of two stars,—the whole being so arranged as to exhibit their respective positions: the map has no lines of latitude or longitude. The second is 'a complete map of Lewchew;' but affords no idea of either its extent or form. One of the plates gives a view of the temple built for the service of the ancient kings of the country; another, exhibits a portrait of Chungshan, a king who lived during the reign of Keënlung; another presents a representation of the *teën tsze kwan*, 'residence of the celestial messengers,' i. e. the Chinese envoys. There is also, on another plate, the representation of a ship, which was drawn by order of one of the Chinese emperors, as a pattern for his faithful vassals, the people of Lewchew.—A brief notice of each of the several chapters, in some instances giving a summary of their contents, is all that we can give our readers in this article.

The first chapter of the history contains a description of what is deliniated on the first map. It commences, however, with remarks on Chinese cosmogony, and with praises of those rulers of China who have extended their fame, from the regions of Ele on the west, far to the east, bringing even dragons and tigers into quiet submission to their auspicious sway. The chapter occupies only four pages, and is of little value.

The second chapter gives us a general history of the nation. During all the generations of man, there have never been, our author

avers, two emperors in authority at the same time, although no country has been so remote and obscure as to be without its rulers. The histories of foreign countries, he says, are incomplete, owing to differences in language, and other similar causes. Next after Corea, the history of Lewchew is the best known to the Chinese, and its people have long been within the renovating and ennobling influence of 'our country.' No sooner was the first monarch of the great pure dynasty firmly established on his throne, than Lewchew returned to allegiance; and the king, not daring to rule in his own name, solicited an investiture from his imperial majesty. This, of course in condescension, was granted; and tribute has ever since been duly brought to the emperor of China. After a few general remarks, like those we have here given, Chow Hwang turns back to the origin of the nation, and in order proceeds with its history.

The original progenitors of Lewchew were two—a man and a woman. They had five children; the oldest was a son, named Teënsun (offspring of heaven), who was the first master or ruler of the nation; the second son, acted the part of his ministers; and the third, constituted the people. The eldest daughter, for the protection of the country, took the place of the gods of heaven; and the younger, personified the gods of the sea. The first authentic record dates in the reign of Shunhe of the Sung dynasty, near the close of the twelfth century of our era. Teënsun and his descendants, having maintained the government for 17802 years, were at length succeeded by Shunteën, a branch of the then ruling family of Japan. This occurred about A. D. 1200. When the Ming dynasty arose in China, three kings ruled in Lewchew; one was styled king of the central hills; the second, king of the southern hills; and the third, king of the northern hills. All were tributary, and reigned by permission of the son of heaven. At length, the first became master of the whole country, which has ever since remained under one king, always acknowledging himself a tributary of the Chinese empire.

The third chapter, filling the third and fourth volumes, is occupied with accounts of embassies, tribute, presents, &c. It contains numerous edicts, and long details of the number and kinds of articles carried to the court as tribute, and of the presents given in return.

The fourth chapter is divided into two parts, the first giving an account of the divisions of the country, and the second containing notices of its inhabitants. The three divisions of the country, which existed in the time of the three kings, are still retained; and are called the central, southern, and northern, provinces. The first, our author says, is divided into fourteen departments; the second, into twelve; and the third, into nine: these thirty-five departments are subdivided into districts. Exclusive of numerous islands, Lewchew (which is itself but an island) is narrow, measuring from east to west only a few tens of *le;* while its greatest length, from north to south, is about four hundred and forty *le.* Other writers have allowed it a much greater extent. Chungshan, the central province, has within its boundaries four departments besides those noticed above; these

are named Showle, Pŏ, Kewmei, and Napa; and are also divided into districts. These geographical divisions, namely, provinces, departments, and districts, correspond to those of the same name described in the topographical works of the Chinese. The royal city is situated on the summit of a high hill in the department Showle, and is surrounded by a high wall, which is built of stone. The city is 'four or five *le* broad,' and has four gates. Napa lies ten *le* westward from Showle; it is situated on the coast, and its harbor, which is called *Napa keäng*, or *Napa keängkow*, 'harbor of Napa,' has been repeatedly visited by Europeans; Beechy has given a long account of it.

The notices of the people of Lewchew, contained in the second part of the fourth chapter, are divided into seven sections; in the first, their form and features are described; in the second, the influences of the climate and seasons of the year are particularized; in the third, the customs and amusements of the people are noticed; their manners are the subject of the fourth section; their festivals, that of the fifth; their dress, that of the sixth; and their dwellings, that of the seventh and last. Some of these sections, if translated, would be read with interest. From a hasty perusal of the whole, we think it not at all improbable, that the people are descendants of the Japanese; many Chinese, however, have colonized among them; and the present race seems to partake, in some measure, of the characteristics of both those nations. The people had no written language until the Japanese was introduced among them, unless they brought it along with them, when they first emigrated from that country. Chow Hwang gives an account of the alphabetic and syllabic system of the Japanese; and introduces the forty-eight characters, called the *katakana*, with the sounds expressed in Chinese. But although the Japanese language was first used, the Chinese has, we suspect, nearly superseded it, the latter being now held in high estimation among all classes of the inhabitants, both rulers and people. Our author does not give a very favorable account of the manners and customs of his neighbors; and he had cause, he says, to regret the low state of civilisation to which many of them had sunk. For the purpose of self-destruction, the Lewchewans imitate the savage custom of the Japanese, in the use of the knife.

The hills and rivers—shan chuen—are described in the fifth chapter. The hills on the main-land are first enumerated, and then those on the islands. Next, the author gives an account of the surrounding seas, the tides, the winds, with the courses ships ought to take in going to and from Lewchew and the neighboring countries. He likewise specifies several fountains or springs of water, and describes a number of the principal bridges.

The public buildings and literary institutions are noticed in the sixth chapter. The situation and extent of the king's palaces, and other buildings belonging to the royal family, are first described; and next the residence of the celestial envoys, and the public literary institutions. The latter are few in number, and poorly endowed; and the former possess little that is worthy of special notice. Kanghe once

sent literary men to instruct the people; but more recently, young men have been sent from Lewchew to Peking, there to be educated, and on their return to serve as the instructors of their countrymen.

An account of the temples, and the services performed in them, fills the seventh chapter. All the religions of the Chinese prevail throughout the whole country. Altars and temples are numerous, and have been dedicated to men, to gods celestial, terrestial, and infernal; to the gods of the sea, and to the queen of heaven; and to other beings, imaginary or real, almost innumerable. Budhism, Taouism, and the Confucian system, seem all alike to have had more or less influence in forming the religious character of the people. It appears from a note in the fifth volume, that the Sacred Edict, a translation of which was made into the English language some years ago by Dr. Milne, has also been published in Lewchew.

Remarkable buildings, places, and objects, are enumerated in the eighth chapter. In the ninth, the titles of the rulers and officers, from the king down to the inferior magistrates, are given, and the rank of the various functionaries pointed out. Taxes and tax-gatherers are noticed in the tenth chapter. Our author tells his readers, that Lewchew is one of the poorest of all the surrounding countries; its finances, consequently, are of little importance. The eleventh chapter contains the ritual of state, in which the important subject of ceremonies is discussed at considerable length.

Next, in the twelfth chapter, the military weapons, and the various modes of punishment, prevalent in the country, are described. The implements of war are the same as in China. The penal code is brief. Three modes of capital punishment, and five of less severity, are in vogue. Of the three, the first is the *ling che*, or 'slow and ignominious process,' so celebrated in Chinese annals; the second is *tsan*, the 'chariot-cut' or decapitation, which is still more common in this country; the third is crucifixion: a wooden cross is made, and the criminal, being stretched upon it, is cut to the heart with a long spear. Banishment is the first of the five lesser punishments; the next, if we understand the phrase *pŏ jih*, is exposure to the heat of the sun; the third is cramping the hands and feet, &c., by means of wooden blocks or plates; the fourth is exposure in the cangue or collar; and the fifth is beating with the bamboo. The weight of the collar, and the dimensions of the bamboo, vary according to the degree of guilt and magnitude of the crime.

The thirteenth chapter gives us an account of the Lewchewans in their civil and social relations: the title of the chapter is *jin wŭh*, literally, 'men and things,' but the phrase is used here in a restricted sense, and denotes the several relations of man, considered as a member of society. Chow Hwang informs us, that even bees and ants have their princes and ministers, and the fowls of heaven, husbands and wives; of course, it is right to expect that a people, long within the influence of the celestial empire, must exhibit some traces of the common relations of life. He divides the chapter into seven sections: the first treats of illustrious kings; the second and third, of eminent

servants of the state, &c.; the fourth, of persons, who have been distinguished for their duty to their parents; the fifth contains brief sketches of illustrious women; in the sixth, some of those men who have distinguished themselves by their writings, are named; in the seventh the author cites a few examples of notorious vagrants. We doubt the authenticity of some of these narratives; many, however, are no doubt true, and afford us curious specimens of character.

In the fourteenth chapter we have a catalogue of the productions of Lewchew. Rice, wheat, barley, and most of the other kinds of grain which grow in China, are enumerated. Among the articles of merchandise are, silk, cotton, mats, salt, tea, spirits, paper, pencils, oil, wax, tallow, sugar, tobacco, fans, metals, pearls, stones, lacquered wares, brimstone, &c. The vegetables, fruits, and various kinds of trees, are such, for the most part, as are common in this country: some are named, with which we are not acquainted. The same is true, also, of the birds, quadrupeds, fishes, and reptiles. The natural productions of the country, if we may judge from Chow Hwang's brief account, are abundant.

The fifteenth chapter, occupying two volumes, consists of a long series of miscellaneous papers, in prose and poetry, added, perhaps, to swell the size of the book. These papers have been written by different persons, at different periods, and relate to a great variety of subjects. Some are descriptive, others laudatory, and others historical. The work closes with the sixteenth chapter, composed of fragments—*che yu*—for which our author was unable to find a place in any other part of his history.

ART. III. *Central Asia: description of the valley of the Oxus; khanate of Kíva; and the deserts between Bokhára, the Aral and Caspian, south to Khorásan; with notices of their inhabitants.*

THE basin of the Oxus, from the Kara tag to Hindú Kúsh, and from Pamer to Balkh, has not, though it deserves it, any common apellation. It is chiefly under the government of the amír of Kúndúz, but includes several petty states independent of him. A brief sketch of this region is all that we can give, with our imperfect information. The Oxus is the distinguishing feature of this geographical division of Túrkestan. The cultivable lands, and towns, and population, must be sought along the banks of this river and its branches. Between these water-courses, the highlands rise in many places into lofty and precipitous ridges. The deep dells, and broader vallies which alternate with these ridges, are picturesque, fertile, and lovely. Badak-

shan, the eastern portion of this region, has been celebrated for its romantic and varied scenery. On the east side, the passes of the Oxus conduct to Chinese Túrkestan. Farther to the southeast, on the upper branches of the Indus, lie the independent districts of Chitral, Giljit, and Iscárdo. The Talighan and Gorí, southern branches of the Oxus, rise in the declivities of the Hindú Kúsh, the country of the Siahposh Kaffirs. This singular tribe is supposed to be a remnant of the population, driven from the plains by the Arabian, or rather by the prior Tájik, invasion. A German has supposed, that their light complexions and blue eyes prove that they are of the same stock as his own nation. As well might it be inferred from their using the bow and arrow, and scalping their enemies, that they are North American Indians. They are addicted to wine, and not being Mohammedans, all their neighbors persecute and enslave them. Their hardy valor, when attacked in their fastnesses, has baffled the amír of Kúndúz, but those inhabiting the lowlands, almost up to the pass of Bamían, have submitted.

The chief towns of this southern portion, are Gorí, Inderab, Heibuk, and Syghan. The rivers on which these towns are built, run in deep dells or ravines, with overhanging precipices, and a narrow line of rich and beautiful cultivation. West of the Siahposh, the Huzaras occupy the declivities of the Hindú Kúsh, towards the Paropamisus. They are a simple people, not civilized to delight in plunder. They are of Mongol descent, and spoke that tongue in the time of Báber. The passes of Bamían, leading to Cabúl, are 13,000 feet high, and over the pathway, the peaks of Koh i Baba tower 5000 feet higher. Khúlúm, seventy miles west of Kúndúz, is the western frontier of the amír's dominions. It is a pleasant town of 10,000 inhabitants, abounding with orchards of excellent fruits, and beautiful gardens.

Balkh, 'the mother of cities,' is but forty miles farther westward. An area of 20 miles, strewn with ruins, attests its ancient extent and population. But 2000 inhabitants remain, many having been carried off, within a few years, by a descent of the amír of Kúndúz. This ancient city, now a mere mine of bricks for the surrounding country, stands six miles from the hills, on a plain 1800 feet above the sea, and sloping thirty miles toward the Oxus. Its gardens are overgrown, but some luscious fruits are still produced, particularly apricots. Its aqueducts are broken down, and the waters of its river run to waste in the sandy plain which lies between, and prevents its reaching the Oxus. Balkh, sultry, unhealthy, and in ruins, is still an object of interest to the traveler. It belongs actually to Bokhára, but physically to the country of the Oxus.

Kúndúz, the former capital of the amír, lies in a low, unhealthy, marshy valley, opening northward, and extending forty miles to the Oxus. It yields rice, wheat, barley, &c. The summer heats are intolerable, though the snow lies three months in winter. Its fatal climate has reduced the population to 1500, and driven Múrad Beg, and his court, to the hills, fifteen miles eastward. This successful chief has extended his control over the whole of Badakshan. He is

described, as a tall, and harsh-featured Usbek of fifty. His affairs are managed by a Hindú premier. Chitral, on the Indus, is also tributary to him. The chief of Giljit, strong in his mountain fastnesses, preserves his independence. Iscárdo, still farther east, bordering on Ladák, is an irregular fortress, the centre of an independent district. Its chief has lately carried on a friendly correspondence with a British political agent.

The Tájik chiefs of these districts, are shíah Mohammedans, and were the Chinese frontier on this side not strong enough in its mountain barriers, it would have additional security in the impossibility that the shíahs and the súnís can coöperate. However well disposed to coöperate these chiefs might be, it is not probable that the Usbek amír of Kúndúz will ever march on Yárkand. He has, however, commanded the passes of the Oxus ever since he deposed the late ruler of Badakshan. This region, of hill and dale, mountain and river, with all its picturesque and diversified scenery, is now entirely subject to him. Durwaz, on the Bolor, stills holds out independent. Its chief is also a Tájik. It has already been remarked that the richest 'lavaderos' of gold on the Oxus are near Durwaz. The amír of Kúndúz has been more successful in his designs on the districts of Kúlab, Wakhan, west of Durwaz.

Hissar, next west, though under Usbek control, is not dependent on Kúndúz. It is a well watered district, traversed by three considerable rivers. These streams pass by the three chief towns, Hissar, Dehinou, and Saidabad, the two former falling into the Oxus, and the latter losing itself a little north of Tirmez. Branches of the Kara tag, in some places 4000 feet high, run down between them, toward the Oxus. A deposit of rock-salt is found in one of these ranges. On the northwest, the road from Hissar and Dehinou to Shehir Sebz, leads across the pass of Kaluga, a remarkable defile, of great importance in troublous times, and often mentioned in the memoirs of Timúr and Báber. Marco Polo first mentioned that the chief of Badakshan claimed descent from Alexander. Lately, it has been ascertained that the chiefs of all the mountainous districts, from Hissar to Iscárdo, hold the same traditionary descent, or share the same vanity. This claim to have descended from a monarch, who left no heir to his conquests, has been derided; but Burnes appears to regard it as valid, until disproved by facts, or probable contrary testimony. The Persian language of the people of this hilly region, their physiognomy and pronunciation, evince an early and close connexion with Persia, and no era can well be assigned for the assimilation later than that of Alexander. The Persian monarchy, which he overthrew, may well have extended to the Belúr. Tájik ascendency, at whatever period it obtained, seems to have been more complete and extensive, than the later Mohammedan conquest.

The above observations on the region of the Oxus, have been given in this informal manner, because the information is too scanty for regular and extended description. It is an unexplored region, in great part, and probably much time will elapse, before it will be open to

the European traveler. In point of climate, scenery, &c., it must be, on the whole, a favored country, though its water-courses are divided by mountain ranges, which are both rocky and barren, and one, at least, of the vallies is extremely unhealthy. Under its present masters, industry has no encouragement. Many of the inhabitants of Badakshan have been forcibly transferred to the unhealthy vallies around Kúndúz. One third of the produce of the soil is exacted by government. Grain and slaves are paid as tribute by the dependent districts, and these slaves, with some cattle, afford the means of buying a few luxuries in the market of Bokhára. Múrad Beg maintains an army of 20,000 horse, but has no infantry. The duties levied on articles of trade, &c., are low, and Christian governments might take a lesson on this point from the Usbek Mohammedan. The amír of Kúndúz is said to distrust his neighbor of Bokhára, but reserves his utter detestation for the rulers of British India. Moorcroft escaped with great difficulty out of his hands, and Burnes owed his release, when brought before him, to the disguise he wore, and the dullness of Usbek penetration. It is expected that a few years will extend the British control over the dominions of Runjít Singh and Kashmír, and thus bring the Indian government almost into contact with Kúndúz. Perhaps the amír will like his neighbor better on closer acquaintance. At present, Kúndúz is, of all the Usbek states, the most unfriendly to the traveler, and the most adverse to British influence, and all other foreign intercourse.

The khanate of Khíva—the Kwáresm of the middle ages—the ancient Chorasmia,—the last of the Usbek states, of which we proposed to take a survey, is found on the banks and in the delta of the Oxus, south of the Aral. A low chain of hills, the extension of the Asferah mountains, crosses the Oxus about 40° north latitude, and forms the southern boundary of Khíva. The desert, however, encloses it on this side, as well as on the east and west, down to the shores of the Aral. Khíva is a level country, owing its cultivation to the waters of the Oxus, spread by nature and art over the surrounding deserts. Its limits are made by different geographers to vary from 4600 square miles, to 700 miles from north to south, and 100 from east to west. Probably the lesser estimate would cover all the cultivated country. The Aral is never entirely frozen over, and its vicinity, under the prevailing north winds, gives comparative softness and moisture to the climate of Khíva. The winters, however, are cold, and the autumnal months rainy.

Khíva produces wheat, barley, millet, peas, beans, hemp, tobacco, cotton, silk, &c. The fruits of temperate climates, grapes included, are abundant in the gardens and orchards of this country. The horse, the camel, the sheep, and goat, are here, also, the most valuable domestic animals. The surplus productions of Khíva are wheat, cotton, silk, cattle, &c., and these are chiefly carried to the market of Orenburg. Small caravans, also, traverse the desert to Asterabad, and 150 boats on the Oxus keep up a communication with Bokhára. The nearest point of the Caspian is ten marches distant, and fifteen marches conduct the traveler to Merve.

The khan of Khíva rules over 300,000 subjects; 30,000 of whom are Usbeks, the lords of the soil; 100,000 Tájiks; 100,000 Kara Kalpaks, of doubtful origin, inhabiting the shores of the Aral; the remainder are Kirghís and Túrkomans. The denser portion of this population is found on the left bank of the Oxus, between 41° and 42° north latitude. Here stand the two chief towns, Khíva and Urgunje. The former, with a population of 6,000 to 10,000, is the residence of the khan; the latter with 12,000, is the commercial capital. Khíva is described by Moravieff as surrounded with a high wall and ditch, its towers and the minarets of its 30 mosques rising beautifully from the midst of orchards and gardens. The Usbeks of this country are said to have a harshness of feature peculiar to themselves, the predominance, probably, of Mongol ugliness over Túrkí and Persian comeliness. The social condition of the people is marred by the prevalence of slavery. Thirty thousand Persian and 2,000 or 3,000 Russian slaves purchased from the Túrkomans are here held in bondage. Russian influence has been unsuccessfully exerted in favor of the unfortunate captives from that country.

Ullakholi, the Usbek khan of Khíva, now nearly fifty years of age, maintains an armed force of 10,000 to 20,000 men. They are armed with a sword and a light lance. These arms, and a firelock, when one can be obtained, have taken the place of the bow and arrow, the ancient weapons of the Turk and the Parthian. With this force, he controls the Túrkomans, west to the Caspian, and south to Merve. His predecessor was through life the bitter enemy of Bokhára, but the approach of death subdued his hate, and his dying injunctions of forgiveness, and peace have been kept by his successor. Toward Russia no confidence is felt, and indeed Khíva is not far behind Kúndúz in jealousy of foreign influence, designs, and intercourse. An imperfect protection is granted to the caravans passing through Khíva, but this is sometimes violated. Ullakholi, like other Usbek chiefs, has no nobles around him to share his power. The múllahs fill the place of these appendages of western thrones, and are at the same time, his protégés, his council, his judges, and his strongest adherents.

Russia and Khíva have exchanged envoys since the time of Peter the Great. Of those sent by Russia, one of the first was the disastrous expedition of Bekevitch, in 1717. The last, under Moravieff in 1820, did not accomplish much. It is supposed that Russia has designs upon the states of Central Asia, and that she looks forward to the time, when, having gained the command of the Aral, the Oxus, and the Sir, the whole of Usbek Túrkestan will be at her feet. Her success might be anticipated with pleasure, could we rely on her breaking the iron yoke of bigotry and despotism, and imposing no equally galling fetters.

The distance to which we have wandered from the Chinese frontiers admonishes us to hasten to our last division, the desert of the Túrkomans. The extensive wastes which stretch from Bokhára to the Aral and the Caspian, and southwestward to the borders of Khorásan are called Túrkmania, a word of disputed etymology The

region is intersected by the Oxus, and encloses several beautiful and rich oases. Wide plains of indurated argillaceous substratum, with hillocks or ridges of sand, characterize this dreary region. The *mirage* is here frequent, with its mockery of towns, lakes, and rivers. In some places, the sandy mounds rise to the height of sixty feet. In others, they take the horse-shoe form, with the convex side toward the prevailing north wind. Over these wastes, thorny shrubs and plants, with patches of coarse grass, are thinly scattered, affording a scanty subsistence to the camels of caravans. Along the routes, frequented by these caravans, wells have been dug in former times, which furnish, at the depth of 18 to 36 feet, a small supply of brackish water. It is supposed that water can be obtained at these depths almost throughout the desert, and energetic commanders have supplied armies by sinking wells at every encampment.

The climate of Túrkmania, is that of an unsheltered sandy desert, exposed to the full force of the sun in summer, and to the cold northerly winds of winter. The sand is sometimes heated in summer to 150° and the air to 100.° But for the steady north wind, this heat would be insupportable to the traveler. In the winter, snow falls to the depth of a foot as far south as the Múgháb, and the Oxus is frozen over. Beside the scanty shrubs and grasses of the desert, a little cultivation is found along the rivers. It has been mentioned that the mulberry is extensively cultivated on the banks of the Oxus. A little cultivation of wheat, millet, melons, &c., is also found on the Múgháb and Tejénd. Wheat is said to yield three successive crops from one sowing around Merve. On these favored spots, the Túrkomans pitch their conical tents or 'kirghas.' They are Túrks and speak Túrkí. They suppose themselves to have come from the region northeast of the Caspian, the cradle of the Usbek, the Turk, the Parthian, and Scythian. They number 140,000 families, of which 104,000 inhabit the desert; and 36,000 the borders of the Caspian. The proverb, 'the Túrkman on horseback knows neither father nor mother,' epitomizes the character of these reckless plunderers. Their forays are directed toward the frontier settlements of Persia, and in these they seldom fail to carry away some unfortunate Persians into hopeless slavery. These captives suffer extreme hardship in the retreat from the place of their seizure, but when beyond pursuit are not treated with needless severity. The avaricious Túrkoman soon parts with his human spoil for gold tillahs, and these his necessities compel him to exchange, for the merchandise of Bokhára and Khíva. Notwithstanding this resource, the Túrkoman lives on in rags and penury. His flocks afford him but a scanty subsistence. The care of these he divides with his dogs, a breed remarkable for faithfulness and sagacity. His horse he trains with great care and skill to the highest point of animal endurance and capability. This noble animal, superior to the Arab in strength and bottom, is worthy of better employment and a better master.

The Túrkomans acknowledge no government, but that of their akenkals or elders. They boast, that 'they rest neither under the shade

of a tree or a king,' a very unpicturesque degree of republicanism, the full blaze of democracy. The tribes north of Merve are partly under the influence of Khíva. The western, on the Caspian, are subject to Persia. The southern Túrkomans still baffle all the efforts of the Persians to reduce them to dependence, or to repress their kidnapping incursions. Living under no government, the Túrkoman tribes, incapable of union or discipline, cannot be regarded as at all formidable. They carry a sword and a lance, and some few possess fire-arms. Much as they excel in forays, it is said that they have no tact at thieving in a small way, so that there is some security of property among them. They have the credit of that most questionable of all virtues, rude hospitality. The Túrkmans are súní Mohammedans, but compared with their Usbek neighbors, their creed sits lightly on them. They have no mosques or múllahs, no science or literature. In external qualities, they seem to differ much from each other; in some parts, a handsome people, in others, as ugly as the Mongols. Such is the condition of Túrkmania. That much of it has ever been a waste, is clear from observation, and certain from history. But ruins of considerable extent, in various places, attest that solitude has there succeeded to population, and cultivation given place to sterility. Among these, we may mention the ruins of Bykund, near Bokhára; of Meshed i Misraim, near the Caspian; and of Merve. A depopulated circle of 30 miles around this last city, gives a clear impression of its ancient grandeur. There is but little hope that Túrkmania will soon be raised to a condition of social order and happiness. And there is as little reason to fear that its hordes will ever be the instruments of extensive injury to the neighboring nations.

This brief sketch of Túrkmania bring us to the frontiers of Persian Khorásan. Here the country rises again from the broad level of the desert, and forms a new physical and political region. Upon this we do not enter. Of our task it remains only to trace the history of the principal changes, which have passed upon Usbek Túrkestan, the political and commercial intercourse now existing between its states, and the influence, they do or may exert on the Chinese territories bordering upon them.

ART. IV. *Topography of Bankok; remarks on the monsoons and seasons; thermometrical observations; diseases of the natives; and their longevity.* From a Correspondent.

THE winds are remarkably regular at Bankok; and scarcely ever change, except at the regular periods for the breaking up of the monsoons. The southwest monsoon commences in the month of April, and continues until November, when the wind changes, and settles

into the northeast monsoon. The wind seldom blows strongly from any point of the compass; and hurricanes and tornadoes are quite unknown in Siam. In Bankok, and I believe throughout Siam generally, there are two grand divisions of the year, termed the wet and the dry seasons. The rains begin to fall with the breaking up of the northeast monsoon in April, but they do not become abundant until July or August. They fall chiefly in showers, attended with thunder and lightning. In the former part of the wet seasons these showers are of short duration, and are by no means unpleasant. The clouds quickly clear away; the air becomes cool and pure; and the earth is refreshed. In the months of July, August, and September, the showers are much more frequent and abundant, occuring, on an average, as often as every other day, and commonly in the aftermoon or at night.

The dry season commences with the breaking up of the southwest monsoon. For a little time after the northeast wind begins to blow, there are occasionally light showers; but they are not copious, until near the vernal equinox, when a severe thunder-storm may be expected. After this, there is little or no rain until the middle of April. The Siamese are accustomed to divide the dry season into two, the cold and the hot seasons. The first commences about the 1st of November, and continues until February. Then follows their hot season, and continues until the heavy rains commence. To the natives much of the cold season is nearly as uncomfortable, as an English or North American winter is to a native of those countries. In the evenings and mornings, especially, one may see them wrapped up in their blankets shivering with cold. The poorer classes, who have not good houses to shield them from the winds, suffer very much. Even the European residents, though well accustomed to cold weather, suffer not a little during this season. During much the greater part of it, however, the temperature is most agreeable and delightful The heavens are clear both day and night. And sometimes, at night, the firmament is remarkable for its brilliancy. At the time of the full moons the nights are as light as in high latitudes, where the light of a full moon is reflected by the snow. This phenomenon is attributable in part to the fact, that the moon is nearly vertical in this latitude, and in part to the extraordinary clearness of the atmosphere.

Thermometrical observations. From observations that were made during a part of the years 1835 and 1836, it appears that in the cold season the thermometer stood at no time lower than 59 degrees of Fahrenheit, and at that point only in two instances. It stood at 95° only in one instance, and but rarely as high as 90.° During the hot season, it stood at no time lower than 75,° and only once as high as 97.° And during the wet season the mercury was rarely lower than 75,° and never higher than 95 degrees. The following table, it is believed, will present a nearly accurate account of the mean daily state of the thermometer, &c., for the period above mentioned.

THERMOMETRICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN AT BANKOK IN 1835 & 1836.

	6 O'clock A. M.	9 A. M.	12 M.	3 P. M.	6 P. M.	9 P. M.	Mean monthly temperature.	* Mean monthly range of temper.	Mean range of thermom. during each season.	Mean temperat. each season.	Mean annual temperature.	
COLD SEASON.												
November,	$70\frac{4}{5}$	$77\frac{4}{30}$	$82\frac{14}{15}$	$84\frac{1}{15}$	$80\frac{27}{30}$	$78\frac{4}{15}$	79.51	12.23				MEAN DAILY STATE OF THERMOMETER.
December,	$74\frac{5}{31}$	$80\frac{4}{31}$	$86\frac{4}{31}$	$89\frac{1}{31}$	$84\frac{26}{31}$	$80\frac{14}{31}$	77.83	16.16				do.
January,	$68\frac{2}{31}$	$75\frac{5}{31}$	$86\frac{19}{31}$	$85\frac{8}{31}$	$80\frac{4}{31}$	$75\frac{10}{31}$	77.86	17.12				do.
February,	$71\frac{27}{29}$	$80\frac{8}{29}$	$86\frac{26}{29}$	$88\frac{22}{29}$	$82\frac{3}{29}$	$78\frac{4}{29}$	80.77	17.31	15.707	78.99		do.
HOT SEASON.												
March,	$77\frac{11}{31}$	$82\frac{29}{31}$	$89\frac{14}{31}$	$91\frac{11}{31}$	$84\frac{28}{31}$	$82\frac{22}{31}$	84.38	14.06				MEAN DAILY STATE OF THERMOMETER.
April,	$83\frac{14}{30}$	$82\frac{17}{30}$	$91\frac{17}{30}$	$92\frac{32}{30}$	$86\frac{13}{15}$	$84\frac{23}{30}$	86.33	15.43				do.
May,	$78\frac{9}{31}$	$85\frac{2}{31}$	89	$90\frac{15}{31}$	$85\frac{4}{31}$	$82\frac{13}{31}$	84.58	12.7	14.06	85.09		do.
WET SEASON.												
June,	$79\frac{13}{30}$	$83\frac{8}{15}$	$87\frac{5}{6}$	$89\frac{5}{6}$	$86\frac{1}{10}$	82	84.78	10.43				MEAN DAILY STATE OF THERMOMETER.
July,	$78\frac{26}{31}$	$82\frac{12}{31}$	$87\frac{2}{31}$	$89\frac{20}{31}$	$85\frac{10}{31}$	$82\frac{7}{31}$	83.76	10.83				do.
August,	$78\frac{20}{31}$	$81\frac{25}{31}$	$87\frac{10}{31}$	$90\frac{12}{31}$	$84\frac{28}{31}$	$82\frac{5}{31}$	84.2	11.7				do.
September,	$78\frac{11}{15}$	$83\frac{3}{10}$	$87\frac{2}{15}$	$87\frac{1}{6}$	$83\frac{1}{2}$	$81\frac{4}{15}$	83.62	9.8				do.
October,	$78\frac{10}{31}$	$84\frac{8}{31}$	$87\frac{3}{31}$	$86\frac{11}{31}$	$82\frac{25}{31}$	$80\frac{24}{31}$	83.29	9.45	10.44	83.95	82.57	do.

* By the range of the thermometer is meant the distance over which the mercury passes from the coolest to the hotest period of each day.

Many persons, judging a priori, conclude that Bankok must be necessarily one of the *hot beds* of disease. A low and level country, extensive jungles, a rank vegetation, a hot climate, and a dense and indolent population, all 'squatting in the mud,' are circumstances, think they, which must generate disease in most malignant forms. That the 'marsh miasma,' that invisible and terrible scourge of the human race, should not find a favorite abode here, they imagine is impossible. The writer was formerly of this opinion. But a residence of a year and a half in the city, under the best possible advantages for acquiring correct information respecting the salubrity of the climate, has convinced him, that he was much mistaken in his preconceived opinions. Bankok is, by no means, unhealthy. Compared with most places, within the tropics, and many without them, it has a salubrious climate. The fevers, which are so fatal in Java, Sumatra, Burmah, and Bengal, seems to be very little known in Bankok, or its vicinity. Among 3450 different individuals, living in various parts of the city and kingdom, who applied to the writer for medical aid during a term of fourteen months, there were only eighteen cases of fever, and all of those were of the mildest intermittent type. Hepatitis, both acute and chronic, which takes so conspicuous a rank among the prevailing diseases of Burmah, Bengal, and Bombay, appears to be of comparatively rare occurrence. And consumption, which cuts down annually its thousands in England and America, is a stranger in Siam.

From the notes which I made during a term of eighteen months, it appears that the prevailing diseases of the natives are: 1st, small-pox; 2d, cutaneous complaints; 3d, ulcers; 4th, ophthalmia, in all its forms; 5th, rheumatism; 6th, syphilis; 7th, diarrhœa; 8th, dysentery; 9th, tumours. European and American residents at Bankok are chiefly exposed to simple diarrhœa, dysentery, ulceration of the intestines, piles, nervous lassitude, and cerebral affections. Their children are the greatest sufferers from bowel complaints. As yet experiment proves that Bankok is favorable to the health of foreigners.

In no country have I ever seen a greater proportion of aged people than in Siam. Persons aged 80 and 90 are often seen in Bankok. It is not an uncommon thing to meet with those who are a hundred years old and upwards. The females here, as in other countries, live to the most advanced age. I would remark, in conclusion, that from all the information I have been able to gain, it does not appear that there is any thing in the location of Bankok, or in the climate itself, peculiarly calculated to abridge human life. The chief diseases of the natives are evidently caused by poverty and irregularities of living: unwholesome diet, filthiness, intemperate eating, debauchery, lasciviousness, indolence, and the like, are here the master waters of human life.

[Thus far we have given the remarks of our Correspondent, now resident at the capital of Siam: his paper is dated, Bankok Jan. 11th, 1837; and the first part of it, respecting the face of the country, rivers, &c., was published in our last. We have before 'us a new historical account of the kingdom of Siam,' by M. De

la Lovbere, envoy extraordinary from the French king to the king of Siam, in the years 1687 and 1688, "illustrated with sculptures," and "done out of French" by an anonymous writer. This work is in two volumes, folio. The design of the first volume is, to describe the country, its extent, qualities of the soil, and climate, and to explain the manners and customs of the people: the second volume is composed of miscellaneous papers, designed chiefly to illustrate some of the most interesting topics which are treated of in the first—from which we subjoin a short chapter on "medicine and chimistry," as an appendix to the last part of our Correspondent's paper.]

"Medicine cannot merit the name of a science amongst the Siamese. The king of Siam's principal physicians are Chinese; and he has also some Siamese and Peguans: and within two or three years he has admitted into this quality Mr. Paumart, one of the French secular missionaries, on whom he relies more than on all his other physicians. The others are obliged to report daily unto him the state of this prince's health, and to receive from his hand the remedies which he prepares for him. Their chief ignorance is to know nothing in chirurgery, and to stand in need of the Europeans, not only for trapans, and for all the other difficult operations of chirurgery, but for simple blood-lettings. They are utterly ignorant of anatomy: and so far from having excited their curiosity to discover either the circulation of the blood, or all the new things that we know touching the structure of the body of animals, that they open not the dead bodies, till after having roasted them in their funeral solemnities under pretence of burning them; and they open them only to seek wherewith to abuse the superstitious credulity of the people. For example, they alledge that they sometimes find in the stomach of the dead, great pieces of fresh pig's flesh, or of some other animal, about eight or ten pounds in weight: and they suppose that it has been put therein by some divination, and that it is good to perform others. They trouble not themselves to have any principle of medicine, but only a number of receipts, which they have learnt from their ancestors, and in which they never alter any thing. They have no regard to the particular symptoms of diseases: and yet they fail not to cure a great many; because the natural temperance of the Siamese preserves them from a great many evils difficult to cure. But when at last it happens that the distemper is stronger than the remedies, they fail not to attribute the cause thereof to enchantment.

"The king of Siam understanding one day that I was somewhat indisposed, though it was so little that I kept not my chamber, he had the goodness to send all his physicians to me. The Chinese offered some civility to the Siamese and Peguans: and then they made me sit, and sat down themselves; and after having demanded silence, for the company was numerous, they felt my pulse one after the other a long time, to make me suspect that it was not only a grimace. I had read that in China there is no school for physicians, and that one is there admitted to exercise the profession thereof, at most by a slight examination made by a magistrate of justice, and not by doctors in physic. And I knew, moreover, that the Indians are great cheats, and the Chinese much greater: so that I had throughly resolved to get rid of these doctors without making any experience of their remedies. After having felt my pulse, they said that I was a little feverish, but discerned it not at all: they added, that my stomach was out of order, and I perceived it not, save that my voice was a little weak. The next morning the Chinese returned alone to present me a small warm potion, in a China cup covered and very neat. The smell of the remedy pleased me, and made me to drink it, and I found myself neither better nor worse.

"It is well known that there are mountebanks everywhere, and that every man who will boldly promise health, pleasures, riches, honors, and the knowledge of futurities, will always find fools. But the difference that there is

between the mountebanks of China and the quacks of Europe on the account of medicine, is that the Chinese do abuse the sick by pleasant and enticing remedies, and that the Europeans do give us drugs, which the human body seeks to get rid of by all manner of means; so that we are inclined to believe that they would not thus torment a sick person, if it was not certainly very necessary. When any person is sick in Siam, he begins with causing his whole body to be moulded by one that is skilful herein, who gets upon the body of the sick person, and tramples him under his feet. It is likewise reported that women when pregnant do thus cause themselves to be trodden under foot by a child, to procure themselves to be delivered with less pain: for in hot countries, though their deliveries seem to be more easy by the natural conformation of the women, yet they are very painful, by reason perhaps that they are preceded with less evacuation.

Anciently the Indians applied no other remedy to plenitude, than an excessive diet; and this is still the principal subtilty of the Chinese in medicine. The Chinese do now make use of blood-letting, provided they may have an European chirurgian: and sometimes instead of blood-letting they do use cupping-glasses, scarifications, and leeches. They have some purgatives which we make use of, and others which are peculiar to them; but they know not the Hellebore, so familiar to the ancient Greek physicians. Moreover, they observe not any time in purging, and know not what the crisis is: though they understand the benefit of sweats in distempers, and do highly applaud the use of sudorifics. In their remedies they do use minerals and simples, and the Europeans have made known the quinquina unto them. In general all their remedies are very hot, and they use not any inward refreshment, but they bathe themselves in fevers and in all sorts of diseases. It seems that whatever concenters or augments the natural heat, is beneficial to them. Their sick do nourish themselves only with boiled rice, which they do make extremely liquid: and the Portuguese of the Indies call it cange. Meat-broths are mortal in Siam, because they too much relax the stomach: and when their patients are in a condition to eat any thing solid, they give them pig's flesh preferable to any other.

They do not understand chemistry, although they passionately affect it; and that several amongst them do boast of possessing the most profound secrets thereof. Siam, like all the rest of the east, is full of two sorts of persons upon this account, impostors and fools. The late kings of Siam, the father of the present prince, spent two millions, a great sum for his country, in the vain research of the philosopher's stone: and the Chinese, reputed so wise, have for three or four thousand years had the folly of seeking out a universal remedy, by which they hope to exempt themselves from the necessity of dying. And as amongst us there are some foolish traditions concerning some rare persons that are reported to have made gold, or to have lived some ages; there are some very strongly established amongst the Chinese, and Siamese, and the other orientals, concerning those that know to render themselves immortal, either absolutely, or in such a manner, that they can die no otherwise than of a violent death. Whereof it is supposed, that some have withdrawn themselves from the sight of men, either to enjoy a free and peaceable immortality, or to secure themselves from all foreign force, which might deprive them of their life, which no distemper could do. They relate wonders concerning the knowledge of these pretended immortals, and it is no matter of astonishment that they think themselves capable of forcing nature in several things, since they imagine that they have had the art of freeing themselves from death.

ART. V. *Urhsheih-sze Heaou, or Twenty-four Examples of Filial Duty: Shun, Wăn, Tsăng, Min, Chung, Lae, Yen, Tung, Keäng, Hwang, Keäng, Ting, Kŏ Yang, Tsae, Luh, Wang, Măng, Wang, Woo, Yu, Tang, Choo, and Hwang.*

THIS little collection of stories, illustrative of filial duty, belongs to the class of works styled juvenile, or toy-books. Moral maxims are illustrated in it by examples drawn from real life. The conduct here held up for admiration and imitation shows how highly filial devotion is esteemed by the Chinese. These lessons of obedience to parental commands, accord well with the fine theories of Chinese philosophy. In practice, filial respect is often maintained with a degree of correctness, worthy of all commendation—though examples of the opposite extreme are numerous. Without pausing here to notice the influence which the proper exercise of this duty has on national character and institutions, we offer our readers a translation of the little book, that they may judge of the models upon which the moral and social feelings of the Chinese youth are fashioned. There is no better way of becoming acquainted with character, either national or individual, than by examining its moulding causes; and if it be true—

'That as the twig is bent, the tree 's inclined,'

then, in order to understand the structure and bent of the Chinese mind, we must peruse the books employed to give it 'its form and features.' In these examples the child sees an exhibition of those principles which he has been taught to consider as the essence of wisdom; and if he now learns that filial devotion can move the powers of heaven and renovate the hearts of men, no wonder it becomes the basis of his moral and religious code. From the extension of this principle, the worship of ancestors, probably, had its origin. And stories like these tend wonderfully to enforce such superstition. In apology for the ludicrous conduct of some of these renowned worthies, the Chinese say, that they were *common people*, who acted sincerely and honestly according to the best knowledge they possessed; and that they lived, many of them, in very humble circumstances, and in very remote times. The account of their actions, consequently, has upon it the weight of antiquity, without which it would have, comparatively, but little influence. The second paragraph of each story is of a more recent date than the first, which is in prose, while the other is in verse: no attempt, however, has been made to versify in the translation. In the original, also, each story is illustrated with a cut.

NO. I.

The filial piety that influenced heaven.

YU SHUN, the son of Koo Sow, had an exceedingly filial disposition; his father, however, was stupid, his mother perverse, and his younger brother Seäng very conceited. His actions are related in the Shang

Shoo, in the Chung Yung, and in the works of Mencius. Those who speak of him say, that Shun cultivated the hills of Leih (in the province of Shanse), where he had elephants to plough his fields, and birds to weed the grain. So widespread was the renown of his virtue, that the emperor Yaou heard of him, and sent his nine sons to serve him, and gave to him two of his daughters in marriage; and afterwards resigned to him the imperial dignity.

Of all those whose virtue and filial duty deserves to be illustrated, Shun is preëminent; and his example, in obeying his parents, is worthy of being handed down to posterity, through myriads of ages. Once he was in great danger in a well, into which he was commanded by his father to descend, and his brother cast down stones upon him; again he was in a granary, when it was set on fire; but from these, as well as from many other dangers, he escaped unhurt. He fished, burned pottery, ploughed and sowed, with great toil on the hills of Leih. He laboriously performed all these duties, but his parents were not affected, while his brother Seäng became more insolent and overbearing. His parents alledged crimes against him, but Shun could not find that he had done wrong; he loved and revered them, though they did not requite him with affection. His feelings were grieved at these manifold troubles, and with strong crying and tears he invoked heaven. His perfect sincerity was effectual to renovate his family; his parents became pleasant, and his brother more conciliatory and virtuous. Heaven, also, considered his excellency to be great, and regarded him as truly good, thus establishing his reputation so firmly, that it was perpetuated to, and influenced, succeeding ages. Even Confucius is regarded as elevated but a little above Shun; and I would praise and extol them both to coming generations.

NO. II.

Affection showed in tasting soups and medicines.

THE emperor Wăn, of the Han dynasty, the third son of his father Kootsoo, was appointed prince over the country of Tae. His own mother Pŏ was queen-dowager, and Wăn was sedulous in his attendance upon her. She was ill for three years, during which time his eyelids did not close, nor was the girdle of his dress unloosed; and she took none of the soups and medicines prepared for her till he had tasted them. This benevolence and filial affection was heard of throughout the empire.

Wăn received direction to go and arrange the imperial sacrifices, and requested his mother to accompany him to the royal domains. Morning and evening he visited her in her own apartments, and handed her the fragrant dishes. If the provisions had lost their flavor, he was vexed; and when tasting the medecines he commanded perfect silence. The live-long night his girdle was not loosed, nor for three years were his eyelids closed. By as much as his animal spirits were exhausted, by so much the more did his heart become fixed on the subject of its affection; and for a long time his thoughts were not distracted. Such filial love and virtue so moved upon heaven's kind regard, that it wrought upon his father to confer the throne upon him as his patrimony.

NO. III.

Gnawing her figure pained his heart.

DURING the Chow dynasty there lived a lad named Tsăng Tsan (also called Tszeyu), who served his mother very dutifully. Tsăng was in the

habit of going to the hills to collect faggots: and once, while he was thus absent, many guests came to his house, towards whom his mother was at a loss how to act. She, while expecting her son who delayed his return, began to gnaw her fingers. Tsăng suddenly felt a pain in his heart, and took up his bundle of faggots in order to return home; and when he saw his mother, he kneeled and begged to know what was the cause of her anxiety. She replied; 'there have been some guests here, who came from a great distance, and I bit my finger in order to arouse you to return to me.'

The faculties of mind and body in both mother and son sprang originally from the same source, and are alike; but in common men this connexion is broken or interrupted, and they are dull and stupid. Those sages, whose nature is heavenly, differ from the rest of mankind; and virtue, as in a breath, permeates their whole souls. At a certain time, when Tsăng was absent to collect faggots, visitors came and knocked at his door in great haste; and as there was no man at home ready to receive them, his mother was much grieved. He had entered the dense fog on the hills and did not know where he was, when his mother leaned against the doorpost, and gnawed her fingers as if she would go in quest of him. Her son in the hills is suddenly seized with a pain in his heart, and quickly takes up his bundle of faggots to return; although distant, he sympathizes with his mother's grief and complaint. The hearts of mother and son are mutually affected; one influencing the other, in the same manner as the amber draws the small straws, and the loadstone attracts the slender needle. From the remotest period, sages have been able to control their dispositions, and in the deepest silence have revolved their actions as in a breath. The moving influence that such minds have on each other, the generality of men cannot understand. The devotedness with which they serve their parents, and the respect with which they cherish them—who can comprehend!

NO. IV.

Clad in a single garment he was obedient to his mother.

DURING the Chow dynasty lived Min Sun (afterwards known as Tsze Heën), who in early life lost his mother. His father subsequently married another wife, who bore him two children, but disliked Min. In winter she clothed him in garments made of rushes, while her own two children wore cotton cloths. Min was employed in driving his father's chariot, and his body was so cold that the rains dropped from his hands, for which carelessness his father chastised him; yet he did not vindicate himself [but bore the injury in silence]. When his father knew the circumstances, he determined to divorce his second wife; but Sun said, 'whilst mother remains, one son is cold; if mother departs, three sons will be destitute.' The father desisted from his purpose; and after this, the mother was led to repentance, and became a good and virtuous parent.

The filial piety of the renowed Shun influenced heaven, whilst that of the Min renovated mankind. If heaven be influenced, all below it will be transformed; if men be renovated, from them will spring a power able to cause their families to become good. In all ages, men have exhibited a great love for their wives; but dutiful children have frequently met with unkindness. Min carefully concealed all his grievances, and refused to indulge any complaint: even while suffering severely from cold and hunger he maintained

his affection unabated. During the long period which he endured this oppressive treatment, his good disposition became manifest; and by his own conduct, he was able to maintain the harmony of the family unimpaired. His father and mother were influenced by his filial devotion; and his brothers joined in extolling his virtues. All his friends and acquaintances, with united voice, celebrated his merits; and the men of his native village joyfully combined to spread the fame of his actions. The memory of his agreeable countenance and pleasing manners was perpetuated to the remotest ages; and his example was in many respects like that of Shun, whose parents were equally perverse.

NO. V.

He carried rice for his parents.

In the Chow dynasty lived Chung Yew, named also Tszeloo, who, because his family was poor, usually ate herbs and coarse pulse; and he also went more than a hundred *le* to procure rice for his parents. Afterwards, when they were dead, he went south to the country of Tsoo, where he was made commander of a hundred companies of chariots; there he became rich, storing up grain in myriads of measures, reclining upon cushions, and eating food served to him in numerous dishes; but sighing, he said, 'although I should now desire to eat coarse herbs and bring rice for my parents, it cannot be!'

'Alas!' said Tszeloo, 'although I was a scholar, yet my parents were poor; and how was I to nourish them?' Exhausted he traveled the long road, and cheerfully brought the rice for his parents. Pleasantly he endured the toil, and exerted his utmost strength without any commendation. At that time his lot in life was hard and unfortunate, and he little expected the official honors he afterwards enjoyed. But when his parents were dead, and he had become rich and honorable, enjoying all the luxuries of life, then he was unhappy and discontented; not cheerful as in the days of his poverty, nor happy as when he ministered to his parents' wants.

NO. VI.

With sports and embroidered garments he amused his parents.

In the Chow dynasty there flourished the venerable Lae, who was very obedient and reverential towards his parents, manifesting his dutifulness by exerting himself to provide them with every delicacy. Although upwards of seventy years of age, he declared that he was not yet old; and usually dressed himself in partycolored embroidered garments, and like a child would playfully stand by the side of his parents. He would also take up buckets of water, and try to carry them into the house; but feigning to slip, would fall to the ground, wailing and crying like a child: and all these things he did in order to divert his parents.

In the country of Tsoo lived Lae, who, when so old that he had lost nearly all his teeth, made every effort to rejoice and comfort his parents, constantly endeavoring to gladden their hearts. At times he imitated the playfulness of a little child; and arraying himself in gaudy and variegated clothes, amused them by his strutting and gambols. He would likewise purposely fall on the ground, kicking and wailing to the utmost of his power. His mother was delighted, and manifested her joy in her countenance. Thus did Lae forget his age in order to rejoice the hearts of his parents; and affection, harmony,

and joy, prevailed among the family. If this ardent love for his parents had been insincere and constrained, how could it be referred to as worthy of imitation?

NO. VII.

With deer's milk he supplied his parents.

IN the time of the Chow dynasty lived Yen, who possessed a very filial disposition. His father and mother were aged, and both were afflicted with sore eyes, to cure which they desired to have some deer's milk. Yen concealed himself in the skin of a deer, and went deep into the forests, among the herds of deer, to obtain some of their milk for his parents. While in the forests the hunters saw him, and were about shooting at him with their arrows, when Yen disclosed to them his true character, and related the history of his family, with the reasons for his conduct.

Do his parents desire some milk from the deer? He is not deterred by the numerous obstacles in the way of procuring it; but clothing himself in a hairy garment, he goes carefully seeking for it among the multitudes of wild beasts. He closely imitated the cry, *yew, yew,* of the fawns, watching for the tracks of the herds. By this mode he obtained the sweet secretion: he also surprised the hunters whom he met in the deep and lonely forest.

NO. VIII.

He sold himself to bury his father.

DURING the Han dynasty lived Tung Yung, whose family was so very poor, that when his father died he was obliged to sell himself in order to procure money to bury his remains. After this he went to another place to gain the means of redeeming himself; and on his way he met a lady who desired to become his wife, and go with him to his master's residence. She went with Tung, and wove three hundred pieces of silk, which being completed in two months, they returned home; and on the way, having reached the shade of the cassia tree where they before met, the lady bowed and ascended upwards from his sight.

Tung could not endure to behold his father's bones lie exposed, but to bury them, he had not the requisite means. He saw that his household goods were not sufficient, and he said, 'this little body, what is the use of it? If I sell my body, I can redeem it again; and thus can bury my father who will not be dishonored.' His filial piety moved heaven to diret a female, in a superhuman form, to come and help him in fulfilling his engagement; she wove three hundred pieces of silk, and thus procured the redemption of a man of truly filial heart.

NO. IX.

He hired himself out as a laborer to support his mother.

IN the time of the Han dynasty lived Keäng Kih, who when young, lost his father, and afterwards lived alone with his mother. Times of commotion arising, which caused them much distress, he took his mother on his back and fled. On the way, he many times met with companies of robbers, who would have compelled him to go with them and become a bandit, but Keäng intreated them with tears to spare him, saying that he had his aged mother with him; and the robbers could not bear to kill him. Altering his course, he came into the

district of Heäpei, extremely impoverished and reduced, where he hired himself out and supported his mother; and such was his diligence that he was always able to supply her with whatever she personally required.

Passing over the hills and wading through the streams, he carried his mother with much difficulty. It was during a year of famine, when all the inhabitants of the land were in confusion from the scarcity of food, and engagements were frequent between the soldiers and banditti, and signal-fires were lighted on the high hills. Keäng was fearful lest the robbers should meet him on the road, and plunder him; and they did seize him, regardless of his cries and tears, and were about to rob him; but when they knew of his filial piety and affection to his mother, they permitted him to proceed. While journeying he was too poor to procure any food beyond the bare necessaries of life; and because he could not provide comforts and delicacies for his mother, he was grieved as if it had been his fault. He went and hired himself to labor; with the greatest diligence adhered to his purpose to maintain his mother; and soon the stranger obtained an abundance of food and clothing. This success caused his mother to rejoice, and they were both delighted, she forgetting her former hardships in the joy that filled her bosom.

NO. X.

He fanned the pillow and cooled the mat.

In the Han dynasty lived Hwang Heäng, who when only nine years old, lost his mother, whom he loved so ardently and remembered so strongly, that all the villagers praised his filial duty. He was employed in the severest toil, and served his father with entire obedience. In summer, when the weather was warm, he fanned and cooled his father's pillow and bed; and in winter, when it was cold and chilly, with his body he warmed the coverlid and mat. The magistrate sent him an honorary banner, as a mark of distinction.

When the heat of summer made it difficult to sleep quietly, the lad knew what would be for the comfort of his venerated parent. Taking a fan he slowly waved it about the silken curtains, and the cool air expanding enveloped and filled the pillows and bed. In winter, when the snow threatened to crush in the roof, and the fierce wind shook the fences, and the cold penetrated to the bones making it hazardous to unloose the girdle, then Heäng warmed his father's bed that he might not fear, because of the cold, to enter the "place of dreams."

NO. XI.

The gushing fountain, and the frisking carp.

In the Han dynasty lived Keäng She, who served his mother with perfect obedience; and his wife Pang also fulfilled her mother-in-law's commands without the least reluctance. The old lady loved to drink of the water, from the river distant from the cottage six or seven *le*, and Pang was in the habit of going stealthily after it, and handing it to her. She was also fond of carp, and when it was obtained, deeming herself not able to consume alone what her children with great toil and trouble continually prepared for her, usually invited some of the neighbors to feast with her. By the side of the cottage there suddenly gushed out a fountain, the taste of whose waters was like that of the river; and which daily produced two living fishes. These were taken out by Keäng She and prepared for his mother.

The fish from the river were fresh and delicious, and the water was sweet; the mother of Keäng She wished to taste of both daily. Her son went to purchase the fish, and her daughter-in-law to bring the water, as constantly as the revolution of morning and evening did they exert themselves in this arduous labor. Having obtained the fish and water, her countenance brightened up; and laughing, she invited in one of her neighbors to rejoice and partake of them with her. Sitting opposite at the table, together they ate them, she foolishly not even regarding, but totally forgetting, her son and daughter, who with so much trouble had prepared them for her. Heaven compassionated these two filial children, and employed its divine power to assist them; sending a spirit to strike the earth with and ax, and caused a perennial spring to bubble forth. The taste of the water from the fountain was like that from the river, and a pair of fish continually frisked about in it, which henceforth Keäng She took out for their sustenance; nor was there any fear of the supply failing. To procure the fish, now no money was requisite: to obtain the water, no long and weary walk was to be taken. It was as if the productions of this river and of the water were transferred into the midst of the cottage; and Keäng She could support his family with ease for many years.

NO. XII.

He carved wood and served his parents.

DURING the Han dynasty lived Ting Lan, whose parents both died when he was young, before he could obey and support them; and he reflected that for all the trouble and anxiety he had caused them, no recompense had yet been given. He then carved wooden images of his parents, and served them as if they had been alive. For a long time his wife would not reverence them; but one day, taking a bodkin, she in derision pricked their fingers. Blood immediately flowed from the wound; and seeing Ting coming, the images wept. He examined into the circumstances, and forthwith divorced his wife.

He remembers his parents, but cannot see them; he carved wood to represent their persons. He believes that their spirits are now the same as when they were alive, and his quietless heart trusts that their manes have entered the carved images. He cannot rest until he has made their statues, so strong is his desire to nourish and reverence them. He now reveres them although dead, as if they were alive; and hopes that they will condescend to inhabit his ancestral hall.

NO. XIII.

For his mother's sake he buried his child.

IN the days of the Han dynasty lived Kŏ Keu, who was very poor. He had one child three years old; and such was his poverty that his mother usually divided her portion of food with this little one. Kŏ says to his wife, "we are so poor that our mother cannot be supported, for the child divides with her the portion of food that belongs to her. Why not bury this child? Another child may be born to us, but a mother once gone will never return." His wife did not venture to object to the proposal; and Kŏ immediately digs a hole of about three cubits deep, when suddenly he lights upon a pot of gold, and on the metal reads the following inscription: "heaven bestows this treasure upon Kŏ Keu, the dutiful son; the magistrate may not seize it, nor shall the neighbors take it from him."

What a foolish action, that the sage Kŏ should be willing to bury his own child! Fearing that his mother should not have enough to eat, he is willing to resign his child to death; but when it is dead, what relief will there be for the grief of its affectionate grandmother? When a multiplicity of cares come at some future time, who then will there be to manage them, if the child is dead? But at this time, the reflection that his mother would be in want filled his breast with grief; and he had no time to think of the future when he would be childless. Heaven having given him a dutiful mind, caused him to take a light hoe to dig the earth. Together Kŏ and his wife went, sorrowing and distressed by the way, until they came to a very hilly place, where they stopped. Having dug into the ground, suddenly a gleam of light shot forth, and the pot of yellow gold, which heaven had deposited there was seen. Taking it up, with ecstacy they clasped their child in their arms, and returned home; for now they had sufficient to support their whole family in plenty.

NO. XIV.

He seized the tiger and saved his father.

In the Han dynasty lived Yang Heäng, a lad of fourteen years, who was in the habit of following his father to the fields to cut grain. Once a tiger seized his father, and was slowly carrying him off, when Yang, although he had no iron weapon in his hand, anxious for his father and forgetting himself, quickly ran forward and seized the tiger by the neck. The beast let the prey fall from his teeth and fled, and Yang's father was thus saved from injury and death.

A tiger suddenly appears in the borders of the field, and seizes the man as lightly as he catches a sheep, and drags him off. Yang Heäng, seeing the sudden jeopardy of his father, was vexed that he had no weapon with an iron head; but being strongly excited, and his feelings roused, he ran forward in the path, crying with a loud voice, and grasped the tiger by the neck. The frightened animal fled, nor stopped in its rapid course till it reached the high hills. Yang then, in a gentle manner, raised his father up, and led him home, endeavoring to sooth his mind and dispel his fears; and also presented him the golden wine-cup. Among the great number of sages whose reputations are famous, how few of them have been devoted and filial at the hazard of their lives! But this lad, quite young and fair, as soon as he saw his father's danger, risked his own life: surely his fame will spread throughout the country. We have heard of the lady Te Ying, who saved her father from banishment; and of young Tsoo Go, who lost her life in endeavoring to rescue her father from drowning; and I think that Yang Heäng will form a trio with them, and the three be celebrated in the same ode.

NO. XV.

He collected mulberries to suport his mother.

During the Han dynasty lived Tsae Shun, whose father died when he was young, and who served his mother very dutifully. It happened that, during the troubles of the times, when Wangmang was plotting to usurp the throne, there were years of scarcity, in which he could not procure food, and Tsae was compelled to gather mulberries, which he assorted, putting them into two vessels. The red-eyebrowed robber saw him and inquired why he did thus. Tsae replied, 'the black and ripe berries I give to my mother, while the yellow and unripe ones I eat myself.' The bandit admired his filial affec-

tion, and rewarded him with three measures of white rice, with a leg of an ox.

Anxious and fearful he seeks for food; unremitting in his exertions, he takes up his baskets, and wends his way to the distant forest, and penetrated into the thickets, where he finds many mulberry trees. His hunger now has something to satisfy its cravings; he also remembers his mother, and that he must carry some to her. The ripe and unripe berries he does not put together, but divides them, so that mother and son can each have their proper portion. The chieftain heard of his conduct, and highly praised him; conferring a gift upon him, and speaking of his filial piety to all around. Taking up his rice and flesh, Tsae returned home to his mother with the provision; and in joy they even forgot that the year was one of dearth.

NO. XVI.

He laid up the oranges for his mother.

LUH TSEIH, a lad six years old, who lived in the time of Han, and in the district of Kewkeäng, once met the celebrated general Yuen Shuh, who gave him a few oranges. Two of them the lad put in his bosom, and when turning to thank the giver, they fell out on the ground; which the general seeing, says, 'why does my young friend, who is now a guest, put the fruit away in his bosom?' The youth bowing replies, 'my mother is very fond of oranges, and I wished, when I returned home, to present them to her.' At this answer, Yuen was much astonished.

On account of his love for his parent, he would not first taste the present of fruit, but put into his sleeve to carry home what was so fragrant and luscious. I think that when he saw his mother, her pleasant countenance must have gladdened, for the fruit filled his bosom, and regaled all who came near him. Luh, although so young, had the true heavenly disposition; even in the small matter of an orange he did not forget his parent's wishes. Many children are perhaps like this lad, and those who requite their parents for the care bestowed on them, we hope, are not few.

NO. XVII.

On hearing the thunder he wept at the tomb.

IN the country of Wei, lived Wang Low, a very dutiful child; whose mother, when alive, was much afraid of thunder. After her death, her grave was dug in the hilly forest; and whenever it blew and rained furiously, and Wang heard the sound of the chariot of the goddess Hoheäng rolling and thundering along, immediately he hastened to the grave, and reverently kneeling, with tears besought her, saying, 'Low is here, dear mother, do not be alarmed.' And afterwards, whenever he read in the book of odes, this sentence; 'children should have deep and ardent affection for their parents, who have endured so much anxiety in nourishing them,' the tears flowed abundantly at the recollection of his mother.

Suddenly do the black clouds rise from the wilderness, whirled by the wind; he hears the distant mutterings of the thunder from the southern hills. Heedless of the rain, he hastily travels over the rugged path, leading to the tomb, and as he goes round the grave his tones of grief and intreaty are heard. The roaring of the dreadful thunder affrights the ears of men — one clap following another in quick succession. If his kind mother, when alive, always

dreaded the voice of heaven's majesty, how much more will she now when lying alone in the depths of the wild forest! If Low was with his mother, he knew she used to be quieted thereby; and he thinks that if in the green hills she has a companion, she will not be terrified. Afterwards, being successful, he refused to take the duties of an officer under the emperor Szema, because he wished frequently to go and visit the grave of his parent. And when he was going and returning from it, he would weep at the recollection of his mother; and ask himself, 'if I have not yet recompensed the care and trouble my mother endured for me, what more can I do?' And to this day, whenever scholars read the pages of the Luh Gŏ, they remember how tears bedewed the cheeks of Wang Low.

NO. XVIII.

He wept to the bamboos, and shoots sprung up.

MĂNG Tsung, who lived in the Tsin dynasty, when young lost his father. His mother was very sick; and one winter's day she longed to taste a soup made of bamboo sprouts, but Măng could not procure any. At last he went into the grove of bamboos, clasped the trees with his hands, and wept bitterly. His filial affection moved nature, and the ground slowly opened, sending forth several shoots, which he gathered and carried home. He made a soup with them, of which his mother ate and immediately recovered from her malady.

In winter, when the forests are unsightly and bare, and the bamboos sombre and gloomy, for plants to send forth their branches is surprising, and what would not commonly be expected. But it is impossible to erase the true filial nature from men who have it; although senseless and ignorant people, not understanding its power, ridicule them, calling them mad. The young Măng Tsung, dutifully served his mother, and morning and evening waited on her to receive her instructions. His mother was sick, and desired the delicacy of a soup made of bamboo sprouts; but in dreary winter, nature had her expected products still concealed. With anxious haste he goes to the cheerless forest, which he enters, seeking for them; but not finding the sprouts, he supplicates the bamboos with tears. One petition from his inmost heart ascended to the threshold of heaven, and the deities were delighted, laughing with pleasure. A miracle is wrought, the ordinary course of nature is reversed, and suddenly the pearly shoots appear in the forest.

NO. XIX.

He slept on the ice to procure the carp.

DURING the Tsin dynasty lived Wang Tseäng, who early lost his mother, and his stepmother Choo had no affection for him. His father, also, hearing many evil reports against him, in course of time ceased to regard him with kindness. His mother was in the habit of eating fresh fish at her meals, but winter coming, the ice bound up the rivers. Wang unloosed his clothes, and went to sleep on the ice in order to seek them; when suddenly the ice opened of itself, and a brace of carp jumped out, which he took up and carried to his mother. The villagers, hearing of the occurrence, were surprised, and admired one whose filial duty had induced such an unusual thing.

The river is firmly bound up by ice, and the fish are hidden in their deep retreats. Perturbed and anxious, Wang goes out to seek the fish, apparently forgetting that it was winter. His determination is irrevocable, and although it is at the risk of his life, he will go. He was not dismayed at the coldness of

the snow, nor terrified at the fierceness of the winds. Even the wicked spirits were intimidated from injuring him, and durst not molest him. If metals and stones can be opened, shall ice be considered too difficult to rive? The frisking fish came upon the surface of the water, obedient to the hand of him who would take them out. A thousand ages cannot efface [the remembrance of] the crack in the ice, nor obliterate the fragrant traces of so worthy an action.

NO. XX.

Woo Măng fed the musquitoes.

Woo Măng, a lad eight years of age, who lived under the Tsin dynasty, was very dutiful to his parents. They were so poor that they could not afford to furnish their beds with musquito-curtains; and every summer's night, myriads of musquitoes attacked them unrestrainedly, feasting upon their flesh and blood. Although there were so many, yet Woo would not drive them away, lest they should go to his parents, and annoy them. Such was his affection for his parents!

The buzzing of the musquitoes sounds like *ying, ying*, and their united hum is almost equal to thunder. His tired parents are reclining on their bed, their countenances already sunk in slumber. Legions of musquitoes fiercely attack them, alternately retreating and advancing. The insects disturb the dreaming sleepers, and annoyed they tumble from side to side. Woo sees them sucking his parents' blood, which causes his heart to grieve; his flesh, he thinks, can easily be pierced, but that of his parents is hard to penetrate. Lying on the bed, he threw off his clothes, and soon feeling the pain of their attacks, he says; 'I have no dread of you, nor have you any reason to fear me; although I have a fan I will not use it, nor will I strike you with my hand. I will lie very quietly, and let you gorge to the full.'

NO. XXI.

He tasted ordure, and his heart was grieved.

IN the southern Tse country lived Yu Keënlow, who was a magistrate over the district of Looling. He had not been in office ten days, when he was suddenly alarmed with a great distress of mind, accompanied with a violent perspiration, on which he immediately resigned his office, and returned home. When he arrived he found that his father had been sick two days. The physician said, that he could know whether the patient would be better or worse by his stools, which, if bitter, would indicate a favorable turn. Yu made the experiment and found them sweet, which grieved his inmost heart; and in the evening he prostrated himself before the god of the north star, imploring that he might die instead of his father.

The blood and spirits of father and son are originally alike; and consequently the filial heart of the son would be impelled to keep their mutual harmony complete. The scholar Yu had been in office about ten days, when he suddenly felt a pain in his heart as if it was lost. He immediately resigned his office, and hastily returned to his native village; and so intent was he to reach home that he traveled early and late, often forgetting to stop and refresh himself. When he had arrived, he found that his father had become sick and weak, had already retired to his bed. He called in the physicians, and intreated them to cure the malady. They replied, the disease is a very severe one, and from the pulse alone we cannot determine the result; but if

the patient's stools are tasted, we can know whether to expect life or death. Yu did not hesitate to make the experiment; for if bitter, then they would be to him like the most fragrant dishes; but if sweet, what would restrain the tears from descending in streams! Where can we find a person who has the elixir of life? He even desires that his own life may be shortened, so that his father's may be lengthened. He seeks a lonely place, and pours out his supplications to heaven.

NO. XXII.

She suckled her mother-in-law unweariedly.

DURING the Tang dynasty, the grandmother of Tsuy Shannan, lady Tang, lived with her mother-in-law, Changsun, who was so aged that all her teeth were lost. This honorable lady every day carefully made her toilet, and went into her aged relative's apartment, and suckled her; by which means, the old lady's life and strength were prolonged many years, although she could not eat so much as a grain of rice. One day she was taken sick, and calling all her descendants around her, she said, 'Hearken! I have no means of recompensing the virtue of my daughter-in-law, but I request that the wives of all my children will serve her with the same affection and respect that she has shown to me.'

It was not a very arduous labor to suckle her mother-in-law, but it was difficult to do it respectfully for so long a time, observe all decorum for so many years, and not grow remiss. Her actions may be classed with those of sages and illustrious men. Praiseworthy obedience! Her aged relative was as helpless, from being unable to eat her meals, as though she had been sick, but by suckling, her life was prolonged. Morning and evening the lady waits on her in her chamber, and her conduct is always marked with strict propriety. Each time the breast is given, Tang's respect and reverence increases, nor does she ever affect the lightness with which she nurses her own child. Till extreme old age, Changsun is thus nourished, and she is so affected by her kindness that she speaks the praises of Tang to every one she meets. And when about to die, she thus left her final commands; 'I wish all my children and grandchildren to be as exemplary as my daughter-in-law has been, and recompense her with the same fidelity and kindness that she has shown to me.'

NO. XXIII.

He resigned his office to seek his mother.

IN the Sung dynasty lived Choo Showchang, whose mother Lew, when he was seven years of age, because she was hated by his father's wife, left the family; and mother and son did not see each other for about fifty years. It was during the reign of Shintsung, that Choo resigned his official station and went into the Tsin country, and there made an engagement with his family, 'that he would not return until he had found his mother.' He then traveled into Tungchow, where he discovered his mother, who at that time was aged upwards of seventy years.

Thus Choo exclaimed: 'I have a mother, but alas! separated, we abide in different villages. It was not the freewill of my mother which led her thus to forsake her son, but the envious mistress compelled her to go. Without a mother on whom shall I rely, and to whom pour out my sorrows and

cares? Now I am grown older, and have become an officer, but as yet I have not been able to recompense the kindness of my parent. In what place, among all the countries under heaven, does she live? I am determined to resign my office, and seek her abode, not deterred at the trouble of the search. To effect it, I will part from my family, and no longer be a companion with them; I will not return till I find my mother, and they need not wait in expectation of me.' Heaven directed his way, and he came into Tungchow, where she resided. When the mother and son met each other, joy and grief together arose; for they had been separated for fifty years, mourning because they were so far apart. But now in one hour, all their long accumulated griefs were disburthened, and joy and gladness filled their hearts. Choo possesses the true heavenly disposition, and honors and riches cannot destroy his affection for his mother. He is more worthy of being praised than Wangling or Hwä tkaou.

NO. XXIV.

He washed his mother's utensils.

IN the reign of Yuenyew of the Sung dynasty, Hwang Tingkeën filled the office of prefect. He was of a very dutiful disposition, and although he was honorable and renowned, yet he received his mother's commands with the utmost deference. Every day he cleaned her utensils with his own hands; nor for one moment did he ever omit performing the duties of a filial son.

Well written poetry flows along like rills meandering among the hills and vallies! This instance of a filial heart has not yet been brought into much notice. Daily he washed his parent's furniture; and both she who dwelt in the curtained room (his mother), and he who remained in the hall (his father), strove to express the merits of their son. It would be difficult to find another child that would have done so; all would be dilatory and unwilling, and where shall we meet another who would perform such drudgery themselves with alacrity and pleasure? Although elevated to an honorable office, he does not hesitate to perform these troublesome and minute duties, for he loves his parents: how can we suppose that he will change from what he was when young and unhonored!

ART. VI. *A dictionary of the Hok-këèn dialect of the Chinese language, according to the reading and colloquial idioms, containing about* 12,000 *characters.* By W. H. Medhurst, Batavia.

THE character of this work is very faithfully described in the author's preface, which we quote: we give first, however, a dedicatory note, and an advertisement—both of which are necessary to explain the manner in which the work has been carried through the press. Our friends in Europe and America can have but an imperfect idea of the difficulties, which have here hitherto impeded the publication of philological and other works in any way connected with the Chinese. The dictionary contains 860 quarto pages, exclusive of 64, which are

occupied with prefatory and introductory remarks: among the latter are historical and statistical accounts of the province of Fuhkeën, with remarks on the dialect of its inhabitants. We have no room in our present number for any observations on these papers, but will return to them at another time. The dedicatory note, advertisement, and preface, come in the following order.

Dedicatory note.

To the Court of Directors of the honorable East India Company, and to the Select Committee for the management of their affairs in China, under whose patronage, and by whose liberality, the following work is printed, it is now most respectfully inscribed by their much obliged, and most humble servant,

Batavia, July 29th, 1831. THE AUTHOR.

Advertisement.

In the absence of the author of this dictionary, a note explanatory of the delay in its publication seems necessary. The printing of it was commenced at the press of the honorable East India Company in 1831, and continued with some interruptions until their charter expired in April, 1834, when the work stopped at the 320th page. It remained untouched until December, 1835, when Mr. Medhurst, being in China, circulated a subscription paper to procure funds to complete the printing, and obtained upwards of one hundred names. Messrs. Olyphant and Co. of Canton advanced the necessary funds on the guaranty of this subscription, and the printing was immediately resumed the Company having loaned the use of their font of Chinese types for the purpose. It is probable that the student will discover some errors in the work, but at present, a full table of errata cannot be made out. The following, however, have been noticed. * * * Some errors in marking the tones, and in distinguishing the reading sounds from the colloquial, may also be found; but when the circumstances attending the printing of the work are considered, it is hoped these imperfections will not be severely criticised.

Macao, June 1st, 1837. S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

Preface.

After the numerous and elaborate works on Chinese philology already before the public, the presentation of a new one would seem almost to need an apology, were it not that the object of the present dictionary is not so much to elucidate the Chinese language generally, as that of one of its dialects in particular. Previous efforts have been confined to the mandarin or court dialect, with the exception of a Canton vocabulary published in the 1828, and (so far as the author's information extends) nothing has yet been done to elucidate the Hok-këèn or Emoey tongue.

The mandarin tongue is partially understood throughout the whole empire, by the better informed part of the inhabitants, and, in some central districts, it is said to be the current language of the people; but, in the southern provinces, the vulgar dialects differ more or less from the court language, and in Hok-këèn, where the difference is most marked, the cultivation of the mandarin tongue is less general. The author, having never visited China, has had little opportunity of conversing with the higher ranks of the Chinese, but from a constant intercourse with the middling and lower classes who emigrate to the eastern islands, his uniform experience for the last fourteen years has

been, that not one man in five hundred knows any thing of the mandarin tongue, or can carry on a conversation of more than ten words in it. In Hok-këèn, a doctor, a fortune-teller, a stage-player, or a police officer may sometimes be met with, who having traveled into other provinces, or been employed about government offices, will perhaps be able to converse a little in the court dialect; but, in most cases, the people are totally unacquainted with it, and never think of studying it till, having succeeded at the literary examination, and got a prospect of preferment or employment, they go to a regular school for the study of the mandarin, and acquire it almost as they would a new language. Indeed, instances have been known of literary graduates of considerable standing, giving up the prospect of government situations, rather than take the trouble of studying the court dialect.

Not only does the mandarin tongue differ from the vulgar idioms, but these provincial dialects differ considerably from each other, so that an inhabitant of Hok-këèn will not be able to understand a native of Canton,—and the author has frequently had occasion to interpret for two Chinese from adjoining provinces, who could not understand each other. Even in the same province, the difference of dialect is sometimes so great, that people divided by a mountain, a river, or twenty miles of country, are by no means intelligible to each other. In the ten counties of Hok-këèn, there are certainly as many different dialects, and if the same obtains throughout every one of the eighteen provinces of China, the different dialects in the empire will be nearly two hundred.

A person who contemplates learning the Chinese language, without much prospect of verbal intercourse with the people, or who will be generally conversant with the higher classes and government officers, throughout all the provinces, would certainly do well to study the mandarin dialect; but he whose intercourse will probably be confined to one district, and who will have to do with the great mass of the people residing in it, would do better to study the vulgar dialect of that particular place.

The author, on commencing the study of Chinese, attended solely to the mandarin, but, finding that it was not understood by the mass of emigrants in the Malayan archipelago, he turned his attention, in the year 1818, to the Hok-këèn dialect. In 1820, a small vocabulary was drawn up, and a few sheets of it printed at Malacca; in 1823, this work was enlarged, and sent to Singapore, to be printed under the patronage of the Singapore Institution, the Committee of which offered to publish it at their own expense. The affairs of that institution, however, not having prospered, the manuscript lay untouched for several years, was since sent to Malacca and Penang, and, in the year 1829, came back untouched into the author's hands. Considerable advancement having in the mean time been made in the knowledge of the language, and the Select Committee for managing the affairs of the Honorable East India Company in China, having generously offered to bring the work through the press, the author under-

took to recompose it entirely, to enlarge it by the addition of several thousand characters, and to illustrate the meaning of each principal word by a quotation from some respectable Chinese author.

The present work is founded on a native dictionary of the Hok-këèn dialect, published in the year 1818, called the *sip gnoé yim*, or "fifteen sounds," which contains both the reading and colloquial idioms, with the sounds and tones very accurately defined. The inhabitants of Hok-këèn have a method of expressing themselves in common conversation, very different from the style in which their books are written; and this variation appears, not only in the substitution of more easy and familiar words for the abstruse and difficult terms used in books, but also in the inflection and alteration of even common words, giving them sometimes a nasal or contracted termination, and sometimes completely changing their sound and tone. This has given rise to the distinction between the reading and colloquial forms of speech, which, in the native dictionaries, are distinguished, by having the former printed in red, and the latter in black ink; while the same is attempted to be marked in the following work, by putting the colloquial in italics, and printing the reading idiom in Roman letters.

The Chinese have a method of spelling their words, by dividing them into initials and finals, and taking the initial of one word and the final of another, they form a third by the conjunction. In the native dictionary above alluded to, fifteen initials (hence the name) and fifty finals are employed, to express all the possible variations in sound, of which the Hok-këèn dialect is capable. These initials and finals are hereafter described, and attempted to be expressed in European letters; the system of orthography which has been adopted to elucidate these sounds may not possibly be the best, and no doubt they would be differently expressed by others; but whatever may be the faults or deficiencies of his system, the author flatters himself that it is uniform, and that any given word will be found to bear the same orthography throughout the work. Walker's and Sheridan's pronouncing dictionaries have been consulted, but it was found impossible to adopt their systems in every instance, as the Hok-këèn dialect contains sounds, which neither of those orthoëpists had ever occasion to illustrate. The nasals, in particular, can be accurately expressed by no possible system of European orthography, and if twenty people had to define them, they would no doubt write them in as many different ways; the author has therefore adopted that mode of spelling which appeared to him the best, following, in most instances the orthography of Dr. Morrison, in his dictionary of the mandarin tongue, where the sounds at all resemble each other;—and having once adopted it, he has found it necessary to adhere to the same throughout the work, in order to prevent mistakes and confusion.

In addition to the sounds formed by the junction of the fifteen initials and fifty finals, the inhabitants of Hok-këèn have a method of multiplying their few monosyllables, by the application of various tones, which, while the word retains the same form of spelling pro-

duce an alteration of the intonation, by a variation of the accent. Respecting these tones of the Chinese language, some difference of opinion has obtained; and while some have considered them of the first importance, others have paid them little or no attention. The author inclines decidedly to the former opinion; having found, from uniform experience, that without strict attention to the tones, it is impossible for a person to make himself understood in Hok-këèn. Chinese children, as soon as they begin to speak, learn the tones, as speedily as they do the sounds themselves, and the poorest people invariably observe the minutest regard to the tones; so that the author has never heard a real native of Hok-këèn make the slightest mistake in the tones, even in the hurried conversation of common life. Indeed, a Chinese is more likely to make a mistake in the orthography than in the accent of a word, and when charged with pronouncing *tëem* instead of *lëem*, will defend himself, by saying that, at any rate, the words are in the same tone, and therefore there cannot be much difference between them. A horse in Hok-këèn is *báy*, in the upper tone, with an acute accent, but the Chinese, in speaking of a horse, would as soon think of changing the orthography into *báng*, as of altering the accent into *bây*, which is in the lower even tone, with a circumflex over it. In the native dictionary which is made the basis of the present work, the tones are most particularly defined, and the arrangement of each section is more according to the tone than the orthography; for instance, the first section contains all the words of the even tone, under a certain final, as connected with the different initials, and not a single upper tone is brought forward, till all the even tones of that final are given; the second section then contains all the words under the upper tone of the same final, and so on; so that *kwun* in the even tone will be found under one section, and *kwún*, in the upper tone under another. This arrangement, in which the accent is regarded more than the spelling, is peculiar to the Chinese, and shows what great stress they lay on a difference of tone, even more so than on a difference of orthography. In the following pages, this arrangement has been reversed, and the words are classed according to their alphabetical order, yet the author has endeavored to mark, *in every instance*, the peculiar tone to be affixed to each word, and that not only in the words placed for reference at the head of each line, but also in the examples adduced; so that, with the exception of typographical errors, each word will be found to have, not only the same mode of spelling, but also a uniform intonation, throughout the book.

It is possible that, in the meaning given to each particular word, some dissimilarity may be observed between the present work and the dictionary published by Dr. Morrison; if such should be the case, the author would not be understood as intentionally differing from his indefatigable predecessor, whose elaborate work he has seldom or ever consulted for the meaning of words; but, having followed an entirely independent authority, and having adopted the meanings assigned in native dictionaries, and illustrated in the quotations referred

to, it is not unlikely but some trifling discrepancy may arise. Fewer meaning may also be found in this, than in the Doctor's work; but it must be remembered, that the present undertaking is on a much smaller scale than the preceding one, and to have given all the meanings of each word, and proofs of their being used in every several sense, from Chinese authors, would have swelled this dictionary to too great a size, particularly as it is designed to illustrate, not so much the language, as a single dialect of it. However, the most common and approved sense of each word is generally given.

The quotations adduced are most of them from Chinese authors of the best reputation, viz., from the Five Classics, the Four Books, authentic histories, and approved odes, being generally the same which are quoted in the imperial dictionary, under the characters referred to. A few vulgar phrases may be found here and there, and some quotations from novels and unauthorized productions; but good authors, however ancient, have generally been preferred, both as being held in greater respect among the Chinese themselves, and as giving the most approved sense of the characters in question. It may be that the author has mistaken the meaning of some passages, and has awkwardly expressed the sense of others, while published translations of the works quoted from may be brought, in triumphant proof of alledged ignorance or carelessness;—but it must be remembered, that a person giving the sense of an isolated passage is very likely to express himself differently from one who translates the book in detail; and that some variation or amplification is indeed necessary in a quotation, in order to give the reader a correct idea of the sentence, which would be less requisite where the passage stood in its proper connection. If it be asked,—why not give sentences from modern authors, or examples of every-day conversation, in illustration of each character? The answer may be, that there are no modern authors of any reputation, but what are built upon, and limitators of ancient writings; and to manufacture sentences for the occasion would be liable to this very serious objection, that such sentences may or may not be good Chinese, according to the proficiency or unskilfulness of the compiler; and to adduce ungrammatical or un-idiomatical sentences in elucidation, would be to lead the mind astray, and to retard, instead of promote the progress of the student. Should the author be spared to compose the second part of this dictionary, viz., the English and Chinese, it is his intention to adduce, under each important word, a phrase from some English author and to give the sense of it in Chinese; by which means the student will be enabled to judge of the familiar way of writing and speaking Chinese, and of the method of rendering English composition into it.

For the short historical and statistical account of Hok-këèn, the author is indebted to Chinese histories and geographical works, to Malte Brun's Universal Geography, and to an account of the Dutch embassy to Hok-këèn in the seventeenth century. These productions are most of them old, yet, as China remains long stationary, the present state of the province differs perhaps little from what it was

formerly. In estimating the population of Hok-këèn, a different opinion is hazarded from what Dr. Morrison has given, in his view of China for philological purposes; it is however proposed with diffidence, and not without being substantiated by two independent authorities. Hok-këèn contains ten counties, of which only one, viz., Chëangchew, near the port of Emoey, is the identical spot where the dialect illustrated in this dictionary is spoken in its purity; in the adjoining county to the east, viz., Chwânchew, the dialect differs very little; and in the neighboring county on the opposite side, viz., Tëâouchew, in the province of Canton, the dialect differs a little more, but still the inhabitants of each district are mutually intelligible to each other. Of the dialects of the northern counties, of T'hengchew, and Yëênpêng, as well as of the northeastern counties of Hinhwà, and Hokchew, the author is unable to speak with any degree of decision.

For any typographical errors, which may creep in during the execution of the work, the author hopes for the indulgence of the public, as the work being printed at the distance of nearly two thousand miles from his place of abode, it is impossible for him to correct the sheets as they are put to press, or to mark out any errors which might have inadvertently dropped from his pen in the composition. To the Rev. Dr. Morrison and his son, who have kindly undertaken the revision of the proofs, the author would express his unfeigned obligations, and his earnest hopes that they may succeed, in the difficult task of reading and comparing the very minute distinctions, of accent as well as sound, which the author has found it necessary to employ in the work, and that they may send it forth to the public, as correct as his best wishes could desire.

To the Director of the Honorable East India Company, and to the gentlemen of the Select Committee for the management of their affairs in China, the author acknowledges himself as under great and manifold obligations, for their kind notice and patronage of the work, and for their munificent liberality, in printing it, free of expense, at their own press in China.

May the present feeble undertaking be rendered eminently serviceable in the promotion of Chinese literature, and may students of the language, whether for civil or religious purposes, derive essential benefit therefrom! and to that God who has granted health for the undertaking, and ability to bring it to a conclusion, shall be all the glory.

Batavia, July 29th, 1831. W. H. M.

ART. VII. *A narrative of the loss of a Chinese vessel, bound to Batavia with* 1600 *persons on board, of whom* 198 *were saved by the English ship Indiana, commanded by lieutenant Pearl of the royal navy.*

WITHIN a few years there have been several instances of Chinese being saved from shipwrecks by foreigners. Probably the case here noticed is well known to some of our readers, though we doubt if it has received the consideration which it merits, and will receive when more extensively known. The narrative is interesting in itself: at one point, it presents in wide contrast the respective influences of Christian philanthropy and pagan coldheartedness, as excited by human suffering: by the people of the Indiana every effort was made to save the sinking sufferers, while by the crew of a native vessel they were carelessly forsaken. Every one who reads the narrative must, we think, commend the conduct of lieutenant Pearl; and wish, if ever placed in similar circumstances, to be equally active and successful. In such a crisis, gold and silver and merchandise are freely sacrificed for the recovery of human life. The loss sustained in the present instance was considerable, amounting to something more than $40,000; and though more than fifteen years have since passed, no reparation seems to have been made. At that time lieutenant Pearl was commander and sole owner of the Indiana, a ship of 368 tons, bound from Bengal to Borneo. In a letter dated Liverpool, 18th June, 1836, addressed to a gentleman now in Canton, lieutenant Pearl, after alluding to the necessary deviation from his course, says, "I eventually lost eleven thousand pounds, on the prime cost of my cargo, besides all the expenses attendant thereon, which I never recovered in commerce, nor have I ever received any pecuniary return or consideration." In April 1835, he addressed a petition to the Chinese government on the subject; and lord Palmerston sent a communication, about the same time, to the British superintendents here, that they might bring the case to notice.—These particulars precede the narrative in a pamphlet, recently published from the office of the Canton Register. We do not suppose that the Chinese government will do any thing to requite those who have saved such of its subjects as have been so undutiful as to leave their country: something, however, ought to be expected from wealthy individuals if the case is duly presented to their consideration. We do not know what has been done; it might be well to have the whole narrative published and widely circulated in Chinese. Lieutenant Pearl's loss ought certainly to be repaired; and if the case is brought to the notice of his countrymen and other foreigners here, at the straits of Singapore, and in India, those who have the means will, no doubt, gladly share with him the loss, occasioned by his arduous and benevolent conduct on the 7th and 8th of February, 1822. The following is his narrative.

"On Thursday the 7th February, 1822, at half past seven o'clock in the morning, wind northwest, dark squally weather with rain and a heavy sea, on the east part of Gaspar island, bearing N.W. by N. 4½ miles, observed at some distance from the point, what we supposed to be rocks above water; on our approach, they proved to be pieces of wreck, consisting of planks, boxes, bundles of umbrellas, bamboos, and various other species of floating substance, separated from each other at short distances, and most of the pieces with one or two persons holding to them, and few large pieces with from four to six persons. Immediately hove the ship to, and sent all the boats with the officers and best seamen of the ship, to do their utmost to save the perishing people, but to refrain from taking anything else into the boats. Got the ship as near as possible into the middle of the floats, the boats using every exertion in getting the unfortunate men into them, and bringing them to the ship; in which great difficulty was experienced from the wind and high sea. At quarter past 9 o'clock A. M., a violent squall of wind and rain obliged us to take in all sail, found the ship and people on the floats drifting fast to leeward of the island, and towards a reef on which were heavy breakers. Anchored in 25 fathoms with the chain cable. Veered the boats on each quarter of the ship with 200 fathoms of line: officers and crews in them using every possible means to pick up the sufferers as they neared them, and likewise to get them to the ship: every person on board employed heaving ropes to the sufferers on the floats as they neared the ship: many of them from the violence of the wind and sea forced from their holds on the floats and sunk to rise no more, without any possibility of our being able to render them the least assistance; many, after getting hold of the ropes from their exhausted state, forced from their holds and were drowned; and many drifted past the ship and boats without any human possibility of our rendering them the least aid, and must soon have terminated their sufferings in the breakers. At 11, the weather moderated so as to enable the captain to send the boats to rescue a few persons that were holding to floats to the eastward and westward of the ship, each person holding to a separate piece. At noon the boats returned, having succeeded with great danger and difficulty in rescuing all that were seen, amounting to twelve. Mustered all the unfortunate people saved, which we found amounted to ninety-five Chinese, and from their signs supposed them to be from a junk or vessel wrecked on the weather side of the island. Nearly all the unfortunate men being perfectly naked—having stripped off their clothes to support themselves in the water—supplied them all with clothes and cloth from the cargo, and administered every kind of refreshment it was proper for them to receive in their weak and exhausted state.

"At one P. M. sent the boats with the officers to proceed round the island, and to endeavor to save all the sufferers that could be seen. At sunset the boats returned, after having with much labour rowed round the island. Many of the unfortunate Chinese were discovered on the rocks at the northwest part of the island; but from the heavy sea the boats could not approach to take them off. Made signs to

them that the boats would return, and to others on the shore to endeavor to get to the lee side of the island, the officers then landed at the lee point of it, and there took into the boats as many as they could with safety, amounting to forty-five, many of them perfectly naked, cut, and bruised, in a most shocking manner by the rocks, when they were washed on shore by the heavy sea. One of the unfortunate persons named *Baba Chy*, being a native of Batavia, returning to his father from China (where he had been for his education), speaking the Malayan language, enabled the officers to convey their wishes to the rest of the sufferers, who could not then be taken into the boats; by which means their fears were quieted, as they felt assured they would all be rescued from their awful situation. No fresh water having been discovered on the island, all that the boats had was distributed to those left on the island.

"The wind at dark having increased to a violent gale, with a high sea from the northwest, hoisted in the boats for the night; and the captain personally, assisted by the officers, administered every possible comfort to the unfortunate sufferers, and cleaned and dressed the bruised and wounded. The captain was now enabled to ascertain from *Baba Chy*, the person brought off from the shore, that the unfortunate Chinese were a part of the crew and passengers on board the *Teek Seeun* or *Neeun*, an Amoy junk of eight or nine hundred tons, which had left Amoy, in China, twenty-three days before, bound to Batavia, having, besides a valuable cargo, a crew and a number of passengers amounting, at the least calculation, to the vast total of one thousand six hundred persons, from the ages of seventy to six years. That the junk, having been steered a wrong course, had at sunset the evening before struck against some rocks to windward of the island (known by the name of the Belvidera shoal, lying twelve miles northwest of Gaspar island), of which the captain of the junk was not before aware. The junk, after striking, fell over on her beam-ends, when all on her decks, in the confusion, were forced over-board with every article not properly secured; every one of the sufferers consequently exerted themselves to save his own life, by laying hold of what chance presented to them. The junk, after beating heavily on the rocks about an hour, got into deep water, when she righted and sunk from the injury she had received, leaving only a part of her masts above water, to which all that could, secured themselves. A part of the men saved were among the number that were forced overboard when the junk first struck, and a part after she had sunk, all of whom, with their bodies under water for many hours, had been miraculously drifted towards us by the wind and current.

"Friday the 8th, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the weather moderating, sent the officers with the boats to the island, to bring off all the sufferers left the evening before. At day light the men in the boats discovered, at some distance to the westward, a raft made of two yards of the junk, having on it twenty-seven persons which had left the mast of the junk the evening before, having on it forty-seven; twenty of whom from their exhausted state lost their hold on the raft, it turn-

ing over during the night, and were drowned. The boats brought them immediately to the ship, all in a most dreadful state of exhaustion and wounds, having been in the water upward of thirty-six hours during the violent gale. At 7, sent the boats to the island and brought off all that could be found alive, that the boats could not bring the evening before. The wounds of the sufferers were cleansed and carefully dressed by captain Pearl and his officers, and every possible comfort and consolation given to all saved.

"At 11 A. M. captain Pearl went with the boats, manned with the most experienced men on board the ship, to rescue the unfortunate Chinese from their dreadful situation on the rocks at the northwest part of the island; this captain Pearl accomplished, though at the imminent risk of life from the high breaking sea; the sufferers being dreadfully wounded by the rocks and perfectly naked; one of the boats brought them immediately to the ship, where every proper care was given to them. After rescuing those on the rocks, captain Pearl rowed round the island and landed at different places, rescuing every person that remained on shore alive, amounting to thirteen, every one being much cut and bruised by the rocks. The beach of the island was strewed in every direction with the mutilated dead bodies of the unfortunate Chinese. After sending all the sufferers to the ship, captain Pearl, with an officer and part of a boat's crew, with much difficulty climbed to the highest part of the island, but could not with a spying glass discover the least appearance of the wreck, nor any thing floating on the surface of the water. At sunset captain Pearl returned on board with the boats; and on mustering the people saved found they amounted to one hundred and ninety eight, supplied them all with clothing and every other necessary their situation required.

"Among the persons rescued from the yards of the junk was her second captain, at that time in a speechless state. He was now enabled to inform captain Pearl, that a smaller junk, which he called a *Capella Mera*, or *Red Head*, was close to them when they struck on the rocks, but would not remain to render them the least assistance, although they were aware of the junk's deplorable condition; the second captain of the junk likewise informed captain Pearl that on leaving the mast of the wreck the previous evening every person alive was brought away by him, at which time not more than six feet of her mast was above water.

"At 9 o'clock P. M. capt. Pearl called a consultation of his officers, and principal Chinese saved, who all agreed with him that no more of the Chinese remainded to be saved; with this conviction, and having only nineteen casks of water on board for the ship's crew, consisting of sixty persons, beside the 198 Chinese, he considered it absolutely necessary to make for Pontiána, the nearest port, situated on the west side of the island of Borneo, for the purpose of soliciting the aid of the Dutch authorities at that port in behalf of the Chinese sufferers. Saturday, 9th February, at 4 P. M. the wind moderating, got under weigh, and made all sail to the eastward, for Pontiána. At day light cleared away the between decks of every article for the

express purpose of affording the Chinese sufferers every necessary comfort and accommodation. Appropriated the after part from the main hatchway to the stern posts for the bruised and disabled; at 8 o'clock, every proper arrangement was made, and the wounds and bruises of the men were carefully examined by the captain, and, with his assistance and direction, they were all carefully dressed and cleaned amidst the grateful expressions of the sufferers; also served an ample allowance of provisions and water to all the Chinese.

"From the 9th to the 22d February, experienced a tedious passage to Pontiána from calms, variable winds, and currents. The captain and officers, twice each day, examined and dressed the wounds of the Chinese sufferers, and all were fully supplied with provisions and necessaries of every description, at captain Pearl's personal expense until they were landed. On the 22d February, captain Pearl made a proper representation to the Dutch commissioner (J. H. Tobias) at Pontiána, of the Chinese sufferers' case, and transmitted the foregoing original extracts, which were promptly replied to by him, on the 23d February; and boats properly prepared were sent to the ship, at a distance of thirty miles from the town (she not being able to cross the bar at the entrance of the river); and all except ten of the unfortunate Chinese were landed under the Dutch protection; all, but four, being restored to perfect health, and those four in a fair way of having their wounds healed. The ten persons not landed were allowed to remain on board, in consequence of their earnest solicitation for captain Pearl's protection, until an opportunity occured to send them to Java, they being residents of Batavia, on their return from Amoy as passengers in the junk."

ART. VIII. *Straits of Singapore: criminal courts and trial by jury; secret associations; tenure of lands; agricultural and horticultural society.*

OUR proximity to Singapore, Malacca, and Penang, and the constant intercourse between their inhabitants and the people of this empire, cause us to view with special interest the public institutions of those settlements. Whatever transpires there may, and no doubt will, effect the destinies of the Chinese. One who was educated in the college at Malacca, has for several years been employed as interpreter at the court of Peking: he has recently visited Canton, and brought with him an order for Morrison's dictionary and other philological works. It is easy to perceive how, by such men and means, an influence may reach the Chinese. Trial by jury, and the other various institutions of free governments, first becoming familiar to a few emigrants, then being faithfully described in works of useful knowledge written in their own language, may at length attract the public notice, and finally be adopted as well-established usages of the country. Almost

all great changes in national character result from the combination of small causes. At the present time, a pretty extensive correspondence is carried on between the emigrants and their countrymen on the hills of Tang: and there are thousands of the Chinese, chiefly in the maritime provinces, who have resided for years in the European settlements. Every year, while some are returning to their country, others are emigrating. Thus a constant intercourse is maintained, partly by correspondence, and partly in person. It is in the highest degree desirable that those Chinese who are brought into contact with Europeans, should in them and in their institutions see examples worthy of admiration and imitation. If the people of Christendom are in duty bound (as every one who believes the Scriptures will admit) to send out and support Christian missions for the benefit of the inhabitants of pagan nations, how much more are they obligated to do good to such when they come and reside within their own borders? We speak here more with reference to individual, than to governmental, efforts: yet governments, as such, may do much for the promotion of knowledge and good morals; but individuals can do more, specially when associated, as in the modern benevolent societies. In some of the most favored places in Christendom, all the youth, male and female, are furnished with the means of education, and the whole population with the ordinances of the gospel. All nations are to become like those places; nay even more blessed. Such benefits, however, must be proffered and received *voluntarily*. And in a settlement like Penang, for example, why might not arrangements be made, by people on the spot and their friends in other parts of the world, so as to place the means of education and the ordinances of the gospel within the reach of every child and every adult?

The foregoing remarks were suggested by the perusal of two short addresses recently delivered, by the honorable sir William Norris, to the grand jury of Singapore: the first we quote it entire.

"The grand jurors having been sworn, the honorable the recorder said, he sincerely wished that on such an occasion as the present, his first visit to Singapore and the first time he was called upon to address the grand jury, it has been in his power to congratulate them on the state of the calendar. There was so much in the aspect of this settlement, but yesterday as it were a jungle and a nest of pirates, now a large, beautiful, and flourishing town, filled with a busy population, and its port crowded with shipping from every quarter of the globe, so much to astonish and delight a stranger and to make an Englishman specially feel proud of his country and her institutions—proud of those principles of freedom and justice which were at once the foundation of her own greatness and the source of prosperity to her numerous and thriving colonies—that his lordship was loath to look on the dark side of a picture so bright and animating. The extent of crime here, his lordship remarked, was indeed melancholy, but not greater, perhaps, all circumstances considered, than might have been expected in a convict settlement of recent formation, open to adventurers from all parts of the eastern world, and apparently unprovided, as yet, with a police establishment of sufficient strength, or sufficiently well organized, to meet such a concurrence of unfavorable circumstances. The state of the interior of the island, in particular, his honor was sorry to hear, was any thing but what it should be in point of subordination to

lawful authority; an almost necessary consequence, perhaps, of the unrestrained freedom with which those half-civilized Chinese cultivators had been permitted to locate themselves in the jungle. But the fine roads now in progress in the interior would, no doubt, materially assist the operations of the civil power in controlling these rude laborers, whose industry, to say the least, afford any thing but an unfavorable prognostic of their future worth; whilst their eagerness in settling down upon a free soil was no mean indication of their sagacity and forethought, and no trifling illustration of the value of British protection. Besides, agriculture was essentially a peaceful art, and it was not likely that a people willing to work would long continue turbulent, perceiving, as they must do, that the pursuits of industry were incompatible with disorder and insubordination. It might reasonably be expected, therefore, his lordship said, that in a community like this, where the advantage of submission to the laws must be seen and felt more and more every day, submission would gradually follow as a matter of course. Meanwhile, kindness and conciliation might do much; but legal process once issued should be resolutely carried into effect. 'Execution,' had been termed, 'the life of the law,' for the law could not subsist without it. If the civil powers, therefore, were insufficient for the purpose, the military should be called in to assist; not that his lordship would recommend such a course, but in extreme cases, as for instance, the known concealment of a murderer or other great felon. But it were better, observed his lordship, that process should not be issued at all, than that the laws and the government should be exposed to the pernicious consequences of an example of successful defiance of the constituted authorities. In one of the cases to be brought before them, his honor was sorry to say, they would find that such an example had occured; the police had actually been repulsed by an armed mob, and a man charged with murder had, in consequence, effected his escape. One of the ring-leaders, however, had been apprehended, and would, in the event of the bill being found, be brought to trial for this very serious offense. His lordship, however, felt persuaded that patience and kindness accompanied with resolution would be the readiest means of converting this rude but laborious race into some of the most valuable subjects of the settlement; and that Singapore would erelong become as remarkable for peace and good order as it was for commercial and agricultural industry, activity, and enterprize.

"His lordship then described, in general terms, the nature of the bills which would be laid before the grand jury, amounting, he regretted to say, to not less than 40, and embracing about 70 prisoners. With regard to the cases of larceny, which were the most numerous and many of which were doubtless of a petty description, he thought it right to allude to a common mistake which seemed to prevail in the Straits, that the degree of criminality in such cases was to be estimated solely by the value of the property purloined; whereas the least reflection must convince any one of the fallacy of such a test; since the most valuable property might be stolen under circumstances of great mitigation, and the most trifling article, on the other hand, carried off under circumstances clearly indicative of an intention to commit violence or even murder in case of resistance. Of the four cases of murder to be brought before them, his lordship remarked, there was one that would require great consideration — a case in which six prisoners were charged with the murder of a person whose body had not been found. The general rule laid down by that humane judge, sir Mathew Hale, that no person should be convicted of murder or manslaughter under such circumstances, had been shown by later authorities to admit of exceptions; but his lordship thought it right to bring to their notice those remarkable cases (the particulars of which he mentioned), wherein men had been convicted and executed for the supposed murder of persons who were afterwards discovered to be living. In the present instance,

it would be for the grand jury to decide whether the evidence was sufficiently strong to warrant them in finding the bill. Should the prisoners be tried and acquitted, of course, they could not again be brought to trial, whereas if the bill was thrown out it would not preclude the court from fresh proceedings at a future period, should more decisive evidence of the prisoners' guilt be discovered."

We subjoin one other short extract, taken from the second address, delivered on the discharge of the jury. On a former occasion, his lordship had expressed his predilection for the system of a public prosecutor in place of a grand jury: at the same time he was very far from being insensible to the *moral* effect which must necessarily attend the latter, of which he thus remarked:—

"The spectacle which is thus from time to time presented to the native community of the first gentlemen in the place, leaving for a while their various pursuits and business, and, with considerable personal inconvenience, assembling together and taking an active and essential part in the administration of public justice, exhibits a picture of English mind and English feeling, powerfully conducive, one would hope, to the maintenance of that moral influence which has chiefly enabled us to accomplish such wonders in the east. On occasions like the present, natives of the least reflection must be struck with the respect and veneration shown by Englishmen for the laws; the maintenance of which is seen to be a concern in which every member of the community, as represented by the grand jury, is presumed to have a personal interest and participation. They cannot but perceive and admire our regard for public as well as impartial justice, — for publicity is essential to impartiality, — our abhorrence of all dark, unfair, and inquisitorial proceedings, or in more homely phrase, our love of 'fair play,'— and the patient investigation which is bestowed on every case from the most trifling to the most important. Nor can it escape their observation, that, if stern but just severity is one characteristic, cautious humanity is a no less prominent feature of the English law; which, while it invests the court with extraordinary powers for the punishment of the guilty (powers, in the exercise of which his lordship cannot but occasionally tremble), still, in its tender solicitude for the protection of the innocent from false accusations, leaves the judge powerless, until inquiry has succeeded inquiry, and jury after jury have pronounced the charge to be true. His lordship repeated, that the moral power of Great Britain in India cannot but be strengthened and maintained by these periodical exhibitions of English justice and English humanity; not that he would be thought to regard our ascendancy in the east as a matter of such vast importance, when viewed as the only means of national agrandizement. Far from it. No reflecting person, who considers the paramount sway which a handful of men from a small island in the western ocean are permitted to wield over the millions of India, can doubt that this extraordinary power was lodged in our hands for purposes infinitely greater and more momentous than the mere increase of our national wealth and luxury; that Providence, in short, has placed us here less for our own sakes than for the sake of those whom we govern; and that the future character of our country, as connected with the east, must depend upon her improvement or abuse of the extensive means entrusted to her for the moral regeneration of this large and interesting portion of the great family of mankind. These, gentlemen, are the considerations which add so much to the responsibilities imposed upon us all as Englishmen; not merely such as are more immediately connected with the administration of justice or the maintenance of our pure religion, but all of us without exception, whether public functionaries or private individuals. India, in short, said his lordship, is a great moral field of battle, in which, "England expects every man to do his duty." That much has been accom-

plished cannot be denied; but the work done is as nothing compared with what we have to do. Turn to whatever quarter of India we will, we cannot but be struck with the melancholy truth, that her "dark places are full of the habitations of cruelty, and her people, both morally and physically, "within the region and shadow of death." Scarcely a month passes without the report of wholesale deeds of blood; and humanity shudders to think of the hundreds and thousands of deliberate murders which are annually and, as it were, beneath our eyes, perpetrated in these benighted regions, under the influence of blind superstition, ferocious family pride, or the quenchless thirst of gold. His lordship sincerely believed, that it was no exaggerated picture, nay that it was greatly within the bounds of the real truth. The widespread horrors of the phansiggar or thug system on land, and of piracy by sea, the human sacrifices in Gúmsúr, and the systematic destruction of female infants in Cutch and elsewhere, were too notorious to be denied. And if to these, said his lordship, were added the yearly thousands of murders, self inflicted by the wretched victims of opium,—those living spectres that haunt our streets and meet us at every turn, and eventually immolate themselves upon the altars of Belial,—what a boundless field is here for the efforts of British influence, British humanity, and British example! Courts of justice may do much in stemming the tide of iniquity within the immediate sphere of their operation, but unassisted by other and more powerful means they can never prove sufficient to work any considerable change in the moral character of a people. It is to the education of the natives, and to the labors of those excellent men whose lives are devoted to the propagation of the gospel of truth,—it is to these alone that we can look with any rational prospect of cutting off that dreadful entail of crime and misery, which must else continue, for unknown ages an din augmenting ratio, descending as heretofore from father to son, as surely as the sparks fly upwards." [*Sing. Chron., Ap. 8th and 15th*, 1837.]

2. *Secret associations* seem to have existed from a remote period throughout almost all Asia. At present they are known to exist in China, in British India, and in many other places. The recent disclosures of murder in India are frightful, and are, probably, without a parallel in the whole history of the world. Of that strange fraternity, the *thugs*, 1572 prisoners were committed in the short period of eleven years—from 1825 to 1835—of whom 382 suffered death, 909 were transported, 77 imprisoned for life, 21 on security, 71 for various terms, making a total of 1460 punished; while only 21 were acquitted, 11 escaped, 31 died, and 49 'turned state's evidence.' The murders committed amount to hundreds of thousands—to millions. What seems most extraordinary is the fact, that, till within a few years, the existence of this *brotherhood* was quite unknown to the most active of the British functionaries. After such disclosures of horrible murder and profound secrecy, we shall not be greatly surprised if something of the same should, in process of time, be discovered among the brotherhoods of the celestial empire. In the Singapore Free Press for June 1st, 1837, there is a long account of these *hues* (hwuy or associations), notoriously combined for pernicious purposes, as theft, robbery, &c., and for the defense of those who do such things. While these fraternities exist we may expect to hear of frequent depredations and of the inefficiency of police establishments.

3. *The tenure of land*, not only in the Straits, but throughout British India, is beginning to receive the attention it demands. More

than three years ago, by an act of the British parliament, permission was granted to Europeans to settle and to purchase estates in India, after the 1st of April, 1834. In May 1835, the draft of a regulation, embodying that enactment, was published by the Indian government for general information. (See vol. 4, p. 203.) The new law was to take effect on the 1st of August, 1835; but it had scarcely seen the light, 'before it was placed in a state of suspended animation by specific orders from home.' To England, therefore, the draft of the new law must be sent; and it was not until January of this year that the Court of Directors gave their final instructions to the governor-general in council for the enactment of the proposed regulation, and then with one very important modification, expunging the phrase — 'persons of whatever nation'—and writing in its stead '*any subject of his majesty*,' excluding 'aliens' from the benefits of the enactment. We are glad it takes effect even though thus altered, but see no necessity for the change which has been made.

On the 22d of May, 1837, an act was passed in the legislative department, at Fort William, from which we extract clauses, 2d, 6th, and 12th. The first clause repeals regulations previously enacted, and the sixteenth provides that every commissioner, appointed under the new act, shall be guided in the performance of his duties by instructions direct from the government in Bengal. The act is 'No. x. of 1837,' preceded by the following

Resolution. The governor-general in council, having had under his consideration the present state of the administration of affairs in the settlements of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca, his attention has been particularly directed to the condition of the landed proprietors, and to the tenures by which lands are held in those settlements. The regulation which prescribes the mode of authenticating titles in one of the settlements has been declared by the recorder's court to be invalid. The validity of other regulations on the same subject is considered by high authority as questionable; and whether these regulations be valid or not, it is certain that many persons who have a fair claim to landed property within those settlements, would be unable to make out a legal title to that property. The governor-general in council has reason to believe that many estates in those settlements have been acquired under circumstances, which, though they might not be considered by a court of law as sufficient to create a right of property, give the holders a strong claim on the justice of the government, and he is satisfied that no advantage which could be obtained by rigidly enforcing the claims of the state against such persons, would compensate for the evils which would be the effect of such a course of policy. The governor-general in council has, therefore, determined to avoid taking any measures which can possibly shake the security of property, or diminish the confidence which is reposed in the public faith. He has determined to put an end to all disputes respecting the legality of the existing regulations which relate to this subject by repealing those regulations. He has determined to confirm by an act of unquestionable legality all the rights which those regulations bestowed on individuals. He has determined to institute an inquiry into claims to which the provisions of the existing regulations do not extend for the purpose of giving validity to all which appear to be well grounded, and at the same time of enforcing the rights of the state in cases only in which they may have been wilfully or fraudulently infringed. It is the intention of the governor-general in council that

this inquiry shall be conducted in an impartial and liberal manner. It is not the wish of government to scrutinize in a litigious spirit the claims which may be brought forward or consider itself as placed in the situation of an adverse party with regard to any person who occupies land under any pledge expressed or implied on the part of the state. The commissioner by whom the inquiry is to be conducted will be placed under the authority of the government of Bengal, and that government will be requested to give directions for making public the instructions which the commissioner may receive for his guidance in the determination of questions affecting the rights of the government, or of individuals in land.

With this view the governor-general in council passed the new act, of which the following are the three clauses named above.

II. "And it is hereby enacted, that it shall be lawful for the governor-general of India in council to appoint one or more commissioners for the purpose of inquiring into, and deciding upon, claims to hold lands within any of the settlements of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca, whether the said claims be found on grants or titles registered in conformity with the provisions of any of the regulations repealed by the foregoing clause or not; provided nevertheless that every person holding land in any of the settlements aforesaid, under a grant or title registered in conformity with the provisions of the said regulations, shall be entitled to hold such land for such terms and on such conditions as are specified in such grant or title.

VI. "And it is hereby enacted, that if any person shall hold or occupy land within any of the settlements aforesaid, by a grant or title which shall not have been registered in conformity with the provisions of any of the regulations repealed by this act, and such person shall prefer a claim to hold or occupy the same, or if such claim shall rise out of any proceeding or inquiry held by the commissioner under this act, it shall be competent to the said commissioner to investigate the claim, and in every case in which the said commissioner shall be of opinion, that the claim is a fair one, the said commissioner shall make a decree assigning the land to which there may be such fair claim to the party who has such fair claim on such conditions, and for such term as may be prescribed under the rules laid down for the guidance of the said commissioner, and such decree shall constitute a good title as against the government to the land therein assigned on the conditions and for the term therein specified.

XII. "Provided always, that if any party objects to any decree or order of the said commissioner on the ground that such decree or order deprives that party of a legal right to land or to some interest in land, it shall be lawful for that party at any time within six weeks after the making of such decree or order, to move the court of judicature of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore, and Malacca, to quash such decree or order, which court shall try the question whether such decree or order be or be not inconsistent with any legal right of the party moving, and if the said court shall decide that such decree or order is inconsistent with any such legal right, the decree or order of the commissioner shall be quashed by the said court and shall be of no effect."

4. *The Agricultural and Horticultural Society* of Singapore held its first annual meeting on the 3d ultimo. The society has held regular monthly meetings during the year. At the ninth, held in April, there was read by one of its members, an address to the Chinese and native agriculturists. We have room for only one brief extract.

"The Singapore Agricultural and Horticultural Society is composed of almost all the European gentlemen in the island; the objects of the formation of the society, are to encourage the clearing and cultivation of Singapore, and

to render every assistance in their power, to all who are engaged in agriculture. It is believe that the existence of such a society is but little known to the Chinese and other native agriculturists in Singapore; this opportunity is taken for informing them that the society is most anxious for their welfare; is ready to render them every possible assistance or advice, and will be happy to communicate with them on any subject connected with agriculture and horticulture. The secretary of the society, is Mr. Crane, to whom all communications should be addressed, either personally or by letter; if a Chinese wishes to give information to the society on any subject connected with the cultivation of the island, or to solicit their assistance and coöperation, let him send a Chinese letter to the secretary Mr. Crane, who will get it translated and replied to in the same language; or let him call at Mr. Crane's house and say what he wants. It is desirable that this island should all be cleared and cultivated, in fact become a large garden: one means of accomplishing this, is to cultivate a variety of different articles. It is believed that hitherto the Chincse have only grown pepper and gambier to any extent; and have only begun to try coffee, sugar, and nutmeg planting."

This society has our entire approbation; and we wish its members abundant success. Well-directed and persevering efforts will surely be succeeded by permanent and salutary results. Great pains should be taken to induce the 'vagrant Chinese,' and 'all the tribes of natives,' to cultivate the soil, in this way *to keep themselves* from thefts, robberies, and other depredations, and gain an honorable livelihood. There is much in the present situation and circumstances of that rising settlement to excite high hopes and enterprising action. It is pleasing to see new improvements and institutions raising up in quick succession, and commercial and agricultural activity constantly on the increase. We are glad to see also, that a consulate for the United States of America, duly recognized by the honorable the Court of Directors in London, has been established at Singapore; the honorable Joseph Balestier is the present incumbent, having been appointed on the 4th of July, 1836. There are two or three other topics to which we wished to advert, but our limits forbid.

ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences. Affairs of Hingtae's hong; imperial envoy's return to Peking; severe gale; deaths.*

UP to this date (the 26th), there have been but few local occurrences, of the description usually noticed in this part of our Journal. The affairs of Hingtae's hong have been constantly agitated, during the month. Petitions have been presented; answers received; consultations held; investigations made; &c., &c.; but we have heard of no settlements, no payments; probably, 'when the waters are drawn off, the stones will appear!'

His majesty's envoy, who arrived here about the 1st of June, has returned to the capital: but we have seen no report of his proceedings; his investigations were conducted with closed doors, and related chiefly, it is said, to matters that had been under the notice of his predecessors. A severe gale was experienced here during the night of the 18th; but we have heard of no serious accidents.

The foreign flags, at half-mast, have recently indicated unusual mortality; the deaths of capts. Crocket and Swan at Lintin; of capt. Hornblow at Whampoa; and of Mr. John Everard, drowned on the 23d instant, returning in a sail-boat from that anchorage; and the death of Dr. Colledge's second son at Macao on the morning of the same day; have all been announced here in very quick succession.

THE

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ART. I. *Usbek Túrkestan: its early history, under Cyrus, Darius, Alexander, the Huns, and Mohammedans; the epochs of Genghís, Timúr, and the Usbeks; present communication with India, Persia, Russia, and China.*

THE region of which we have now taken a survey, is first mentioned in ancient history under the name of Bactria, a name said to be derived from the Bactrus, or 'Balkh river.' Historians who cannot be satisfied with any account that does not go back to the deluge, tell us, that Bactria was peopled by Gomer, grandson of Noah. This Bactria, with due allowance for the uncertainty of ancient geographical boundaries, was one of the countries conquered by Ninus, 2200 years before our era. It is not impossible, that the Zoroaster, who then governed Bactria, was the real author of the worship called by his name, and that the second Zoroaster of a later age, was only its restorer; but more probably, this early application of the name is a misnomer. It is believed, that this region continued to form a part of the Assyrian and Persian dominions down to the destruction of those early empires. It is certain, that the possessions of Cyrus extended to the Jaxartes; for Cyropolis, built by him, stood on the bank of this river. Bactria, or Balkh, acquired a new celebrity in the time of Darius Hystaspes, from its being chosen by Zoroaster as the seat of his worship, and the site of a magnificent temple, to which all his followers made pilgrimages. We are not informed how far this worship was an engine of state, but it appears from history, that it was strenuously supported by Darius, and that Zoroaster lost his life, in an attempt to advance, along with his own, the interests of his royal patron and master. A Scythian prince, irritated by the references to the Persian power, with which the priest enforced his spiritual appeals, slew him and burnt up his temple. Darius avenged his death and restored the worship of Zoroaster

We come next to the time of Alexander. Bessus, the betrayer of Darius was then governor of Bactria. After the overthrow and death of the Persian monarch, Alexander pursued Bessus, and having taken him prisoner, crossed the desert, reduced Maracanda (Samarkand), and ravaged the surrounding country. His rapid and successful marches, and wanton desolation of this populous and happy region, are narrated by Quintus Curtius, Arrian, &c. Alexander would have spared Cyropolis for the sake of its founder; its inhabitants, however, rejected his propositions, and it shared the fate of Maracanda. Thus far Alexander did no more than complete the reduction of the provinces of Persia. He now determined to cross the Jaxartes. The Scythian tribe, inhabiting its northern banks, sent envoys, who rode into his camp, and perhaps made the bold address recorded by Quintus Curtius. They told him, that their country extended from the Jaxartes to Thrace, and that he must take them either for the best guardians or worst invaders of his whole frontier. Their remonstances and threats were useless, and after disputing in vain the passage of the river, they acknowledged, on its northern bank, that 'every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians.' Does the declaration of these envoys authorize us to believe that the northern tribes, from the Belúr to Thrace, were one and the same people? If so, we may class these eastern Scythians with the hordes which broke into Asia Minor and Media, about 635 B. C., and for whose ravages, the celebrated expedition of Darius, in 514, was a pretended but uninflicted retaliation. And if so, we may generalize those descriptions, which Strabo, Justin, and others, give of the western Scythians, and seek for a reconciliation of their opposite characteristics, simplicity, moderation, justice, fierceness, violence, and cruelty, in the extremes between which semi-barbarous men everywhere alternate.

It does not appear that Alexander penetrated far beyond the Jaxartes. On its banks, he built a city and called it Alexandria. It was built in twenty days, was sixty furlongs round, and was peopled by his disabled soldiers, captives, &c. We are not told how long Alexandria with its mushroom walls, and exhausted veterans, resisted the attacks of the Scythians. After his death, the Seleucidæ ruled Bactria, until it rose to the rank of an independent kingdom, under Theodotus, 250 B.C. The Scythians, from beyond the Jaxartes, overwhelmed this dynasty, under its seventh king, about 100 B. C., and Bactria lost its independence. Probably one or two centuries of quiet succeeded before this region felt that movement of the northern tribes, which began on the north of China, a little before our era, and extended with its all-destroying force to the borders of France, and to the death of Attila.

Of the invasion of the Huns, and of their occupation of Túrkestan, there is, we believe, no correct history. It is stated generally, that their mingling with the Tájik population, resulted in something like civilization. Their attention to the arts of peace was not, however, an uninterrupted one. Persian history informs us, that their monarchs drove the Huns across the Oxus, again and again, in the fifth

and sixth centuries About 650 A. D., Persia itself sank under the arms of the califs, and before the close of that century their armies approached the Oxus. A queen, whose justice is still commemorated in popular songs, then ruled in Túrkestan. Her son and successor submitted to the usual Moslem alternative, and kept, for a little while, his life and throne, but afterward lost both, by an ill-considered recantation. He is said to have built a splendid mosque in his capital near Bokhára, and to have directed prayers to be said in Persian, "because it was the language of the people." This is another proof of the long and intimate connection which had subsisted between Persia and Túrkestan.

The Mohammedan faith was soon established in Transoxiana, or, as it is called in Arabic—Moweralnehar, 'the country beyond the river.' Two centuries passed away, under this rule, when the region enjoyed comparative quiet; and it became again populous, wealthy, and beautiful—a Mohammedan paradise. The power of the califs declined in the last years of the ninth century. Kwáresm became independent. It is supposed that the Persian family of Saman ruled the greater part of Túrkestan in the tenth century. About 1000 A.D. it became a part of the dominions of Mahmúd of Chizni. The Seljúks soon followed. Alp Arslan began, and his successor, Malik Shah, completed, the reduction of Túrkestan. The possessions of this monarch extended from China to the Mediterranean. The Seljúk dynasty terminated A. D. 1175, and Túrkestan was again divided into several independent states or kingdoms: of these, Kwáresm is said to have been the farthest advanced in the cultivation of the arts and literature, and in civilization.

We come now to a new epoch, the birth of Genghís. His ancestor, Tumená'h khan (who had a clear pedigree from Noah), was chief of a Mongol horde on the northwest of China, in the tenth century. Tumená'h divided his authority, on his death, between his twin sons, giving to the one the khanat, and appointing the other the commandant of his forces. This distinction he required to be perpetuated in their posterity. From the former of the sons, Genghís was descended. At the early age of thirteen, A. D. 1167, he was called to the khanat, and learned the art of war in the defense of his paternal authority. Successful in this defense, he became, in turn, the aggressor; and soon after the close of this century was master of Mongolia and a large portion of northern China. The ill treatment of his merchants and envoys in Kwá'resm, drew down on Túrkestan the vengeance of Genghís. He entered this country, A. D. 1218, at the head of 700,000 men, and seven successive years passed away before he had completed the work of conquest, devastation, and pillage. Maracanda, Bokhára, and the other cities of Túrkestan, were stormed and plundered. Genghís once more turned his arms towards China, but died soon after, A. D. 1227, without one reverse to break the long line of successive victories. His children succeeded to his dominions and his good fortune; and under Húlagu, and Kublai, Mongol dynasties were established over Túrkestan, Persia, and China. The

Persians threw off their allegiance to this family, by the close of the 13th century; and in 1368, the Mongols were driven from China by the founder of the Ming dynasty, only two years after the last descendant of Jaghata'i, had ceased to rule over Túrkestan.

The next epoch is that of Timúr. This worthy successor of Genghís was descended, in the eighth degree, from the 'less of the twin sons' of Tumena'h. A nearer ancestor, Keracha'r, had married a daughter of Genghís, the first of the family connected with Islam. Timúr was therefore of Mongol origin, though he seems to have regarded himself as a Turk, his family having been long established among the Turks at Kesh, and intermingled with them. The memoirs which he has left us, give an acquaintance with his heart and life, which cannot be had in the case of Genghís. He tells us, that when first carried to school at the age of seven, his delight was to assume the command over his little school-fellows, and make them fight sham battles. At twelve, he says, that "he perceived in himself all the signs of greatness and wisdom." His natural disposition seems to have been social, for he adds, "from my ninth to my seventy-first year, I have never dinned alone, or walked without a companion." He was called to take an early part in public affairs, his father seeking to retire from a world, which he had found to be 'a golden bowl, filled with serpents and scorpions.' Timúr did not dislike this, for at eighteen, 'he thought no one his superior.' The doctrines of Islam harmonized with his martial spirit, and the seids, who surrounded him, foreseeing, perhaps, his approaching elevation, interpreted his dreams and threw out predictions, so as to give the strongest impulse to his ambition.

Moments of softer mood were not, however, wanting even in the life of Timúr. This remorseless conqueror, who afterward sported with the lives of millions and trampled on their rights and happiness, at one time left off playing chess for conscience-sake, and pined at having trodden on a pismire. The spirit of the age, as well as his faith, tended to work this unhappy change in the character of Timúr. It was a maxim then, that 'whoever has 12,000 cavaliers, true and faithful, should be reckoned inglorious if he does not raise the standard of royalty.' When this envied distinction was gained, 'it was one of the rights of the prince, that his words should be the law of the land.' Timúr saw that war was the only pathway to his tempting elevation. 'He who would embrace the bride of royalty,' said he, to one of his rivals, 'must kiss her across the sharp sword.' His first exploit was, the repulse of a Persian band in 1357. After the death of the chief, who had deposed the last descendant of Jaghata'i, he submitted, for a time, to the prince of that line, who ruled north of the Sir. After serving him for some years, Timúr rebelled. Reduced, at first, to a handful of followers, he afterward led on his troops successfully, against the invading Jetes; and, at length, at the age of thirty-five, the support of the seids, and a fortunate lot, placed the sceptre in his hands. He fixed his residence at Samarkand, and ordered his court, and drew up his institutes, as Genghís had done.

We cannot follow Timúr through his subsequent career. A little before his death, he reviewed it all, and ascribed his success "to God's blessing on the strictness, with which he had weighed justice to all, had shown compassion to all mankind, had conferred benefits on all, had been faithful to his word and to his trust as the treasurer of God, and had supported the faith of Islam, and its ministers the seids." No suspicion of his right to the title of 'benefactor' seems to have crossed his mind. 'He had taken justice in one hand and equity in the other, and by these two lamps, kept the palace of royalty illuminated.' Even his religious motives appear to have been approved by himself, though he discloses their character to us in these remarkable words. 'He had heard that church and state are twins, and that every sovereignty not supported by religion loses its authority, and every person, worthy or unworthy, presumes to meddle therewith.'

We now come to the last epoch in the history of Túrkestan, the invasion of the Usbeks, who continue to rule it, at the present time. Long before Timúr's birth, Sheiba'ni khan, son of Batu, son of Túshi, son of Genghís, had settled with a large party of Túrks, Mongols, &c., on the Ural river, and founded the khanat of Túra. One of his successors, popular beyond the rest, gave his own name 'Uskek,' to the whole tribe. This tribe had become powerful, before 1500 A. D.; and a division of it, under the second Sheibáni, who had been excluded from the khanship of Túra, invaded the country south of the Aral. Meanwhile, Ba'ber, whose memoirs are the annals of this period, had succeeded to his paternal kingdom of Ferghána, at the age of twelve, 1494 A. D. Túrkestan was then cut up into minute independencies, and the princes of these districts are well characterized as 'regarding all the obligations of nature and morality dissolved, by the pursuit of a throne.' Fathers, brothers, and sons, were in arms against each other, and each alternately befriended and betrayed. The lesser chiefs and warriors were equally distinguished for the perfidy, with which they transferred themselves from master to master, and for their reckless cruelty in the causes, which they successively espoused. One redeeming circumstance must be admitted in the history of this period, the cultivation of science and of literature by the princes of the line of Timúr, and by the higher classes and múllahs of that time. The patronage of astronomy by Ulugh Beg, grandson of Timúr, his observatory, and astronomical tables, are well known. The Arabic, Persian, and Túrkí, languages were then studied by all the educated, and were further enriched by the productions of many learned men. It is an eastern saying, the serpent employed Arabic to seduce our common mother; Adam and Eve discoursed of love in Persian; and the angel spoke Túrkí, when compelled to drive our first parents from paradise: and with these languages at command, genius could never want terms, in which to clothe its conceptions, whatever may be its theme.

The incursions of the Usbeks, as well as domestic quarrels, soon called the attention of Báber and his contemporaries, away from the

pursuits of peace. This accomplished prince still continued to write poetry, in the intervals of an unavailing contest; but badly supported by his allies and dependents, he was, at last, driven to make reprisals in other kingdoms for the loss of his own. His invasion of Cabúl, and subsequent conquest of Hindústan, are detailed in his memoirs. Sheibá'ni khan, the antagonist of Báber, continued victorious in Túrkestan, until, having provoked Shah Ismael of Persia, the founder of the Suffavean dynasty, to meet them at Merve, he was defeated and slain, about A. D. 1510. Persia, for a few years, maintained her ascendency over the west of Túrkestan, but the son of Sheibá'ni, returning to the contest, and being aided by the súní aversion to the Persians, he established the domination which subsists at the present time. For Túrkestan, this was an unhappy change. Literature, science, and genius, took their flight, only the despotism of the house of Timúr remaining. How far the influence of Usbek vicinity has been injurious to Khorásan and Persia, we are not informed. The court of Herát had previously been 'far in advance of any contemporary European capital, not excepting that of Francis I., in cultivation, refinement, and the arts of life.' From this time it rapidly declined. It seems to have been in retaliation for Usbek incursions, that Túrkestan was partly conquered by Shah Abbas, and again by Nadir Shah. The lineal descendants of Sheibá'ni continued to occupy the throne of Bokhára, until the latter years of the last century, when the last pageant was deposed by Múrad Beg, an Usbek of the Mungut tribe. Buhadúr khan, the present monarch, who ascended the throne A. D. 1825, is the third of this new line.

To this brief sketch of the annals of Túrkestan, we can add few remarks, on the origin of the tribes by which it has been successively scourged. The libraries of Central Asia may contain the materials for a correct history of these races, but it seems to be only adding conjecture to conjecture, to speculate on this point, without their aid. When Timúr expressed his curiosity on this head, his father told him "the Turks were descended from Yafet Aglan, son of Yafet, son of Noah. Yafet Aglan was the first monarch of the Turks; he left his throne to his fifth son Aljeh; the all gracious God gave to Aljeh twin sons, *Tartar* and *Mongol;* their descendants divided Túrkestan and fought many a hard battle on its plains." This distinction between Tartar or Turk, and Mongol is not merely in name. Nature has marked it strongly in the different mould of the tall, well-formed, handsome Turk, and the short, ill-formed, Mongol. The ignorance of their neighbors has, however, confounded it—the Europeans calling them all Tartars; the Arabs, all Turks; and De Guignes, drawing his information from eastern sources, all Mongols or Huns.

As to the origin and proper application of the word Tartar, we will not attempt to decide. It may be as easy and quite as just, as the father of Timúr makes it, for aught we know. Our histories, geographies, and maps, show the popularity of the name. On the other hand, it appears (vide preface to the memoirs of Báber), that it is unknown to the tribes to which we apply it, and that, very probably,

it has been derived from the name of one of the lesser Mongol tribes. As a modern appellation, there can be no doubt, that it is better to denominate the two great races, which have so often met in war, and mingled in peace on the plains of Central Asia — Turks and Mongols — as they called themselves. Perhaps some light may be thrown on their national dissimilarity, by the fact that a Persian people, occupied the country south of the Turks, from the earliest time, and by the inference, that both Persian genius and comeliness have been imparted to the Turk, while the blood of the rude Mongol has been transmitted comparatively pure. Admitting the correctness of this division into Turk and Mongol, it must, however, be added, that their nomade habits and their extensive migrations in peace and war, make it impossible to apply any test to the composition of some of the existing tribes. As an instance of peaceful migration, we may refer to the Tourgouths, who returned, in 1771, from the banks of the Volga to their ancient seat east of the Belúr. In that case, 100,000 families traversed this wide extent of country, and regained their ancestral home, though harrassed, as unbelievers, by the Mohammedan tribes. Still more extensive and confounding have been the migrations of these hordes in war. The warlike part of every defeated tribe, appear to have incorporated themselves with their conquerors, and thenceforth to have plundered, in great harmony, under the same banners. The princes, to whom conquered provinces were assigned, retained with them detachments of their followers, and this perpetuated the confusion. These considerations excuse us from any attempt to assign the proportions, in which the earlier races are combined, to the present tribes of Central Asia.

The early intercourse of the inhabitants of Túrkestan with each other and the world, is, of course, involved in great uncertainty. Their origin, habits, tastes, language, and political dependence, would naturally connect them closely, if not exclusively, with Persia. The reports of the riches of India, which drew Alexander from the Jaxartes to the Hydaspes, were no doubt corroborated, if not derived, by commerce with that country. Long before the Arabian conquest, it appears that the throne or the harem of Bykund, was graced by a princess of the imperial house of China. We may infer an exchange of commodities less precious and less fragile. In the tenth century, an extensive trade was had with Russia. In the thirteenth, Genghís was provoked to enter Túrkestan, partly by the ill treatment of his merchants. At the marriage of Timúr's grandson at Kokan, embassadors were present from all the neighboring states, among which China was included.

Passing over early notices, we come to the present intercourse of the Usbeks. Referring to our description of these for a specification of their exchangeable productions, and to the travels of Burnes for minuter information, we will briefly trace, for general purposes, the routes and state of communication at the present time. Of these, Bokhára is the centre. The radii diverge to India, Persia, Russia, and Soungaria.

In the communication with India, Cabúl seems to be the great, if not the only, avenue. About 2000 camel-loads of Indian goods, indigo, sugar, muslins, &c., &c., enter Cabúl yearly by way of Attok, and the half of these, passes on, by Bamián to Túrkestan. There are thirteen marches from Cabúl to Khúlúm. At this southern mart, some indigo and other articles pass eastward to Kúndúz and even to Yárkand. The greater portion crosses the Oxus at Kilef, and arrives in twelve days at Bokhára. Horses are used in the mountains of this country, but transportation across the sands is effected on camels. This patient animal, with a load of 500lbs., moves on by marches of about 25 miles, at the rate of 2¼ miles per hour. Its power of enduring heat and thirst being less than is usually stated, the camel is driven only by night, and is watered every march, without which, it pines and dies the fourth day. At the termination of the march, the caravansera receives the merchandise in its area, and each one betakes himself to his own separate cell. The trade from Cabúl is in the hands of Afghans. This route has been safe for some years past, under the protection required by the Koran, and the quiet government of Cabúl. Regular supplies of Indian produce are furnished by it to Bokhára, and thence to Khíva, and Kokan. Some shawls, &c., are even sent to Russia. British manufactures enter by this route into successful competition with those imported from Russia, and the progressive removal of transit restrictions, and still more the use of steam on the Indian rivers, will doubtless give to the former party, increasing advantage in this trade. Cabúl has been more than once invaded from Túrkestan, but it is not probable, considering political circumstances and the intervening country, that the compliment will be returned.

The line of communication between Bokhára and Persia crosses the Oxus fifty miles from Bokhára, and passes by Merve to Meshed, distant about nine marches, or 225 miles. A few goods received from Russia are sent as far as Meshed, and some shawls, opium, &c., taken in return. A small annual caravan crosses from Khíva to Asterabad. The want of suitable exchanges, the strength of religious and national prejudice, and the dangers of the way, from the lawlessness of the Túrkomans, have never allowed this route to become important, nor is it likely that intercourse by it will increase.

Notwithstanding British competition, the most important intercourse of Bokhára, is with Russia. This is conducted by three routes to Orenburg, via Urgunje in 60 days; to Troitskoi, the eastern shore of the Aral, in 48 days; to Petropaulousk, on the Issim, in 90 days. Of these, the first is the most frequented. One thousand three hundred camels leave Orenburg for Bokhára in January, and return in June. The smaller caravans from Bakhára, Troitskoi and Petropaulousk, follow in August, passing east of the Aral, above the mouths of the Sir. Russia has not failed to foster this trade. Fairs are annually held for its benefit at on the Volga, and the principal purchases and sales for the Bokhára market are made there. Russia has also endeavored to open a more direct route by Astrachan and Mungusluk,

or the bay of Krasnoiarsk, as well as a shorter way from Troitskoi; but these have failed, through the opposition of the khan of Khíva, who, in the true spirit of conservatism, adheres to the old tax and the old roads. In supplying the markets of Túrkestan, Russia has the advantage in natural facilities; but England in enterprise, and especially in manufacturing skill. In this peaceful contest of cheapness, both powers will probably exhaust their jealousies, much as we hear of their ambitious designs. There is, however, a chance that the khan of Khíva may provoke Russia; and should she form a post on the Aral, for his restraint, the temptation may be irresistible to assert the command of the Oxus and the Sir.

The vallies of the Sir and the Oxus are the great lines of communication between Túrkestan and the Chinese empire. It is said that the caravans from Tashkend once pursued a more northern route, and entered the Kashgar country, by passes, still used by the Kirghís, across the Belúr. The best entrance is, however, by the valley of the Sir. This was the path of caravans in Báber's time, and by it Shah Rokh's embassadors to China returned. It is a 45 days' journey, merchandise being carried from Bokhára in carts, and thence on horses to Kashgar and Yárkand. During the summer months, this route is said be made impassable by the melting of the snows. The connection of the khan of Kokan with the rebellion of Jehangír in 1826, led to the closing of this route; and though afterward reöpened, it is still so much restricted, that the more southern, by the Oxus, is now preferred. This line of communication leaves the road to Cabúl, at Khúlúm. It follows the valley of the Oxus to Badakshan, crosses the plain of Pamer, and thence, by the valley of the river Yárkand, extends to the town. This journey is annually made by 500 camels from Bokhára to Khúlúm, where the lading is placed on 1000 horses, which toil up the dangerous defiles of the Belúr, the whole transit occupying sixty-five days.

The same jealousy, which characterizes Chinese dealings with foreigners on the eastern coast, is felt on this remote frontier. No Chinese is suffered to cross it, nor are the natives of Túrkestan permitted to penetrate into the celestial empire. The trade is in the hands of natives of Badakshan. Among the articles taken by them to Yárkand, is Persian opium, received via Meshed, and purchased readily by the Chinese at 5 tilla's (30 rupees) per maund of 7 pounds. Unless the quality be inferior, we should suppose, that this low price would give the Persian opium an extensive currency through the interior. The great article of export from Yárkand is green tea, of which 450 horse-loads, 200,000lbs., are annually carried to Bokhára. The other Usbek states, no doubt, consume a still larger quantity. This tea is brought from China in boxes, and at Yárkand is repacked in strong bags, in which it is carried across the mountains. After so long a transit, we are prepared to hear that this tea costs, 60 tilla's, per horse-load, in Yárkand, and 100 in Bokhára. The Usbeks are too fond of tea to forego this costly luxury. They however use it with much economy, drinking the infusion, and then chewing the leaves. Great good

faith is said to characterize the dealings of Chinese merchants at Yárkand. The trader from Bokhára has also much reason to be satisfied with his own, and the Cinese, government; the former exacting only 2½ per cent., and the latter 3 per cent., duties. On this point, the Chinese are, however, the more Chatholic; for they treat all alike, while in Bokhára, the Moslem only is favored, and the Hindú made to pay 10 per cent., and the Christian 20 per cent., duties. On the other hand, Bokhára excels in charity, all duties being remitted whenever one of the faithful swears he is a poor man, and cannot afford to pay them.

The following, are some further memoranda, of the routes from Yárkand. Distance

To Peking, 35 days for an express, 5 months for caravans;
To Ladák, 27 days for caravans;
To Aksú, 20 days for caravans;
To Semipalatnoi, 40 days;
To Kashgar is 105 miles.

The above notices are sufficient to convey a tolerable idea of the state of communication, domestic and foreign, in Túrkestan. No apology for their length will be required by any one who remembers, how closely the results of modern experience coincide with the declarations of ancient prophecy, and that human improvement is identified with human intercourse. We will mention but one route more, that of the Asiatic cholera. 'This terrible pestilence began its ravages in India; then passed to Cabúl, crossed the Hindú Kúsh, and disolated Balkh and Kúndúz. It fluctuated for a year between Herát and the Oxus, and then attacked Bokhára and Kokan. It passed on to Khíva, Orenburg, Astrachan, and thence spread over Europe. The Atlantic could not arrest its progress, nor has it yet numbered its last victims in Europe and America.'

We have already noticed the ill terms, on which Kúndúz, Kokan, and Khíva, are with each other. These three states are said to be impressed with a high sense of the power of Russia. Kúndúz has the most jealous dread of the rulers of British India. We will merely add a remark, on the relations of these states with China. Kokan still suffers, in Chinese estimation, for its implication with the irruption of 1826, and probably will not recover while under the present ruler. Bokhára is on friendly terms with China, and its aid was sought, on the irruption of Kokánese just mentioned. Presents are exchanged by the authorities of Yárkand and Kúndúz, and mutual arrangements made for the safety of the roads between the two countries.

What shall we say, in conclusion, of the influence which China and Túrkestan exert on each other? It appears that neither party either fears or meditates encroachment. The Chinese seem to be well satisfied with their western frontiers, and the Usbeks are equally pleased with their annual supply of tea, &c. The passes of the Belúr are left unfortified, and while this is the case there is nothing, but this mutual content, to prevent mutual incursions. We should say, that the Chi-

nese possessions, west of Kobi, belong rather to Túrkestan; and that they could be more easily conquered and defended from that quarter, than from China. On the other hand, the Chinese are aided by the division of the Usbek power, and probably by a more extensive use of firearms.

Could Bokhára, Kokan, Khíva, and Kúndúz, be connected by steam communication, for which the Sir, the Oxus, and the Aral, as well as the hard and level deserts, afford such facilities, they would form a powerful whole, and, under able rulers, give laws to Central Asia. A result so opposed to the maxim, "*divide et impera*," is not likely to be effected by the influence of Russia. The prospect is a little less remote, that the example of Turkey will be felt, and European improvements introduced, second-hand, into Túrkestan. It will, however, put in requisition all the zeal and all the devotion of these eastern suffragans to their head, to convert them from the personification of bigotry, to the pursuits and patronage of liberal institutions and true knowledge. The British Indian government has it in its power to hasten this result, by accepting the invitation given it, through lieutenant Burnes, and appointing an able resident at Bokhára. It is its interest to strengthen this northern neighbor. Aided by the suggestions of a British resident, Bokhára might rise rapidly to power, and make its influence felt in favor of all that is good, from Siberia to Hindú Kúsh, and from the Caspian to China.

ART. II. *Philippine Islands: their discovery by F. de Magellan; and a brief narrative of the fleet under his command, including some particulars respecting his death.*

THE following notices are drawn from the 'Historia General de Philipinas, por el P. Fr. Juan de la Concepcion,' and the 'Chronica de la Apostolica Provincia de S. Gregorio, de Religiosos Descalzos de N. S. P. San Francisco, en las islas Philipinas, &c.' The former work was published at Manila in 1788, in fourteen volumes octavo, and is considered the best of several histories of these islands. The Franciscan chronicles were published at Manila, in two volumes folio, in 1738. The Augustine, Dominican, and other conventual orders have, we believe, similar chronicles. Both these works are introduced by adulatory dedications and prefaces, which we pass over. They are written in a rambling and confused style, and abound with expressions of extravagant devotion to the Spanish crown and to the holy see. We shall not stop to criticise our authorities on these points, but limit ourselves to a brief notice of the discovery and settlement of the rich islands which lie so near us, and which have, for more than two centuries, been an appendage of the crown of Spain.

For the honor of this discovery, and the colonial acquisitions which have resulted from it, Spain is indebted to Fernando de Magellan or Magalhaens, a Portuguese of noble birth. We find no account of the early life of this distinguished man. He must have been one of the earliest adventurers beyond the Cape of Good Hope, for he is said to have traveled extensively in eastern Asia, and to have distinguished himself under Albuquerque in 1510 and 1511. Returning to Portugal in 1514 or 1515, he found his services unappreciated and unrewarded by Dom Manoel, the reigning prince. It is probable that this disappointment in his expectations of reward for past services, was the reason of his transferring his future services to Charles V. of Spain. The statement which makes Magellan to have laid before his sovereign his proposal to reach the Moluccas by a western passage, seems inconsistent with the acknowledged shrewdness of the man. He must have known that the line drawn by papal authority between the Portuguese and Spanish claims, made it the interest of the Portuguese to conceal the western passage, if such did exist. We therefore prefer to regard Magellan simply as a disappointed or injured man, who carried this proposal to Charles V. because he knew, that this was the service which would best recommend him to the Spanish crown. Charles V. then held his court at Valladolid, and there Magellan, accompanied by his friend Luis Talero, a distinguished cosmographer, presented himself in 1517. The existence of a great western ocean beyond America had already been well attested by M. de Balbao and others, and Brazil had been coasted as far south as the river La Plata. Magellan brought with him the information respecting the Moluccas, which he had gained from Francisco Serrano, their discoverer, with whom he had been intimate while in the east. Fonseca, the superintendent of Indian affairs, introduced him to the king. Here he again evinced his thorough acquaintance with the subject of his propositions, and demonstrated to the satisfaction of all, that the Moluccas could be reached by a western passage, and rightfully belonged to Spain.

The Portuguese embassador, Alvaro da Costa, aware of the proposals of Magellan, sought to defeat them, by misrepresenting him to the king. But Charles V. had discovered, under a small and unprepossessing person, the great mind of Magellan, and gave no credit to the story of the embassador, that he had been dismissed the Portuguese service for incompetency. Perhaps he was also informed that da Costa was secretly urging the navigator to return to Portugal, and assuring him that his past services would receive a proper reward. These intrigues were, however, of no avail, Charles V. having determined that the proposals of Magellan should be carried into effect. He invested Magellan and his friend with the order of Santiago, and gave them rank in the service of Spain. He moreover bound himself to furnish five vessels of between sixty and 130 tons and 234 men for the voyage, to confirm them and their heirs in the government of the discovered countries, to secure to them a twentieth of the profits of the commerce which shall be carried on there-

with, &c., &c., reserving to the crown of Spain only the supreme authority and the appointment of fiscal officers. They, on their part, engaged to find islands bearing spices, by a route which should not pass the line of demarcation between the Spanish and Portuguese claims. Notwithstanding this favorable arrangement, the preparations for the voyage went on slowly. It was necessary to offer bounties to procure the requisite number of men. Money failed, and the final preparations were completed by the aid of some merchants of Seville. As the time of departure approached, the two friends, who had thus far labored together in harmony, began to quarrel about their respective rank. The king was called on to decide who should bear the royal standard, and he directed that Talero, on account of his health, should remain behind. The Franciscan Chronicle suggests that it might not have been the will of God, that the glory of this expedition should be shared by a man, whose knowledge was derived, as his countrymen said, from intercourse with an improper person, '*un maldito familiar*.' Talero died, soon after, of disappointment and rage. Magellan was thus left sole commander of his fleet, consisting of the Trinidad, Victoria, Conception, San Antonio, and Santiago; and after prayers, he set sail on the 10th of August, 1519.

After touching for a few days at Teneriffe, they again sailed the 2d of October, but being unacquainted with the proper course, lost much time by following the African shore. Standing to the westward, the winds became more favorable, and on the 13th December, they anchored in the bay of Rio de Janeiro, the present capital of Brazil. The natives brought them fruits, fowls, &c., giving a slave for a hatchet, and six or seven birds for the king of a pack of cards. Magellan forbade the traffic in slaves, because they would serve only to consume provisions, and, perhaps, to embroil him with the Portuguese. Having remained in this harbor until Christmas, the fleet again resumed its course, and on the 13th of January, entered the river La Plata. Sailing again the 6th of February, they reached the 41st degree of south latitude, when the cold began to be severe. Landing again to procure refreshments, they took the opportunity to celebrate mass on shore. Magellan here discovered that the insubordination, for which he had already placed one of his captains in confinement, extended to the rest. His crew, too, pressed with cold, hunger, and dread, begged to be carried back to Spain. Magellan quelled this mutiny, by putting to death one of his captains and sentencing one other, along with a French ecclesiastic, to be left to perish on this inhospitable shore. That these severities were not the result of indiscriminate cruelty may be inferred from the fact, that Magellan afterwards freely pardoned his mutinous crews. To look out for a better harbor, the Conception was dispatched southward, but was lost, with her cargo, on the return. The harbor, in which they were thus constrained to pass the winter, was in 49° 18′ south latitude. Leaving it, on the return of the milder weather, Magellan discovered, early in November, the strait which still bears his name. Here he was deserted by the San Antonio, her officers taking advantage of a sepa-

ration from the fleet to imprison their commander and to steer again for Spain. On their arrival at San Luca in March, they declared that the cruelties of Magellan had compelled them to return. Their representations had too much weight: the ship was libelled, the commander and some of his accusers retained in custody, and the wife and children of Magellan confined at Burgos, until the truth should be disclosed.

The undaunted navigator, finding that he was not to be rejoined by the San Antonio, pursued his course with the three vessels which remained. Clearing the straits the 27th of November, he followed the western coast of South America to 32,° south latitude, and then steered northwest to the equator and the Molucca islands. On this long passage, provisions failed, and much had been suffered from want and disease, when two islands were discovered, on the Sunday of S. Lazaro. These islands were small but beautiful; the people idolatrous and rude. Magellan resorted to force to keep off the crowd, which curiosity had brought on board. They resisted, but fled at the discharge of a piece of artillery. Afterwards they returned to traffic, and at length stole one of the ship's boats; irritated by this theft, Magellan landed about ninety of his men, killed some who resisted, recovered the boat, and took with them what provisions could be found. Returning on board with one of the captured natives, as interpreter, he pursued his course. Sailing westward, and passing several islands, he made the southeastern point of the island of Mindanao. He was now quite near to the long sought Moluccas, but mistaking their direction, he steered north, coasting the eastern shore of Mindanao. Landing at the town of 'Butuan,' he celebrated Easter day on shore, the friendly natives aiding their visitors in setting up a cross, and admiring the ceremony by which their island was declared to be a possession of the crown of Spain. Passing through the strait which separates Mindanao from Leyte, he landed on the island of Limasava. The chief of this island, in reply to the inquiries of Magellan for the Moluccas, conducted him to Zebu. The Zebuans, equally astonished, but less confiding than the other islanders, came down to the shore to the number of 2000, armed with spears. Assured by the chief of Limasava, that the Spaniards came with peaceful designs, and brought rich merchandise, Hamadan, the king or rajah, laid aside his hostile garb, and gave them a friendly reception. The treaty or alliance, which followed, was solemnized by the ceremony common among the Dayaks, of drawing a little blood from the contracting parties, and drinking it together. The salute which was fired by Magellan, on the completion of this ceremony, had its usual effect, in astonishing the natives of Zebu. The influence of Magellan is said to have been further increased by the favorable effect of some medicine, administered to the nephew of the king. Abundant refreshments were now furnished to the Spanish crews, in exchange for beads, bells, looking-glasses, &c. Magellan proceeded to build a house of trade, and one where mass might be celebrated with due effect. The king, his wife, and son, were present at the first celebra-

tion, and behaved with attention and reverence. When the sacred mysteries were explained to them, they expressed their desire to become Christians. This request was acceded to; and they were catechised briefly and forthwith baptized. Our chronicler adds, "so hasty an admission might have been censurable, had it not been hastened and sanctioned by special miracles." The example of the chief was followed by 800 of the principal people of the island. Their conversion being thus effected, another day was employed in receiving the submission of Hamadan to the Spanish crown. Regarding the Zebuans as already Christians and vassals of Spain, Magellan now thought it incumbent on him to evince his devotion, and the reality of the protection under which they were taken. He therefore offered his aid to subdue their enemies, beginning with the people of the neighboring island of Maktan. He had already been successful in one or two battles, and had burnt some villages, when, with fifty followers, he was surrounded in a marsh, by 2000 Mactanís. Against such odds, the Spanish valor was of no avail; and Magellan, with most of his men, fell under the arrows of their enemies, the 26th of April, 1521.

The followers of this able leader mourned over his untimely death. His successful guidance of them seemed to have fixed on him their entire confidence, and perhaps this affection led them to erect his cousin Duarte Barbosa to be their commander in his stead. A still heavier stroke now awaited the expedition, in the defection and perfidy of the king of Zebu. He joined, perhaps sincerely, in the lamentations of the Spaniards for the loss of their chief, but soon after conceived the purpose which plunged them in still deeper grief. Pretending that he had prepared his presents for the king of Spain, and would show them to the bearers, he invited Barbosa and twenty-five of his officers to a feast. Serrano only distrusted the designs of the king. His fears were ridiculed, and the taunts of his comrades induced him to go with them to the shore. In the middle of their festivity, a band of armed men rushed upon them and put them to death. Serrano only was promised his life, if he would ransom it by two cannons. Bound and wounded he was carried to the shore, and besought his companions to pay the ransom and save him from death. They replied by weighing anchor and hoisting sail. Before they were out of hearing, the angry shouts of the natives told them that Serrano was added to the number of the slain. Looking back once more to the spot where Magellan had planted the cross, they saw it miraculously supported, so that, with all the efforts of the natives, it could not be overthrown.

The loss of so many of their best men left the survivors too weak to form three crews. The Santiago was therefore burned, and the Victoria and Trinidad pursued their course, Juan Caravallo having been chosen to the chief command. It is not clear what route was pursued from Zebu to Tidore. Probably the two ships steered southwest again, around the western coast of Mindanao. Their first stopping-place was at Paluan, where they were well received. Leaving this friendly port, they were conducted to a large city or town,

which they call Borney, but which their probable position hardly permits us to regard as the modern Borneo, on the northwest coast of the island of that name. More probably it was one of the capitals of Mindanao. On approaching Borney, they met with some of the officers of the king, through whom they forwarded presents, which were well received. The envoys, which they sent to court, at the king's request, were met by an escort of 2000 men, having bows and spears, with an elephant in their train. They were conducted to the palace, and their replies communicated by a tube, passing through the wall of the apartment, to the royal ear. They were dismissed with presents, and on their return informed their commander, that the city was large and the people numerous, and that in their opinion, they had better be gone. It was, however, necessary to send once more to the city for some naval stores, and the five men dispatched on this service, did not return. The Spaniards then seized some hostages, and sent a message to the king, that they would burn his vessels and kill his people, if their comrades were not restored. Two of them then returned to the ships, but all their efforts being unavailing to effect the restoration of the other three men, they at length set sail, leaving them behind.

Finding soon after a convenient port, they careened their vessels, and deposing Caravallo, elected Gonsalo Gomes de Espinosa to the command in his stead. Embarking again, they captured the prahu of the chief of Puluan, but remembering that they had been well treated in his island, they released him again. Meeting with a prahu, which showed some hostile signals, near the island 'Quespid,' they boarded her, killing twenty, and capturing thirty, men. The pilot of this prahu, denied that he knew the way to the Moluccas, but offered to take them to two islands where they would find cloves. When near the two islands, a chief came on board, who promised to carry them to the Moluccas, but finding his brother, in the captive pilot, he became alarmed and attempted to escape. Seized again, and confined in irons, the two brothers were required to act as pilots, but they soon effected their escape, by throwing themselves overboard in the night. One of the thirty prisoners now told his masters, that the Moluccas were 100 leagues distant, and following his directions, they entered, the 8th of November, the port of Tidore. Almansor, king of Tidore, visited them, wearing a shirt embroidered with gold, a white dress which came down to his feet, and a silk turban or veil. He gave them a friendly welcome, the smell of their bacon, meanwhile, obliging him to hold his nose. The Spaniards made him a profound obeisance, and offered him a chair covered with crimson velvet, a yellow velvet gown, a coat of cloth made of gold, four yards of scarlet cloth, a piece of yellow damask, a piece of linen, a golden worked handkerchief, two glass cups, some beads, knives, &c. Other presents were given to the son of the king and to the chiefs. Their petition for permission to trade was then granted, along with authority to kill all who should do them harm. The royal standard, arms, and portrait, were then shown to Almansor, who admired them much, and moreover told them that

he had discovered some time before, by means of astrology, that Christians were coming to purchase spices, and that he had prepared for them permission to trade.

The sad fate of their companions at Zebu was not yet out of the memories of the Spaniards, and they did not forget precautions while refreshing themselves on shore. The natives finding them ignorant of the prices of cloves, attempted to impose on them, and they again appealed to the king. His authority procured for them cargoes, on low terms, and he further engaged that he would ever be friendly to the Spanish crown, and admit its subjects to a free trade. The Spaniards paid for their cargoes in linens, silks, and cloths, and presented Almansor with their thirty captives, as slaves. Information respecting the arrival of the Spaniards had now spread to the neighboring islands, and Corralat king of Ternate, and Luzuf king of Gilolo, came to offer their homage. These chiefs, as well as Almansor, prepared letters to the emperor, tendering their submission, and praying him to send them men to aid them against their enemies, and instructed to teach them the Catholic religion, and the customs of Castille. The ships were now ready to sail, and some young Tidoreans, who had offered to accompany them, were taken on board. At this moment, it was discovered that the Trinidad required extensive repairs. It was therefore agreed, that the Victoria, under the command of Juan Sebastian Cano, should carry to Europe the most valuable part of the cargo, the royal letters, &c., by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and that the Trinidad, after being refitted, should sail direct for Panama, whence her cargo could be carried across the isthmus, and so to Spain.

The Victoria proceeded on her voyage early in 1522. Some lives were soon after lost in quarrels, and the failure of provisions thinned the number of her crew. After great sufferings, they reached the Cape de Verde islands, but the Portuguese governor imprisoned the men who were sent for provisions, and attempted to seize the ship. Cano escaped, and after further suffering, reached San Lucas, the 6th of September, 1622. Bareheaded and barefooted, the eighteen survivors of this voyage went in procession to church, with candles in their hands, to return thanks to God. The news soon reached the court, and Cano was commanded to repair thither with some of his companions, his charts, &c. They were received with marked distinction by the king, a pension of 500 ducats was bestowed on Cano, with a coat of arms, and a globe with the device '*primus circumdedit me.*' Pensions were also granted to his officers, and a fourth of the royal twentieths distributed among the crew. The men who had been seized at the Cape de Verde islands, and sent thence to Portugal, were delivered up, on the demand of the king. The Victoria discharged 433 quintals of cloves, and a quantity of sandalwood, nutmegs, cassia, &c. A few of the Tidoreans also survived, and were presented to the king. One of these showed himself to be a sharp trader, and went from shop to shop, in Seville, inquiring the prices of products of his native island. For this exhibition of curiosity he paid dearly, for when his

companions were sent home, to their native island, it was thought best to require him to remain.

The return of Cano disclosed the truth respecting the conduct of Magellan, and the desertion of the San Antonio. The memory of the navigator was completely vindicated, and a munificent pension bestowed on dona Beatrix Barbosa, his widow.

A still harder fate awaited the Trinidad, which we left repairing at Tidore. She set sail for America the 6th of April, and ran to the northward, to avoid the easterly winds. In 20° north latitude, islands were met with, the people of which crowded on board. One of these was detained, and the rest were driven off. Having reached the 42° of north latitude, they encountered severe storms. Short allowances and sickness ensued, and after a long course of sufferings, finding that they were but 300 leagues from the Moluccas, they resolved to return. On this passage, 27 men died, and the weak remainder of the crew, could do no more than drop anchor at four leagues distance from Tidore. Here they learned that a Portuguese fleet, under Antonio de Britto, had visited Tidore, a few days after their departure, and that the four men, whom they had left to form a factory, were in their hands. Their distress compelled them, however, to seek the aid of their enemy. De Britto supplied them with provisions, but took possession of their papers and cargo. After a detention of some months, they were permitted to proceed by the way of Malacca, Ceylon, and Cochin, but whether in their own or in Portuguese vessels does not appear. On the Malabar coast another long detention awaited them, but leaving their ship, if indeed she had not been left before, they at length found a passage to Lisbon, where the survivors arrived, after an absence of five years.

Thus terminated the celebrated voyage of Magellan, the first circumnavigation of the globe. The scheme and its execution alike evince the genius of the man, by whom it was planned. The conduct of Magellan, in the completion of his bold design, entitles him to a place by the side of the discoverer of the western world. His energy tended to severity, and his courage to rashness, but for these, we must admit palliations in the lawlessness of his associates, and the martial habits of his time. Unhappily, the story of his voyage is but a fit preface to that 'history of usurpations,' which is 'the history of European intercourse with the east.' There can be no excuse for the cruelty with which he inflicted vengeance on the islanders who had offended him, or for the readiness with which he lent himself to the prosecution of a petty, brutal, and to himself, fatal war. Still more censurable is the conduct of his associates after his death. If we take into account their conduct toward each other and the people of the islands along their route, we shall have great difficulty in placing the Spaniard of that time, much higher in the scale of civilization than the natives of Tidore. Would that this could be said only of the 'Spaniard of that time.' But further observation requires us to generalize this remark, and to apply it, with few exceptions, to the successive expeditions which have visited this archipelago, under Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch colors, from the days of Magellan, down

to the present time. Can nothing be done to cut off this long entail of injuries, and to secure some compensatory reversions, to the people of these eastern isles? The policy of the present rulers will, we trust, show by experiment that much can be done.

Note. The largest of the islands, which their Spanish masters call 'Las islas Filipinas,' is, on our charts, 'Luçonia' or 'Luzon.' This word may be Chinese, or it may be derived from 'Losong,' i. e. 'wooden mortar,' this being used by all the natives for pounding their rice, and not a bad emblem. The Chinese call Spain Leusung, and the Philippines, 'Little Leusung.' This name was adopted by the Portuguese, (who visited China in 1517, following the western shore of the China sea,) who wrote it Luzon. Luçonia is the latinised termination of this name. This word, foreign writers have converted into 'Luconia,' by omitting the cedille, and under this disguise it is no longer intelligible but to themselves. An American captain arriving at Manila in the ship Luconia, found that he had paid a compliment which no one could appreciate or return. These islands ere also called by the Portuguese 'ilhas Manilhas,' from the capital of that name. Magellan called the islands which he first discovered, 'Archipelago de S. Lazaro.' Lopez first gave the Philippine islands their present name in 1543; and this appellation, after being well nigh forgotten, was revived by Legaspi in 1565, and afterwards confirmed.

ART. III. *Siamese History: notices continued from the Siamese era* 912 *to* 918 *(or from* A. D. 1542 *to* 1548*).* By a Correspondent.

SIAMESE era 912, A. D. 1542. The king of south Laos, then dignified with the title of Srisatnákha'hut, hearing that the daughter of the Siamese queen, who died in the contest with the Peguans, was grown up, sent an embassy with numerous presents to negociate for her in marriage. She was called Tepkrasatri. The Siamese king assembled his nobles for a consultation, who stated, that as there was much soreness, subsisting between Siam and Pegu, which was difficult to be healed, and as the king of south Laos was mighty, and had sent a deputation to beg the princess, it would probably be advisable for the king to consent to such an alliance; moreover, in case of hostilities, the Laos would be of most essential service. His majesty approved their suggestion, and sent an answer accordingly. The king was greatly delighted at the success of his negotiation, and sent down embassadors with 500 men, and a number of princely old ladies, to receive the princess, and convey her to his palace. When they arrived, the princess was very sick. The Siamese king was troubled to find a suitable apology, 'for,' said he, 'if I send a letter telling the plain truth, the king of Laos will not believe me, he will regard me as acting a double part, and our friendship will be interrupted. I have given my word, and to change it would not be proper.' He, therefore, determined to send another daughter Keaufa', instead of Tep-

krasatri. He gave her a royal dowry of provisions, garments, and 500 female attendants; and she was escorted to the king of Laos by the embassadors. He, on learning the circumstances, was greatly vexed, and sent Keaufá back again to her father, telling him that it had been rumored through all his dominions, that he was to form an alliance with the royal princess Tepkrasatri, and that even though Keaufá was preferable in herself, yet the disgrace of such a change could never be wiped away. The Siamese king was much disconcerted by this message. However, as soon as Tepkrasatri had recovered from her illness, he presented her with a dowry of 500 male, and 500 female servants, and sent her off under a guard of one thousand soldiers.

913. Maha Thamma rája, (the governor of Pitsanulók) heard of these movements, and sent word to the king of Pegu, who immediately detached a body of soldiers, and cut off the Siamese escort, apprehended the princess, and conveyed her to Pegu. Intelligence of the whole affair was conveyed to the king of Laos, who was greatly incensed, and determined to take exemplary vengeance on Pitsanulók. The king of the white elephants, however, dissuaded him.

914. Mahachakrapat, the lord of the white elephants, at the age of 59, vacated the throne in favor of his son Mahinterathirát, but the father still retained the title 'lord of the white elephants,' while his son was called 'lord of the land.' His age was 25 years. All the northern provinces were then under the complete control of Maha Thamma rájá, and whatever suggestions he made, the lord of the land was obliged to follow. This vexed him greatly, and he complained to his father, who was also highly offended. Mahinterathirát recalled Phyá Rám from Kampéngpet, constituted him governor of Chantibun, and made him his secret counsellor. He then privately sent to south Laos, urging the king to make an attack on Pitsanulók. The governor of Pitsanulók not suspecting the origin of the attack from Laos, sent word down to the lord of the land for assistance against the Laos. Under pretence of sending the aid required, the king directed an army to march for Pitsanulók, but privately instructed the commanders that they should coöperate with the Laos, seize the governor of Pitsanulók, and bring him to Ayuthiyá. Instead of following these instructions, they divulged to the governor all the plans of their sovereign and Phyá Rám. He immediately sent dispatches to Pegu. In the mean time, the king of Laos, with elephants, horses, and men, to the number of ten times a hundred thousand, had surrounded Pitsanulók, whose governor had withdrawn all the population of the province into the walls of the city, and made preparation for its defence.

915. In the latter part of the 2d month, every thing was in readiness. When the lord of the land supposed that all might be in a suitable condition, he marched with Phyá Rám and Phyá chakri till he reached the vicinity of Pitsanulók, whence he sent word forward to the governor, that he had arrived for his assistance. The governor understood the matter, and sent word back that he did not want his assistance, nor would he allow him to advance. But when the king of Laos heard of the Siamese king's approach, he put every thing in

readiness for an attack, and for scaling the walls of the city. The inhabitants of Pitsanulók assailed the enemy from the walls, and caused dreadful havoc. The king ordered temporary shelter over the fosse to be erected, under cover of which his troops might pass, and then undermine the walls. Mahá Thamma rá'já collected a body of volunteers who rushed forth from the city, assailed the enemy so furiously, that they were compelled to retreat to their encampment. The governor then began to consider, how he should destroy the fleet of boats in which the Siamese army had arrived. He caused forty bamboo rafts, ten cubits broad and twenty long, to be constructed, covered them with combustible matter, and then had them sprinkled all over with pitch and oil. In the 10th of the 4th month, just as the moon was setting, these rafts were set afloat, and fired. The Siamese were taken by surprize, and thrown into consternation, and immense destruction was occasioned to men and boats.

When the king of Pegu was apprized of the state of affairs, he sent 10,000 men and 1000 horse to the assistance of Pitsanulók. On their arrival they assailed the Laos, who had surrounded the city, routed them, and made their entrance and salutations to Mahá Thamma rá'já, who rewarded them bounteously for their assistance. The intelligence of these matters reached the king of Siam, who, finding they did not go as he wished, withdrew the remainder of his troops, and went home. The king of Laos also, perceiving that he could not take Pitsanulók, withdrew his army. The Peguans wished to pursue him, but Mahá Thamma rá'já tried to dissuade them. Still they pursued, and met a complete overthrow. In the 8th month of this year, the lord of the white elephants entered the priesthood, in which he was followed by many noblemen. After various political skirmishes between Mahá Thamma rájá, on one side, and Mahintera'thirá't and Paya' Ra'm on the other, both the latter became satisfied that they could not govern the country, and they earnestly besought the lord of the white elephants to leave the priesthood, and again assume the government. After repeated solicitations, he consented, and resumed his throne on the 28th day of the 4th month, 916.

916. When the king of Pegu heard that the generals he had sent to assist Pitsanulók had failed of success in their attack on the Laos, he was very angry, and sent a messenger for them to Pitsanulók. They besought the good offices of the governor of Pitsanulók, to go and beg their forgiveness of their sovereign. He yielded and succeeded, being very favorably received by the monarch of Pegu. During his absence in Pegu, the Siamese, at the instigation of Mahintera'thirá't, and Phyá' Ra'm, assailed his country, and took captive his queen, several of his relatives, and also many of his people; and, as Kampéngpet was supposed to lie in the way of, and furnish many facilities to, the Peguans, if they should make war on Siam, it was determined to destroy it, and bring the inhabitants to Ayuthiyá'. In this they met with much resistance from the inhabitants, and failed of success. In the mean while, Phyá' Ra'm was left at Ayuthyá' to erect entrenchments, and fortify the city on a large scale. Intelligence of the pro-

ceedings of Mahintera´thira´t, was communicated to Maha´ Thamma ra´ja´, at Pegu, and he was much alarmed, and explained the whole matter to the king of Pegu, who was much offended with this breach of faith in the Siamese. To pass it by in silence would not do. He recommended the governor of Pitsanulók to return and make such preparations of men and provisions as he could, against the return of the dry season, when he would march to his assistance. This suggestion was strictly followed.

917. In the 12th month, the king of Pegu, having collected his men, horses, and elephants, commenced his march with great ceremony, and after twenty-five relays, arrived at Kampéngpet. The governor of Prome was made his admiral, and both his army and flotilla collected at Nakhonsawan. His forces consisted of Peguans and Burmese, drawn from Pegu, Ava, Tongu, Pruan, Saróp, Thaiyai, Prasénwí, Kóng, Mit, Tala, Na´i, Umuang, and Lapuabua. [These places are mentioned for the purpose of showing what were included at that time, in the Peguan empire.] Though the king of Chiangmai was ill, his forces accompanied the Peguan army, which thus increased, amounted to 100 times ten thousand, according to the military register. These were joined by the army of Maha´ Thamma ra´ja´, and marched down in a body upon Ayuthiya´. [Here follows a somewhat minute description of the fortifications of the city, and the preparations for its defense. Among the places from which the Siamese army was drawn, and which may be regarded as some indication of the extent of Siam at the time, are Chhaina´t, Supanburi, Lopburi, Inthaburi, Petchhaburi, Ra´chaburi, Na´yok, Sraburi, Prommaburi, Sawanburi, Chhaisri, Thonnaburi, and Mergui.] The king of Pegu distributed his forces so as to blockade the city on all sides, and erected stockades one after another, though with great loss of men, till he reached the fosse of the city, and by successive and quiet night labors, for two months, sunk a mine under the walls. While engaged in these preparations, the Siamese made numerous sallies, and succeeded in taking many heads as offerings to their sovereign. Mahinteráthirát, also caused to be sent to the king of south Laos, (here designated La´nchha´ng) imploring assistance. Skirmishes continued—whatever losses the Peguans sustained, they would never yield or retreat. At length, the Peguan king assembled his officers of state, and thus addressed them; 'we have now surrounded the city of Ayuthiya´ on all sides, but it is very large, and has taken the ocean for its fosse, which encompasses it as the four great rivers encompass mount Meru.* It cannot be assailed like other countries, but only from a single point. If we make a year's campaign of it, we shall succeed. Do you, therefore, send forth foraging parties for each detachment, and have them secure sufficient provisions to serve for a year; whatever commander fails in doing this, will forfeit his life.' He was obeyed, but one man paid the forfeit by want of success.

* The Siamese, with other Budhists, believe there are four continents in the four cardinal points; and in the centre, between them all, at an inaccessible distance, is a great mountain called Meru, in Burmese, Myenmo.

In the mean time, the lord of the white elephants, after a severe illness of fifteen days, turned aside to heaven. He had reigned twenty-two years. On the decease of his father, instead of paying attention to the war, Mahintera´thira´t left everything to the management of Phya´ Ra´m, who, wherever he went, was preceded and followed by a body of armed men. The Siamese made occasional sallies, and occasioned some damages. Some disagreement also arose between his Peguan majesty and his prime minister, by which the latter was dismissed from the camp with an elephant and two attendants only. The remaining officers were struck with the greater awe, and were afraid to interfere between the king and his premier. The premier, therefore, sought the interposition of Maha Thamma rájá, and was thereby restored. The king of Pegu then established a blockade, and appointed the governor of Prome to maintain it. A Chinchew junk, not being aware of the war, advanced to the mouth of the river, and was pursued, but not taken; whereupon his majesty was so angry with the governor of Prome,* that he ordered him to be conducted in disgrace through all his camp, and then restored to office. Arrangements were then set in operation for filling up and briding the river, which, after various struggles and catastrophes during three months, was effected, and the Peguans marched up and broke down the walls. Phya´ Ra´m also grew negligent of his command, and every officer was engaged in defending his country, in his own way. Phya´ Rám then suggested to them that it was impossible to defend the country longer, and that it would be necessary to seek for an adjustment of matters. This suggestion they declined receiving. The Siamese king also neglected the war, and left every thing to the management of his various officers. Some of these prosecuted the war with vigor and considerable success.

The Peguans at length, concluded that their hopes lay in artifice. The king, therefore, caused a communication to be prepared and forwarded to Mahintera´thira´t, the purport of which was, that as Phya´ Ra´m, by his counsel to the lord of the white elephants, had been the cause of all the war, if he would deliver him up, the Peguan king would withdraw his forces, and be friendly again. Mahintera´thira´t consulted his nobles upon the proposition. They agreed, that, if on the surrender of Phya´ Ra´m, the king of Pegu would certainly be friendly, it would be best to surrender him, and avoid the calamities which would otherwise surely befall the priests, their religion, and the people. [The priests are here put first, as they are in all cases.] Phyá Rhám was accordingly apprehended and conducted to the Peguan camp, accompanied by the Siamese high-priest and four subordinate priests. The king of Pegu having received them, inquired of his officers of state, whether, since the Siamese had delivered up Phya´ Ra´m, and sought for a friendly alliance, it was suitable that he should grant it? They averred, that, as he had got possession of Phya´ Ra´m, it was the same as if they had taken the country, and they would therefore urge

* The governor of Prome was the king's nephew, and the governor of Ava, his son-in-law.

an immediate attack, and capture of the whole. The king replied, it would be unworthy of his royal dignity to violate his word. He therefore strictly prohibited any offensive operations, and sent the high-priest back with this message; 'if the king of Siam really wishes for friendly relations, let him with his principal nobles pay me a visit, and I will establish friendship with them.' All the Siamese nobles regarded this, as an artifice of the Peguan king to get them into his hands, and then take the whole city as captives, and consequently refused to comply. The Peguan monarch waited seven days (a short time in Siam!) for an answer, receiving none, he prepared to execute his purpose of sacking the city. Mahá Thamma rája begged him to refrain, and he would satisfy the doubts of the Siamese, that the king of Pegu really intended to be friendly. In the mean time the Siamese made a sally, which determined the Peguans to push the contest to extremities. Srisauwarát, the son of the Mahinteráthirát, conducted his military operations in so much independence of his father, that the latter was greatly displeased, and ordered him to be slain. The people were much disheartened at this, but the love of their families, excited them to defend their country with vigor.

In the communication sent to south Laos, it was urged, that if the Peguans succeeded in conquering Siam, they would then, doubtless, proceed to south Laos, and pillage it also. But if the Laos, would now yield assistance to Mahinteráthirát, when the war was ended, he would repay adequately, for all their kindness, and punish the Peguans severely. The king of Laos, mindful of the affair of Tepkrasatri, did not require much urging against the Peguans. He was, moreover, anxious to perpetuate friendly relations with the Siamese. He therefore collected an army of 50,900 men, 300 elephants, and 3000 horse, and commenced his march for Siam. The king of Pegu was duly apprized of his approach, and having counterfeited the royal seal of Siam, sent a letter to the king of Laos, as from the king of Siam, urging him to make all possible speed in his advances. Having dispatched this letter, he sent his premier in command of a portion of his army, to assail and destroy the Laos, before they should reach Ayuthiyá. He attacked them between Petchhaburi and Sraburi, and routed them; the king of Laos fled, but about a hundred prisoners were taken, with horses and elephants in abundance. The kingdom of Pegu released the Laos prisoners, and sent them into the city to tell the Siamese how the affairs stood; various stratagems were employed, and there were several desperate engagements, and some treachery; but, at length, the Peguans prevailing, entered and took possession of the city, in the 9th month of the year 918 of the Siamese era, A. D. 1548.

ART. IV. *Seaou Heŏ, or Primary Lessons: translation of part ii, chapter 2d, respecting the relative duties of the prince and his ministers.*

ETIQUETTE forms a subject of early attention in China, especially among those who aspire to magisterial honors. The short sections, which form this second chapter, are chiefly selected from the Book of Rites, and the Conversations of Confucius. In the original, the title of the chapter is, *keun chin che e*, 'the duties of a prince and his ministers.' Keun, or prince, is the head or chief of a country or state; the word is compounded of *yun*, 'a hand grasping a line,' and *kow*, 'a mouth,' giving commands. Properly the word is applied to the head of a community, whether large or small; the master of a family or the sovereign of an empire may alike be styled keun. As a verb, it means 'to act the part of a superior;' 'to rule;' and 'to govern;' &c. It is also used as a simple epithet of respect, and is applied both to men and to women, to the living and the dead. The word *chin*, or minister, denotes one who serves another, or one who stoops. In this chapter it is used only for the servant of the prince; and is generally employed at the present day by Chinese, while the Tartars and Mongolians use *nootsae*, 'a servant,' or 'slave.' These words chin and nootsae are used by ministers of state, governors of provinces, censors, &c.; and whether one writes alone, or two, or more, are writing jointly, the same forms of the words are used, there being nothing in the characters themselves to distinguish between the singular and plural. The first word in the phrase *che e* merely indicates the possessive case of the second, which signifies what is right, just, proper, or what in duty ought to be done. The simple construction of the words is, 'the duties of prince and ministers;' i. e., their reciprocal duties, those which they owe to each other — as will be seen in the following sections.

Chapter 2d. Duties of a prince and his ministers.

Note. There is, the reader will perceive, a gradation in the order of treating this subject. The minister's whole course of conduct is briefly sketched, commencing at home, when he is about to proceed to court, and leading through all the ramifications of his public duties.

SECTION I.

THE Book of Rites says, "When about to proceed to the prince's palace, ministers must abstain from animal food and wine, sleep in their outer apartments, and perform the ablutions; their secretaries must furnish them with ivory note-sticks, on which to write their own thoughts and answers, with the commands they may receive; and, having put on their robes, they must endeavor to have their whole personal appearance comely, with all their attire in complete order: then they may proceed to the palace."

SECTION II.

According to the Illustrations of Duties, "Those who are employed as the envoys of their prince, and have received his commands, must not tarry in their houses with the same unexecuted, even for a single night. When a dispatch arrives, they must go forth to receive (the bearer of) the prince's condescending message; and when he returns, they must take leave of him at the outer gate. If they wish to send a messenger to court, they must put on the court-dress and give him his charge; and on his return, they must descend to the steps of the hall, there to receive from him the commands of the prince."

Note. All these ceremonies, which in most respects are carefully observed at the present day, are designed to honor the prince: though the minister must go out to receive the messenger, it is to show respect to the message which he bears, or rather to its author, and not to the bearer.

SECTION III.

In the Conversations with Confucius, it is said of him, "When his prince sent him to receive a guest, his countenance seemed to change, and his steps were short and embarrassed; when bowing with his attendants on the right and left, his robes both before and behind were unruffled; rapidly he advanced, with his hands dependent like the wings of a bird; and when the guest departed, he would always announce it, thus, 'he looks not behind him.'"

SECTION IV.

"When entering the door of the palace, he stooped down as if it would not admit him; he would not stand in the middle of the door, nor tread on its threshhold. When passing the vacant throne, his countenance seemed to change, his steps were short and embarrassed, his words few and carefully uttered. As he ascended the steps of the hall, he raised his robes, respectfully bending forward, in breathless silence. Descending from the hall a single step, the severity of his countenance was relaxed and became placid; when quite down the steps, he hastened back to his place with his hands dependent like the wings of a bird; and on resuming his seat, still retained something of his dignified demeanor."

Note. The style of moving, and almost all the forms of etiquette, prevalent among the Chinese, especially at court and in the offices of government, differ so much from those which are common to the people of the west, that some explanations of the text are indispensable. However, in many instances we may omit these explanations, since translations of subsequent parts of the classics will afford the necessary information. Our notes, therefore, will be usually few and brief.

SECTION V.

According to the Book of Rites, "When the prince presents his minister with a carriage and horses, he must go with the same and return thanks; if clothes are given, he must put them on, and then go and return thanks for the present; but if such are not given him by his prince, he must not presume to procure them for himself."

SECTION VI.

In the Illustrations of Duties it is said, "When the minister receives a present of fruit from his prince in person, he must carefully preserve the seeds which it may contain."

Note. To throw them away, when received under such circumstances, it is supposed, would be treating the prince with disrespect. Every thing which comes from the hand of the prince must be regarded with honor and carefully preserved.

SECTION VII.

"If the minister, when feasting with his prince, is presented with food from his table, he may eat it from his dishes, provided they can be washed; otherwise, the food must be changed to other dishes."

Note. Only those dishes which are made of metal, as brass, silver, &c., can be washed.

SECTION VIII.

In the Conversations with Confucius it is said, "When food was presented to him by his prince, he would carefully arrange it, first tasting of it; if raw flesh was presented him, he would cook it, and then offer it (in sacrifice) to his ancestors; but when living animals were given him, he reared them."

SECTION IX.

"When he was feasting with his prince, he did not refrain from eating while his prince was engaged in the sacrificial duties."

Note. To have waited until the prince had completed these duties, and then commenced eating with him, would have been a violation of the rules of decorum, since he could not have done this without appearing to assume an equality with the prince, his master.

SECTION X.

"When sick and visited by his prince, he turned his face towards the east, drew up over him his robes of state, and put on his girdle."

Note. He turned his face eastward, in order to inhale the 'vital air,' which was supposed to come from that quarter.

SECTION XI.

"When summoned to court by his prince, he did not wait to step into his carriage, but went on foot."

Note. He hastened away with the utmost speed, obeying so promptly and walking so rapidly, that he outstripped his chariot. The same principle of conduct is observed at the present day, in matters of importance: for example, if a fire breaks out in the suburbs of Canton, the governor and other principal officers, hasten towards the place, usually going on foot until they reach the gates of the city, even though they move much more slowly than they would if carried in their sedans. But in all things of this kind, 'the appearances' have great influence with the Chinese.

SECTION XII.

"On the first day of every month, he put on his court-dress and repaired to the palace."

Note. At the present time, the practice of repairing to court extends to both the 1st and 15th days of every month, and obtains in most of the provincial offices, and even among persons of distinction who are not employed in the government. Indeed, the remark in the section above, according to the commentator, was made respecting Confucius after he had retired from his official duties, as minister of state. In modern days many of these visits of ceremony are superseded by sending cards with compliments.

SECTION XIII.

Confucius said, "The superior man, when engaged in the service of his prince and is in his presence, will strive to the utmost to do his whole duty; and, on retiring from his presence, will devise means to amend his errors—endeavoring to second all his good designs, and to rescue him from all evil ones. In this way, the prince and ministers will preserve towards each other the most intimate relations.

SECTION XIV.

"The prince, in employing his ministers, must treat them with politeness; and they must serve him with fidelity."

SECTION XV.

"The great ministers of state must serve their prince with perfect rectitude; but if he will not listen to their counsels, then they must retire."

SECTION XVI.

Tszeloo asked the philosopher, how he ought to serve his prince; Confucius replied, "Reprove without offending him."

Note. This is supposed of an extreme case, where every possible effort, on the part of a minister, is required to prevent the prince from falling: in such a case, the faithful minister must not heed the displeasure of his sovereign.

SECTION XVII.

"Alas, with a faithless minister, how is it possible to serve one's prince! Such an one, before he comes into office, is anxious only to obtain it; and having gained it, his only fear is that he may lose it; and when this is the case, there is nothing, however base, which he will not do."

SECTION XVIII.

Mencius said, "To rouse a prince to do that which is difficult, is doing him reverence; to open before him the path of virtue, and to close that of evil, is doing him honor; but to say he is incompetent, is to do him injury."

SECTION XIX.

"If you are in office, and you cannot gain the confidence of your prince, then retire; or if you memorialize, and he does not listen to your statements, then also retire."

SECTION XX.

Wangshuh said, "As a faithful lady cannot be married to two husbands, so the faithful prince cannot serve two masters."

ART. V. *Chinese pagodas, their supposed influence on the productions of the soil, the prosperity of the people, and the government of the elements; with notices of the lions of Canton.*

TRIVIAL occurrences, and incidental remarks, and the most artless actions, of no value when considered separately, sometimes afford the best materials for elucidating the principles and character of men. Ballads, placards, and the like, fall into the same category; viewed unconnectedly, they may seem unworthy of notice, but when collected and arranged, they often afford curious and valuable data, for ascertaining popular sentiment, taste, and manners. To natives, these sources of information are open; but to foreigners they are, for the most part, inaccessible. Hence, one of the reasons for our ignorance of the customs and usages of the Chinese. Processions and festivals, with a vast variety of rites and ceremonies, are frequently witnessed by the foreigner; whilst respecting both their cause and their object he knows nothing. The origin and design of the pagodas, prominent objects in almost every part of the country, are but little understood by foreigners; and indeed, not a few natives are equally ignorant respecting them. In former volumes, we have given a variety of notices on this subject, all confessedly incomplete: we have now only a fragment to add; it is a 'subscription paper;' it originated early this year, among the gentry of Canton; it has been placarded, and extensively circulated. The following is a free translation.

"Fellow-countrymen! The region of country southeast of the provincial city, on account of its water-courses, has an important influence on the fortunes of the inhabitants. From an examination of old records it appears, that the pagoda on Pachow, and the adjacent temple dedicated to the monsters of the sea, were built in the twenty-fifth year of Wanleih (1598); and that the pagoda at Cheihkang, and the temple there consecrated to the god of letters, were founded in the reign of Teënke (about 1621); all these structures have had a most happy influence on every thing around them, causing the number of literati to be very numerous, and the productions of the soil most abundant. Recently, however, the winds and the rains, driving furiously, have broken down the tops of the pagodas, and laid the temples in ruins, and injured even their foundations. Their appearance now is very unsightly; they ought to be repaired, in order to secure the return of happy and prosperous times. The pagoda on the north of the city, which rises five stories high and has its walls painted red, a color which is from its very nature productive of fire, ought also to be repaired, and painted with some other color. Already we have obtained the permission of their excellencies, the governor in council, to proceed with the contemplated repairs, and also recommendatory papers in which they advise the people to assist in accomplishing this work. It being an affair which greatly concerns both our honor and prosperity, we have a right to expect, fellow-countrymen, that you will heartily coöperate, joyfully and promptly contributing, little or much according to your ability, so that by our united efforts the repairs may be soon undertaken, and the buildings rise again to their former splendor! Then, according to your deeds of merit, the gods will send prosperity, and your glory and virtue will become great beyond comprehension. A special solicitation."

The gentlemen who have put this paper in circulation, are styled *shinkin*, a term denoting that they are allowed to wear the sash of honor: they are all litterary men, and are the most distinguished and honorable in the city of Canton; their number is supposed to be not more than three hundred. Their first 'solicitation,' not having obtained a very liberal support, they have just sent forth another, urging their countrymen to come forward with new contributions. Agents have been appointed to solicit and receive money; but it is said the whole amount now collected does not exceed $1000. The repairs which are contemplated will require several thousand dollars.

It is not easy to understand the motives which have induced these literary gentlemen, and their countrymen, to engage in this enterprise,—an enterprise which seems to be regarded as both benevolent and religious, one which, when accomplished, will be pleasing to the gods and beneficial to men. The Chinese pagodas generally, and these among the others, are, it is believed, of Budhistic origin. The motives, therefore, which led to their erection, and which are now inducing such special efforts for repairing them, are purely superstitious, ideal, without foundation in reason or fact. It is supposed, by the authors of the paper given above, that these buildings have an influence on all things around them, and that, when in a proper state of repair, they will cause the soil to be productive, the people prosperous, and the elements (such as fire, water, &c.,) submissive and obedient. Here, then, we see not only the common people, but their rulers, with the most honorable and distinguished men of the country, lending themselves and their influence to support vain superstitions, which reason and common sense, when unbiased, will ever condemn. These superstitions are based on an ideal system termed *fungshuy*, fully to elucidate which will require much more information than we can now command. Mr. Davis, in his observations on this subject, very justly remarks:

"The strangest and most unaccountable of the Chinese superstitions, is what they denominate *foong-shuey*, 'wind and water,' a species of geomancy, or a belief in the good or ill luck attached to particular local situations or aspects, which we had occasion to notice before, and which, among the more rational classes of the people, is admitted to be nonsensical. Before a house is built, or a burial-place selected, it is necessary to consult certain professors of the occult science, who, at the price of adequate fees, proceed with much solemnity to examine the situation. After frequently perambulating and examining the ground, and even deferring their decision for months, they will fix on some particular place. The lucky position of a grave is supposed to exercise some influence on the fortunes of a whole family; and if, after all the expense and trouble of consulting the cheats who profess the art, ill fortune rather than good should attend the parties, this is, of course, attributed to anything except the inefficiency of the *foong-shuey*. This term may in general be constructed by the word *luck*, and it has been supposed that in a country like China, where nearly all long journeys are performed by water, 'good

wind and water,' or in other words good luck on a journey, has by degrees come to signify good luck in every circumstance and condition of life." *See vol. ii, p.* 144.

Connected with this 'wind and water' system there are, in and near Canton, what are called *pă king*, 'the eight lions,' as the phrase may be freely translated; the word king means, literally, a light, a prospect, a landscape; and in the pă king, it seems to imply, 'a remarkable locality.' In the history of Lewchew, noticed in our last number, we observed that the Chinese historian has described the eight remerkable localities of that country, and endeavored to illustrate the same by wood-cuts, in the following order: 1st, a landscape, including hill and dale, viewed by moon-light—it is a night-scene: 2d, a rocky coast, against which are dashing the billows of the ocean: 3d, a beautiful village surrounded with bamboos: 4th, a forest of lofty pines: 5th, a rocky precipice: 6th, a rainbow, as seen after the autumnal showers: 7th, a fountain of water: and 8th, gardens of plantain. In Canton, the 'remarkable localities' have been different under different dynasties. Those now in vogue are the following.

1st. *Yuĕsew leënfung*, or the peaks of Yuĕsew. This is the name of a ridge, or series of peaks, rising just within the northern walls of the city: the ridge extends from east to west about three *le*, or a little more than one English mile, and is crowned with a pavilion for the goddess of mercy. From these peaks, the spectator has a fine view of the city and its suburbs, and of the surrounding country southward, eastward, and westward. The place is often a resort for parties of pleasure.

2d. *Pachow techoo*, the pagoda of Pachow, or, more correctly, Pepachow. This is one of the structures mentioned on a former page in this article; it stand about east from the city, perhaps forty *le* distant; and is known to foreigners as the 'Whampoa pagoda.' The plot of ground on which it stands is an island, 'which rises,' as the Chinese say, 'abruptly from the middle of the Pearl river, about fifty feet in height, having upon it three knolls, resembling the shape of a guitar; and hence its name, *Pepa chow*, 'the island Guitar;' and hence, too, the name of the pagoda. It was built by permission of the local authorities, and rises nine stories high; and was originally called Fowtú (Budha?); and also 'the pagoda of the sea-monsters.' On the north, it has a small court dedicated to the god of the north, and a temple consecrated to the monsters of the deep.

3d. *Wooseën heătung*, 'the pavilion of the five genii.' The story of the five genii has been given in our second volume, page 148. Their pavilion stands in the old city, and was erected by a provincial officer in the reign of the Ming dynasty. Having completed the building he caused images of the five genii to be engraved and placed within its walls. Near its entrance there are to be seen the five stone rams, and a huge rocks, forty or fifty feet broad, on which is the print of a man's foot: the hollow made by the foot on this rock is (said to be) always filled with water, 'as if it were supplied by a living fountain beneath—which is truly marvelous.'

4th. *Koowuh Yushan*, the rocks of Yushan. This locality is also within the city, and has nothing to distinguish it except a temple, and that presents nothing remarkable.

5th. *Chinhae stănglow.* This is the famous red building, described by the gentry of Canton, as being productive of fires in the city and vicinity. It stands on the northern wall of the city, and was built by Coo Kangtsoo in the first year of Hungwoo, A. D. 1368.

6th. *Fowkew tantsing*, the wells of Fowkew. These are situated in the western suburbs; the origin of the name, Fowkew, is involved in much obscurity, and connected with many legends and traditions, which are unworthy of notice. Their waters, however, are reputed to contain divine qualities; and even the flowers, which grow in the vicinity of the wells, are sought for with great eagerness, since it is supposed they bring good luck to those who pluck them.

7th. *Setseaou yunpuh*, the cascade of Setseaou. The hills of Setseaou are in the district of Nanhae, about forty miles westward from the city. The surrounding scenery is described as very romantic; and the crystal stream, at the head of the cascade, gushes forth from the solid rock, "as the water from the hose of an engine."

8th. *Tunghae yuchoo*, literary, 'east sea fish pearl,' meaning 'the pearl of the eastern river;' this was once a beautiful round stone, which rose in the middle of the Choo kĕăng, a little distance from the southern gates of the provincial city; it is now the site of the Dutch Folly, called by the Chinese, *hae choo sze*, 'the pearl temple of the river.'

In this enumeration, the reader will perceive that two of the buildings, which the gentry of Canton are about to repair, are included among the 'eight beautiful prospects' of the city. The other pagoda, at Cheihkang, is midway between Canton and Whampoa, often called the 'half-way pagoda.' While the Chinese are thus solicitous about, 'they know not what,' their indifference in certain cases where their present and immediate welfare is at stake, is truly remarkable. This point is very justly animadverted on by Mr. Davis: he says,—"In common with a considerable portion of the rest of mankind, they are pretty generally fatalists, or believers in inevitable destiny: and the practical mischiefs of such a creed cannot be more strongly displayed, than in the consequences resulting from their apathetic carelessness in regard to the use of fire. Notwithstanding the repeated conflagrations which every year devastate the town of Canton, the same unaccountable negligence is perpetually apparent to the most casual observer, who, in perambulating their streets, or taking notice of their domestic habits, cannot fail to be struck by the extreme carelessness with which burning paper and lighted sticks of incense are left about their combustible dwellings, or pipes smoked and bunches of crackers discharged in temporary edifices constructed entirely of *matting*. * * * Some of these fires are doubtless the work of incendiaries, who hope to profit in the confusion; but a large number must also be considered as the results of that stupid belief in fatalism, which tends to paralyze effort and to banish caution."

ART. VI. *Opium: revenue derived from it by the British government in India; amount of sales for thirty-nine seasons; exports from Bengal to China, &c.; and from Bombay and Damaun.*

THE monopoly of opium in Bengal supplies the government with a revenue amounting to sicca rupees 84,59,425, or sterling money £981,293 per annum, and the duty which is thus imposed amounts to 301¾ per cent. on the cost of the article. In the present state of the revenue of India it does not appear advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue—a duty upon opium being a tax which falls principally upon the foreign consumer, and which appears upon the whole less liable to objection than any other which could be substituted. Besides the present mode of collecting the duty by means of a governmental monopoly, four other methods have been suggested; viz. 1st, an additional assessment on lands under poppy cultivation; 2d, a duty to be levied according to the value of the standing crop when ripe; 3d, an excise duty on the juice when collected; 4th, a custom duty on the exportation of the opium. * * * Although the governmental monopoly of opium must in all probability, like all other monopolies, be disadvantageous, in consequence of the want of economy in the production, and the restrictions which it imposes on the employment of capital and industry, yet in does not appear to be productive of very extensive or aggravated injury; and unless it should be found practicable to substitute an increased assessment on poppy lands, it does not appear that the present high amount of revenue could be obtained in a less objectionable manner. At the same time it must be recollected, that the revenue thus derived is of the most precarious kind, depending as it does on a species of monopoly under which we possess exclusive control neither over the production nor the consumption of the article: it has already been materially affected by the competition of the opium of Malwa; and from the continued increase of supply from that district, as well as from its improved quality, which has enabled it to fetch an enhanced price in the foreign market, it would appear that the same cause must in all probability hereafter produce a still greater reduction in the revenue. It would be highly imprudent to rely upon the opium monopoly as a permanent source of revenue; and the time may probably not be very far distant, when it may be desirable to substitute an ex port duty, and thus, by the increased production under a system of freedom, to endeavor to obtain some compensation for the loss of the monopoly profit. Another source of revenue under this head, is the duties collected on the transit of Malwa opium through Bombay: the government having for the two last years abandoned their attempted monopoly of that article and substituted a permit or transit duty, which has been attended with satisfactory results. It is in evidence, that previous to this regulation, two-thirds of the opium of Malwa were carried by a circuitous route to the Portuguese settlement of Damaun, and only one-third brought to Bombay; but latterly, no more than one-tenth has been exported from Damaun, and the remaining nine-tenths have been shipped from Bombay, yielding to the government a revenue of £200,000 for the current year. *Report Brit. Commons*, 1832.

The opium sold by the E. I. Company in Bengal, has cost them 250 rupees per chest—at least, this has been the usual estimate. The quantity sold this season (at four sales, Jan. 4th, Feb. 20th, March 30th, June 12th), as stated in the accompanying table No. I., is 16,916 chests, for 2,53,95,300 rupees. Allowing to the E. I. Company for cost, 300 rupees per chest, which is 50 above the usual estimate, leaves, 2,53,95,300—300 × 16,916 = 2,03,20,500 rupees; Spanish money, *nine millions, two hundred and thirty-six thousand, five hundred and ninety dollars;* or in English currency, 2,155,204 pounds sterling,—net revenue for 1837.

TABLE NO. I.

Statement of the sales of opium by the E. I. Company at Calcutta from 1798–99 to 1836–37

Thirty-nine	*Seasons.*	*Total Chests.*	*Total annual Sales in Sicca Rupees.*
1.	1798-99	4,172	17,31,161
2.	1799-1800	4,054	31,42,591
3.	1800-1	4,570	31,43,035
4.	1801-2	3,947	37,19,748
5.	1802-3	3,292	45,55,728
6.	1803-4	2,840	39,44,595
7.	1804-5	3,159	62,03,805
8.	1805-6	3,836	58,94,919
9.	1806-7	4,126	40,77,948
10.	1807.8	4,538	68,54,157
11.	1808-9	4,208	51,05,760
12.	1809-10	4,561	80,70,955
13.	1810-11	4,968	80,88,330
14.	1811-12	4,891	79,96,870
15.	1812-13	4,966	62,76,705
16.	1813-14	4,769	88,71,475
17.	1814-15	3,672	89,14,290
18.	1815-16	4,230	90,93,980
19.	1816-17	4,618	90,79,972
20.	1817-18	3,692	80,43,197
21.	1818-19	3,552	63,43,265
22.	1819-20	4,006	82,55,603
23.	1820-21	4,244	1,05,63,891
24.	1821-22	3,293	1,31,76,313
25.	1822-23	3,918	1,08,29,496
26.	1823-24	3,360	65,08,610
27.	1824-25	5,690	74,01,553
28.	1825-26	3,810	88,80,225
29.	1826-27	6,570	83,30,025
30.	1827-28	6,650	1,12,28,416
31.	1828-29	7,709	1,06,35,134
32.	1829-30	8,778	1,12,55,767
33.	1830-31	7,548	1,18,07,008
34.	1831-32	7,938	1,17,70,875
35.	1832-33	10,638	1,24,59,572
36.	1833-34	12,223	1,16,31,830
37.	1834-35	12,977	1,32,15,464
38.	1835-36	14,745	1,87,95,355
39.	1836-37	16,916	2,53,95,300

N. B. This table is from Mr. Phipps's book with additions (in the number of seasons) from other sources. It may not be perfectly correct in all the details, but is, doubtless, very near to the truth. We have omitted to insert the fractions in the average cost of each year. The value of the sicca rupee varies; it is about 46 hundreths of a dollar, or two shillings sterling.

TABLE NO. II.

Statement of the Opium exported from Calcutta, to China, to the ports in the Indian Archipelago, and to Europe, from 1795 to 1835.

Seasons.	*Chests to China.*	*Chests to the Eastern Ports.*	*Chests to the Western Ports.*	*Total Chests.*
1795–96	1,070	4,103	10	5,183
1796–97	2,387	3,247	—	5,644
1797–98	1,985	1,514	4	3,503
1798–99	1,718	1,624	—	3,342
1799–1800	1,867	2,059	—	3,926
1800–1801	3,224	1,539	25	4,788
1801–2	1,744	1,723	—	3,467
1802–3	2,033	1,035	—	3,068
1803–4	2,116	937	—	3,053
1804–5	2,322	1,026	10	3,358
1805–6	2,131	1,526	—	3,657
1806–7	2,607	1,777	—	4,384
1807–8	3,084	1,171	—	4,255
1808–9	3,223	1,416	—	4,639
1809–10	3,074	1,172	—	4,246
1810–11	3,592	1,317	—	4,909
1811–12	2,788	1,887	38	4,713
1812–13	3,328	1,504	—	4,832
1813–14	3,213	1,059	—	4,272
1814–15	2,999	868	5	3,872
1815–16	2,723	1,120	5	3,848
1816–17	3,376	947	2	4,325
1817–18	2,911	794	3	3,708
1818–19	3,575	724	—	4,299
1819–20	1,741	1,345	5	3,091
1820–21	3,591	1,556	—	5,147
1821–22	1,936	655	—	2,591
1822–23	3,207	893	—	4,100
1823–24	3,923	1,286	—	5,209
1824–25	5,365	1,710	1	7,076
1825–26	4,627	536	2	5,165
1826–27	5,861	707	—	6,568
1827–28	7,341	562	—	7,903
1828–29	4,903	1,651	—	6,554
1829–30	7,443	2,235	—	9,678
1830–31	5,672	——	—	7,069
1831–32	6,815	——	—	7,427
1832–33	7,598	——	—	9,408
1833–34	7,808	——	—	9,518
1834–35	10,207	——	—	10,107

N. B. The *eastern* ports are intended to include all those between the Capes (Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn), and the *western*, those beyond them. This estimate does not show the exact quantity brought to China, the table being very incomplete.

TABLE NO. III.

Quantity of Malwa opium exported from Bombay and Damaun to China, from 1821 to 1836.

Seasons.	*Chests from Bombay.*	*Chests from Damaun.*	*Total amount of Chests.*	*Average Bombay Rs.*
1821	1,600	678	2,278	2,024
1822	1,600	2,255	3,855	2,007
1823	1,500	1,535	5,535	1,764
1824	1,500	2,063	6,063	1,288
1825	2,500	1,563	5,563	971
1826	2,500	2,605	5,605	1,877
1827	2,980	1,524	4,504	1,383
1828	2,820	3,889	7,709	1,765
1829	3,502	4,597	8,099	1,686
1830	3,720	9,136	12,856	1,202
1831	4,700	4,633	9,333	1,450
1832	11,000	3,007	14,007	1,250
1833	——	——	11,715	——
1834	8,985	2,693	11,678	——
1835	7,337	5,596	12,933	1,093
1836	8,224	3,500	11,724	958

"The foregoing statement may be looked upon as an authentic document, since it will be found as correct as it was possible to make it; and from its being a tabular history of the opium trade for so long a period, it will serve as a standard of reference hereafter, to judge of the future by the past, on a subject hitherto involved in mystery, not only as respects the capability of the Indian soil to produce an almost indefinite supply of the article, according to the demand for it, but in regard to the probable out-turn in China, where it is consumed with reference to the number of chests exported.—*From Bombay Price Current, 23d March*, 1833." See Phipps's China, p. 235.

N. B The above applies to the statement down to 1832 only; the account of the subsequent years is taken from other sources. "The estimated quantity of Malwa opium to pass through Bombay this season is stated at 19,000 chests, of which 17,300 had arrived,—in addition to about 2.450 chests at Damaun, 450 of which had arrived." See Calcutta Courier, 29th of April 1837, as quoted in the Singapore Chronicle for June 17th, 1837. This account gives only 21,450 chests of Malwa for this season; but we are informed (by the Macaista Impartial of the 26th of July,) that passes have been granted at Bombay, for 19,754 chests, of which, on the 1st of June, 16,122 had been exported to China, in addition to about 2400 from Damaun, which have arrived.

From this note it appears that, at present, a larger part of the Malwa drug passes through Bombay, than was stated in a former article. By an order, dated at Bombay October 24th 1835, the duty was reduced from 175 to 125 rupees per chest: which on the 19,000 chests for 1837, gives another item of 23,75,000 to the E. I. Company's treasury; this added to the profits on the 16,916 chests sold in Bengal presents a grand total of 2,77,70 300 rupees of revenue to the British government in India: in Spanish dollars $12,622,869; or sterling money £2,945.336.

"Under the convention between France and Great Britain, dated 7th March 1815, the French government are entitled to demand any quantity of opium, not exceeding 300 chests in each season, at the average cost: such requisitions have not been of frequent occurrence, the French authorities preferring to take from the Company, the difference, between its cost and sale rates, in money, which yields to the French an annual revenue of from three to four lacks of rupees." *See Phipps's China.*

ART. VII. *The Chinese method of preparing opium for smoking, described in a series of experiments; the requisite apparatus specified; and the several stages of the process detailed.*

FOR the accuracy of the following experiments we cannot vouch; a personal acquaintance, however, with the gentleman who superintended them, affords us good reason to believe, that they are mainly correct. They were made some years ago in Canton, where the conveniences of a laboratory are not at command; but being under the inspection of a person familiar with the subject, they will, no doubt, be satisfactory to the general reader. They were first published in the Canton Courier for April 21st, 1832, from which we quote them.

Experiment 1st.

Half a cake of Patna opium, weighing 26 oz. 19 dwts. having 2 oz. 3 dwts. 9 grs. of the outermost part of the skin laid aside, is put into a very thin hemispherical brass vessel, capable of containing twelve pints, with about six pints of spring water, and placed on a brisk fire. At first the mixture is seldom stirred, but when rather more than half the water has been evaporated, the stirring (by means of a wooden spatula) is without intermission. When in this manner the mass has attained about the usual consistency of soft extract, half of it is placed in another vessel, exactly like the first, and the evaporation is continued in the two vessels, by placing them alternately on the fire. The fire is now considerably damped by throwing over the charcoal the burnt ashes from below. The exsiccation is continued by spreading the mass over the inner surface of the pans, to within about an inch and a half of the rim, about the thickness of a fifth of an inch. The pans continue to be alternately put on the fire, and the surface is often changed by mixing the whole well with the spatula, and carefully respread. At length, the fire having been diminished to a very low state, and being without smoke or flame, the pans are inverted for two or three minutes at a time, the drug pressed with the fingers, (to which it does not stick,) and allowed a few minutes to cool. Lastly, the masses are cut, by means of a knife, into lines similar to the meridianal lines of a globe. The exsiccation is now finished: the mass, after it has been allowed to cool, is broken up, and about eight pints of spring water are added, and the whole is allowed to remain at rest for twenty four hours. Next day the cold infusion is drawn off clear, by means of a piece of thick cloth (which is used to keep down the sediment), from the edge of which the liquor is poured by inclining the pans. This infusion appears about the consistency of syrup. The mass remaining is quite soft, upon which about three pints of boiling water are poured, and the warm infusion is allowed to remain about ten minutes. It is then filtered through coarse Chinese paper, but no pressure of the mass takes place. By the time this has been accomplished, the cold infusion, which had been placed over a brisk fire, begins to boil; and the filtered warm infusion is now added. The

boiling is briskly continued, and a little scum is thrown up, which is removed by means of a feather. As the extract thickens, it is carefully stirred, and when the quantity of water is much reduced, the pan is placed on a smaller fire, and carefully stirred with three round sticks; from time to time, it is removed from the fire, and a circular motion given to it. When it has attained the form of a thin extract, it is taken from the fire, stirred gently, cooled by means of a fan, and placed in a jar for use. Its appearance is not unlike treacle, but rather of a reddish brown color. The scum was added to a small part of the warm infusion, which had now dropped from the filter, and evaporated to about the same consistency as the first part; but its color is darker, and it is not of itself fit for smoking. The residuum, when dried, appears nearly as dark as charcoal.

	oz.	*dwts.*	*grs.*
The original opium weighed - - - -	13	14	23
The pure opium weighed - - - -	9	10	00
The second extract weighed - - -	0	2	8
The outer shell . - - - - -	2	3	9
	25	10	16
Weight of the half cake - - - -	26	19	0
Loss - - - - - - - - - -	1	8	8

Experiment 2d.

Thirty grains of the outermost part of the cover of the same cake of opium and exactly similar to what had been laid aside by the Chinese artist, was infused for a week in six drachms of proof spirit. It was then filtered, the residuum washed with fresh portions of spirit and dried, and the spirit evaporated by means of sulphuric acid, in Leslie's ice machine, to the same consistency as the Chinese extract, which weighed 9 grains: the residuum weighed 21 grains, equal to the quantity of skin employed. It may be remarked that the skin was perfectly dry, that at least two grains of fluid would be required to give the extract produced its proper consistency, and the hygrometer showing the air to be somewhat above the medium state of moisture, (65,) so that under different circumstances, the quantity of residuum might have weighed about one grain less. In this way I account for a quantity of extract, which could not be separated from the platina dish, in which the evaporation was conducted, and from the spatula employed to take it out. I am therefore disposed to rate the product of the outermost part of the rind at one-third. The matter left on the filter consisted of poppy leaves, very clean, weighing 18 grains; the remaining succulent matter was a gray powder, weighing three grains.

Experiment 3d.

Forty grains of the inner part of the cover, lining the inner part of the portion of skin employed in the last experiment, and carefully freed from the pulp, was treated with the same quantity of spirits, and the process conducted in the same manner. The result was:—ex-

tract 21.50 grs.; residuum, in about equal quantities of leaves and powder, 13.75 grs.; total 35.25 grs.—Here four grains and three-quarters disappear, which may be accounted for by the great hardness of the extract, and some part adhering to a split in the wooden spatula; it should therefore, without doubt, be added to the product of extract, making 25¼ grains in 40.

Experiment 4th.

Having taken 14 $\frac{12}{305}$ grs. of the pulp of the same cake as was employed in the preceding experiments, it was infused in 10 oz. of spirits, as before. The extract was made over a lamp in a platina dish, of the same form as the Chinese brass dish. The extract, of the same consistency as the Chinese, weighed 216 grs.; the residuum was a gray powder, weighing 126.25 grs.; total 342.25 grs. Here an excess of 34 grs. appears, and had the residuum been equally moist with the opium employed, it must have weighed full 10 grs. more; but of this difference, say 4 grs. are necessary to account for the greater fluidity of the extract than the opium.

Experiment 5th.

Eight ounces troy of Bombay opium was infused in 6 lbs. of proof spirit, and filtered after 12 days' digestion. The residuum, dried to about the same consistency as the opium, weighed 4 oz. 4 dwts. 16 grs., the extract, 6 oz. 19 grs.; total, 10 oz. 5 dwts. 11 grs. Now two ounces and a quarter appear to be gained, equal, probably, to the fluid contained in the extract.

Experiment 6th.

Taking 1 oz. 11 dwts. 15 grs. of the residuum of the Chinese artist's experiment, it was digested for four days in 16 ounces of spirits 30 per cent. above proof, and filtered. The residuum on the filter was washed with a fresh portion of spirit, as long as the spirit appeared loaded, when the remaining part of the process was completed in the same manner as the former experiments. The result appeared, refuse, 1 oz. 4 dwts. 14 grs.; extract, 6 dwts.; total, 1 oz. 10 dwts. 14 grs.;—loss, 25 grs.

Experiment 7th.

The residuum of experiment v. was infused in 30 oz. of alcohol, and after remaining two days, was made to boil, and strained in that state. Upon cooling, the filtered liquor deposited, on the sides of the bottle, regular crystals of the salt of opium, which, being soluble in 100 parts of spirits of wine, and the liquor being saturated, gave the following, $30 \times 480 = 14.400 \div 100 = 144$ grs.

Requisite apparatus.

Three hemispherical brass pans of equal size; two or three bamboo baskets for filters; a large reservoir for spring water; two or three earthen pots to receive the straining; a large and a small stove (fogons); a wooden ladle for stirring; a chisel to scrape the particles that adhere to the pans; a square piece of woollen cloth for strainers; some pieces of common brown paper; a fan for cooling the extract; a feather; a knife; a small bamboo broom, to sprinkle water with while

boiling; and three small round sticks for stirring. Having procured these articles of apparatus, then take, for experiment, half a cake of one year old Bengal (Patna) opium, weighing 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens.

Process of preparation.

Stage. 1*st.* The interior of the cake being extracted, is laid in one of the pans and set aside; then as much of the coat as is found to have any opium adhering to it or to be impregnated with it, is collected into another pan, which is first boiled slightly three several times—each time using a pint of spring water, at the end of each time it is strained through the bamboo basket into the earthen pot: some cold water is poured over the dregs after the third boiling. The liquid thus produced being about five pints, and the time occupied about an hour.

Stage 2*d.* These five pints of thin liquid are poured into the pan containing the interior of the cake. The whole is boiled and stirred together on an active fire, till it has attained the consistency of paste, which requires about another hour.

Stage 3*d.* The paste thus produced is divided, half and half, into two pans, and being well spread out with the spatula is laid inverted on the now rather gentle fire, alternately (of and on) for two or three minutes at a time, till it becomes quite dry (i. e., divested of its water, and not the essential oil), to facilitate which, the paste is as often broken up during this stage, respread with the spatula and pressure of the fingers, and crossed with a knife, as the experience of the artist may suggest

Stage 4*th.* When become quite dry, the whole is put into one pan, spread out with the spatula, and sufficient water poured over to cover the opium, which was about six pints, and so allowed to remain till 9 o'clock the next morning, for digestion.

Stage 5*th.* The next morning the piece of rag is doubled and applied to the edge of the pan, in the position of one triangle in, and the other out of, the rim; then by raising the opposite side of the pan, the whole digestion drips progressively through the rag (the inner triangle of which keeps the dregs down), into a basket with coarse paper laid within it, and from thence into another pan—both the basket and paper being previously well washed with cold water. The quantity of liquid thus drawn by the filtration is nearly as much as of water poured over the opium on the preceding day, viz. six pints. Cold water is then poured over the dregs and filtered in the same way, till found to be nearly tasteless and without color; the whole water thus poured through them being found to be about six pints of much weaker extract. The dregs are again watered, and thrown into a pot to remain over till required.

Stage 6*th.* The six pints of strong liquid are then boiled over a brisk fire, and in its course sprinkled betimes with cold water from the broom, to prevent the fermentation boiling over the pan, the scum produced round the edge being removed by means of a feather into a pan containing the pint hereafter mentioned. After boiling for 20 minutes, five pints of the other six of weaker liquid are then thrown

into the pan and boiled with the former, which, when evaporated to about three pints, are strained through the brown paper into another pan, and the remaining one pint, above mentioned, is thrown into the pan just emptied, to wash the adhesive particles, and is boiled about five minutes, and strained again with the three pints; and while it is boiling down to that degree of consistency in which it is used, the pan is shifted to the small stove and there allowed to remain, till a perfect ring of about the fifth part of an inch thick is formed on the edge by the exhalation of the steam; then it is, at intervals, removed from the fire to prolong the evaporation, or to avoid miscarriage of the process; wherefore, during the course of the operation, the fan and the three round sticks are incessantly employed in cooling and stirring the extract (when off the fire), till it is fully completed, when it much resembles thick treacle; it is then taken off with the chisel, and deposited in a small pot for consumption.

Stage 7th. The dregs, mentioned to be remaining over at the close of the fifth stage, together with the scum and washings of the pans, are strained through the rag and basket into another pot, and boiled on the large stove (much about the same time that the other pan was removed to the smaller stove), producing a thin brownish liquid of about six pints from the additional cold water poured on the dregs, and is boiled down to an inferior quantity of extract, which is sometimes used for smoking by the poorer classes, but more frequently reserved for another occasion to add strength to other opium. The whole of this process occupied about twenty-four hours.

The result was, that the 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens of original opium produced, of superior extract, 9 taels 1 mace; of second quality, from dregs and washings, 1 tael 3 mace 1 candareen; consumable opium, 10 taels 4 mace 1 candareen. If 21 taels 2 mace 7 candareens yield 10 taels 4 mace 1 candareen, then 16 taels, or a catty, will yield 7 taels 8 mace 8 candareens. Reduced 51 per cent.

Note. The outer coat of the cake is apparently never used in this process, as it seems to possess no fluid of the opium. Spring water alone is used throughout the process; as also charcoal, and not wood, for fire. It is stated in the third stage that, to facilitate the drying of the paste, it is *crossed with a knife.* The operation is performed but once, and in the last inversion of the pans, by cutting the surface of the paste in opposite lines.

ART. VIII. *Loss of the English brig Fairy, captain McKay, on the coast of Fuhkeën; statements respecting the case, from the Chinese authorities, from those of Manila, and from Portuguese and Lascar seamen.*

AT LENGTH, the melancholy story of the *Fairy* is confirmed by the remainder of her crew—fifteen in number, who arrived in Canton on the 2d instant, from Fuhkeën. Twelve months have now elapsed since we first heard rumors of the foul deeds of murder. Some said

the pirates had cut off a foreign ship. Others supposed the Chinese authorities had either made or directed an attack. It was also suspected that there had been a mutiny. This state of uncertainty was followed by authentic accounts of the brig having sailed from the coast, on a given day, for Lintin. It was soon after reported, that a number of foreign seamen were at Fuhchow foo. The result of an attempt to communicate with them, left but little doubt that captain McKay and his officers had been murdered. Soon after this, a linguist, having been sent for from Canton, was dispatched to Fuhkeën. Nothing was heard of the Fairy until some weeks afterwards, when a vessel, supposed to be her, was discovered under water off Cape St. Mary, some distance to the northward of Manila. Persons having bars of gold were suspected, and, having been apprehended, confessed themselves guilty of the bloody act. As their trial is still pending, any expression of opinion here, relative to their conduct, would be premature. A few facts, however, gained from good authorities, may not be out of place.

The brig Fairy—a vessel of 160 tons, built, we believe, about five years ago at Liverpool—left Lintin for the eastern coast of China, on the 20th of June last year. Having accomplished the object of her voyage, she was returning, when, according to a preconcerted plan, the captain, first and second officers, with the gunner, were murdered. Six 'Manilamen' then took command; and the remainder of her crew, in the longboat, sailed for the shore. The following edict from the hoppo, issued sometime in December (we have not the date), shows how the men were received, what reasons they gave for coming on shore, &c.

"Wăn, superintendent of maritime customs in the province Kwangtung, issues this order to the hong merchants, Howqua and his fellows, and requires that they fully acquaint themselves therewith. I have received from the governor a communication, wherein he states, that, on the 23d day of the 11th month (December 30th 1836), dispatches reached him from Chung the governor of Fuhkeën and Chĕkeäng, and Wei the lieut.-governor of Fuhkeën, informing him, that, on the 17th day of the 10th month (November 25th), the subjoined representation had been laid before them by Chin Kwŏsuy, acting magistrate of the district Changpoo heën:

"'In the course of the 7th month (August, 1836), fourteen distressed foreigners successively arrived in this town, and appeared before me,—whom I sent on at once to the capital of the province, and respecting whom I duly reported. Afterwards, on the 17th day of the 9th month (26th October), a foreigner appeared and presented a petition, requesting that the distressed foreigners should be given up to him. He was at once driven away, and the circumstance reported, as is on record. I then immediately entered into communication with the military officers, and requested them to select policemen, well acquainted with the villages and hamlets along the coast, and to send them to Nanking and all the adjoining villages, to search closely and in every direction. This having been done, they returned and

reported, 'that, at a place named Chihoo, they had discovered a foreigner who was begging, and respecting whom the natives were utterly ignorant from whence he came; that with this exception there was no other foreigner lingering about; and this man, as in duty bound, they brought before me.' Upon his arrival, I examined the foreigner, and observed that he had received on his right temple a sword-cut, an inch and six tenths in length, in an oblique direction. Though the parts had adhered, and formed a cicatrice, yet the circumstance seemed suspicious. And calling to mind that the foreigners who before had successively arrived came from the neighborhood of the village Nanking, I had apprehensions that the people inhabiting the coast might have taken advantage of their distress to assault and plunder them. I therefore, a second time, sent men to ascertain the truth: but the reports which they brought back were at variance, and every statement diverse from the others; and on close examination of them, I found, that all their reports were but mere rumors, wholly devoid of a single particle of evidence.

"'As this affair relates to foreigners, out of the pale of the empire, involving therefore consequences of great importance, I did not venture in the slightest degree to shun a full investigation of it, neither dared I to rush precipitately and incautiously upon inquiries. Having been unable to gain any trace whereby to discover the truth, I bethought myself that no step remained but to have the facts explained verbally by the foreigner now brought before me,—that perhaps by adopting this mode of investigation, I might have a prospect of gaining some tangible evidence, on which to act. I therefore very carefully and closely examined him, and, having drawn the figure of a ship, I then required him to delineate the circumstances, and to give evidence by signs. He represented that his name was *Walesze;* that he had hitherto been in the capacity of a sailor on board an English vessel; that one *Mantilae*, on board the same vessel with him, having conspired with certain of the crew, and killed the captain, and also one *Malung*, with some others, he (Walesze) and the other non-conspirators were driven by them into a small boat, which, while drifting about, was overtaken by a gale and swamped: that the vessel, a two-masted one, which, with the silver and other things on board, Mantilae then seized upon, sailed away from them—she was not lost: that when he and the other non-conspirators jumped into the small boat, they took no goods or anything with them; but owing to the force of the wind and violence of the waves, the boat was upset and swamped before they had neared the shore, and all were compelled to commit themselves to the water and swim for their lives: that he remained struggling in the water for several days, before he succeeded in reaching the shore: as to his companions, that they were scattered and wholly lost to him: and that he had not been assaulted or plundered by the natives on shore.

"'Several successive mornings and evenings I anxiously interrogated him, requiring him to go over with his finger, what he had already depicted, to personate the parties, and by actions to represent what had

taken place, making him repeat the evidence which he had given by signs, and thus again and again narrowly examining him; these repeated examinations confirmed in every particular the drawing. But having no linguist to interpret the inquiries and answers, it was in truth difficult to gain any full assurance. I finally, therefore, sent to Amoy, to seek for some native who might be able, in some measure, to interpret the foreigner's words; and one Pih Pihleaou was brought to me; the explanations obtained through him were in accordance with the results of my previous examinations.

"'I am humbly of opinion, that if the foreign vessel had indeed encountered a gale at sea, then the whole ship must have been upset and swamped; and it would seem impossible in such a case for them to launch a boat, and assemble together in her to save themselves. And if the vessel had struck on a shoal, and gone to pieces, and the crew had been attacked and plundered by the people on the coast, it must have happened within the inner seas, where are military posts and custom-house stations, and where the naval vessels are dispersed everywhere, numerous as the stars, and regularly arranged as on a chessboard, so that there must have been some precise and accurate information thereof. How could it be, in such case, that after the lapse of so long a time, no information had been sent from any quarter? Even when I dispatched a select party of police to seek, in every way, for some clue, and to search in all the villages, I could not gain the slightest trace, whereby to discover the real facts. The deposition of this man Walesze, that certain of the crew conspired together, and, having murdered the captain, escaped with the vessel and the silver and other things on board of her, when compared with the circumstances before us, appears credible. And of those foreigners who previously were successively brought before me, one, on being narrowly examined and required to show by signs what had occurred, assumed the manner of a person alarmed, awaking out of sleep, and murdered; which appears also to coincide with the deposition of Walesze. But thirteen of these distressed foreigners, who were first brought, merely stated that the vessel was trading in rice, when she was overtaken by a gale; they acknowledged nothing further; and this bears somewhat of a suspicious aspect. I would mention, however, that when Walesze was brought before me, I endeavored to set him at ease and comfort him by promising him that he should be sent back to his country immediately; but I observed that this, contrary to my expectation, raised on his countenance an expression of uneasiness: about which, when I questioned him, he said, that from not having been able to bring aid to their captain in his danger, they would find it difficult hereafter to save themselves from being implicated in the crime. Bearing this in mind, it would appear not improbable that the concealment, on the part of those thirteen distressed foreigners was owing to this cause alone.

"'I would humbly remark, that, although in this case something has been obtained in the shape of a deposition, yet, Pih Pihleaou having never before been employed in the capacity of an interpreter to for-

eigners, it has been impossible to attain, through his means, perfect assurance in the matter. Revolving this in my thoughts, I see no resource, but in earnestly intreating that a dispatch may be forwarded to Canton, calling for a linguist well acquainted with the English language to be sent to Fuhkeën, to interpret the examinations. Then may the hidden rock appear, above the receding waters.

"'Suspicion of falsehood and deception having attached to the thirteen of the distressed foreigners, who were before sent to the capital, I am apprehensive that if Walesze should be now hastily sent on to that place, and be brought in contact with them, he will join to make a like deposition with the others, and thus prevarication will be occasioned. Were they merely in this way to withhold and conceal the truth, representing simply that they had suffered from a tempest and escaped only with their lives, nothing objectionable could ensue from this. But should they, in the end, make a pretence of having been attacked and plundered by pirates on the Chinese seas, to save themselves from the fault of not having rescued their captain, such a statement would involve the high dignity of the nation, and would call for no small expenditure of troublesome inquiry; it is, therefore, necessary, to be in an increased degree, both careful and particular. Now the linguist in his way from Canton to the capital of Fuhkeën, must pass through this city. If I may be allowed to detain the foreigner Walesze in my district until the linguist shall arrive here, and then direct the linguist to interpret his depositions first, and afterwards send both to the capital, that he, with the several foreigners before sent on, may then be separately subjected to a close examination, we may thus, by preventing combination and prevarication, secure faithfulness and truth, and may display a high degree of carefulness.

"'Be my feeble views correct or incorrect in their aim, it is my duty to present them for consideration, while at the same time, I transmit the minute details of the deposition, taken from the above-named foreigner in distress, to which I subjoin also a summary. And I humbly await the condescending conferment of an order to be obeyed by me, to the great advancement of justice and equity.

"'The governor and lieut.-governor of Fuhkeën, on receipt of the above, forward it with the subjoined remarks: 'With regard to these distressed foreigners, cast on shore by the severity of a gale, within the jurisdiction of the district Changpoo, we find it on our records, that the magistrate of that district did present a report respecting them, and did send them to the capital; also, that the financial and judicial commissioners reported the successive arrival of the foreigners, to the number of fourteen; that we directed the prefect of the department of Fuhchow, together with the commander of the city guard, to examine them, and have the results of their examination interpreted; and, that afterwards the commissioners, above named, jointly with the circuit commissioner, did report to us in person, that those distressed foreigners had been examined; but that, what they had said was not very clear and intelligible. The written statement of their depositions, which were interpreted, are not, however,

found to coincide with the statements now sent to us by the magistrate of Changpoo heën. And since there is not in all Fuhkeën, a person thoroughly acquainted with the language of the foreigners, it is certainly our duty to send to Canton to call for a linguist to come hither, that he may fully and truly interpret the examinations, that thus we may show becoming diligence and assiduity. We, therefore, are compelled to send an express, requesting you to consider this matter, and hoping that you will immediately give orders for a linguist, well acquainted with the foreign language, to be selected and speedily sent to Fuhkeën, to interpret the examinations, in order that this matter may be arranged. We send also copies of the two statements laid before us.'

"The governor, in transmitting to me, the hoppo, this communication from the governor of Fuhkeën, adds, 'I have directed the financial and judicial commissioners of Kwangtung, to coöperate, and instantly to command the hong merchants, that they select a linguist well acquainted with the foreign language; that, having so done, they apply to me for him to be sent, with an official communication, to Fuhkeën, to interpret the examinations and transactions in this affair; and that they suffer not the least portion of time to be lost in delay. It is right that I should also communicate with you on the subject, in the hope that you will examine it, and issue orders to be obeyed and put in force; and I also forward copies of the two statements conjoined in one.' On receipt of his excellency's communication, I, the hoppo, forthwith issue this edict, commanding the said merchants immediately to act in obedience hereto; and also to report their having so acted. Let them not procrastinate. A special order.'"

As these men are now in Canton, and have been before the British superintendent, another reference will be made to their testimony; we must first, however, state some facts obtained from Manila. It should be remarked here, that the 'foreigner who appeared and presented a petition to the magistrate of Changpoo heën,' was probably one of the interpreters, on the British commission, who visited the coast in October to inquire after the officers and crew of the Fairy. Some evidence was also obtained from a Chinese at Kumsing Moon, about the same time. *See Canton Register for October 18th,* 1836.

The first advices from Manila were dated 17th January, 1837. Certain sailors, lurking about the place with bars of gold in their possession, had attracted notice, and arrangements were being made to arrest them. This was done. Two were taken at Yloylo, and one at Yloco, and brought before the police. In a note from the chief alcalde, dated at Yloco 27th Feb., 1837, he states that he was then engaged in investigations. In another communication, of the same date, it was added, that one of the seamen had confessed that he belonged to the brig, and that he endeavored to throw all the blame on others. Under later dates, more ample details were given; from which it appears, that pretty full confessions had been made; in some of their evidence, they endeavor to implicate others with themselves. According to their accounts, the attack commenced, between three and four

o'clock in the morning, on the first mate, who, with the captain, second mate, and gunner,—all resisting bravely, were soon dispatched and thrown over board; every man then took what booty he pleased; the crew, after remaining together a day and a half, separated; a part then left in the launch, while the others, the six Manilamen, sailed for Luçonia; after a boisterous passage of twelve days, they made the land; then they stood along the coast southward, until they anchored off the village Caoayan. There they took their gold and silver on shore, and scuttled the brig. The fate of these men remains to be determined.

We go back now, again, to the other part of the crew, consisting of Lascars, with two or three Portuguese, and five Chinese: of these last, nothing has been heard since the day they left the brig. What was elicited through the linguist, who was sent from Canton to Fuhkeën, does not appear. The substance of the account obtained from the men who have just arrived, and who were immediately delivered over to the British superintendent, is this: on the passage down from the east coast to Lintin, the chief officer, Guthrie, found fault with the Manilamen, and repeatedly struck them; about four o'clock in the morning of the second day after leaving the bay of Chinchew, (one man thinks it was the 21st of August,) the weather being dark and rainy, the captain and second officer with most of the crew asleep, the rencounter took place; blood covered the deck; the six Manilamen, armed with swords and pistols, gained the mastery; the others were in consternation, some having been wounded in their sleep; and all were in confusion. No dead bodies were seen; but five persons—the captain, first and second mates, and two others—were now missing. The Lascars and Portuguese were told that if they did not go away, they too should be killed; the boat was hoisted out, and they embarked. They left the brig about 9 o'clock in the forenoon, and steered towards the land, which was not in sight. About 5 o'clock P. M., the same day, they reached the shore; the boat bilged in a heavy surf on the beach; and some of the people were drowned. One man was absent from the party, after landing, for two months. They were first conducted to the magistrate of Changpoo heën; he gave them each a suit of clothes, and fed them with congee and sweet potatoes for nineteen days; allowing them a mace and a half per day, he then sent them to 'Chinchew;' and after about a month and a half, to Fuhchow foo, the capital of Fuhkeën, where they received a mace daily, and remained till the beginning of last month, when they started for Canton,—each man on his departure, receiving nine dollars from the officers in whose custody they had been retained.

Here we must conclude—at least for the present, the narrative of this sad catastrophe. Additional facts may, perhaps, be yet elicited, and the guilt of the guilty be made more certain. The conduct of the Chinese authorities, in this case, has been honorable. Throughout, they seem to have treated the men with care and even with some quality of kindness. The motives which have induced this, and also

the long detention of the men, are not, to us, apparent;—whether they were feelings of commiseration; or 'tender solicitude for the high dignity of the nation;' or (what is more probable) a due regard to their own safety; the reader must determine. The untimely end of captain McKay is affecting. He had gained a competency, and was about to retire to pass the remainder of his days among a family of affectionate relatives. His prospects, in the full spring-tide of life, were bright: but in an hour—an unexpected hour, and by cruel hands, 'the vital spark' was extinguished, and his remains plunged into the depths of the ocean.

ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences. An imperial edict respecting opium and sycee; triennial examination; Siamese tribute-bearers; degradation of Tăng Tingching, governor of Canton.*

ANOTHER edict, respecting sycee and opium, has just come down from his imperial majesty, Taoukwang. It was issued on the 14th of July and arrived here on the 3d instant, eighteen days from Peking, by express. Friends abroad may be 'surprised' that we do not foretell the consequences of these 'loud thundering edicts.' But, honestly, we see no remedy for their surprise. In the present case, more or less additional annoyance may be experienced; besides which, we do not expect much from this new edict. Possibly, gentlemen who were ordered, some months ago, to quit Canton within ten days, and who have remained here quietly ever since, may again be expelled.

The approaching triennial examination, for the degree of S. T., is drawing together in Canton the 'flowering talents' of this 'wide eastern province.' Two imperial examiners, Hwang Tsung and Soo Yingah, the former of the Hanlin academy, are on their way hither from Peking. The examination will commence about the middle of next month.

Siamese envoys, or rather tribute-bearers, have arrived in Canton, on their way to the court of China. They are to leave the city for Peking in about six weeks.

Governor Tăng Tingching degraded. Foreigners sometimes have been much surprised to see so many successive appointments of commissioners from Peking to Canton, within the last few years. And it has not abated their surprise to be told, that, whatever *secret* objects there might be, the first ostensible one was, to investigate a case, which arose out of a quarrel between two officers, originally together at Peking, where each brought accusations of criminality against the other, and each defended himself by charging the other with spiteful motives, and falsehood. The two officers were degraded; one was a native of Canton. His mother appealed against the decision; and, on every confirmation of the original decision by the commissioners, renewed her appeal. At length, the persevering appellant has been silenced, and her son transported, for his own or his mother's contumacy, to the cold regions of Sungária. But one of the parties of commissioners, in conjunction with the present governor, had formed a judgment so inconsistent with what now appears to have been the facts, that his majesty has deemed it necessary to correct them with severity. Though retained in office, they lose their rank, and the small allowances attached to it, and are to regain it, only after six years of *unerring* conduct.

N. B. The last day of each month is our usual 'publication day;' this number, however, goes to press on the 10th instant. We have some paragraphs marked in the Peking Gazettes for extracts, but space for them is now wanting. In a late number, his majesty expresses great pleasure at the seizure of sycee silver, by his degraded servant, governor Tăng Tingching.

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ART. I. *Narrative of a voyage of the ship Morrison, captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan, in the months of July and August*, 1837. By S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

THE object of this voyage was to carry back to their country seven shipwrecked Japanese, who had been residing at Macao for several months, and whose return, it was reasonably supposed, would form a good excuse for appearing in the harbors of that empire. Three of the men are natives of the principality of Owári, lying about 150 miles W.S.W. of Yédo, the capital, and formed part of the crew of a coasting junk of nearly 200 tons burden, which left the port of Toba, in the principality of Sima, near Owári, in November, 1831, bound for Yédo, laden with a cargo consisting partly of rice, and partly of tribute for the emperor. A few days after their departure, they encountered a heavy gale, which carried away the mast, and drove them out of sight of land into the Pacific ocean; the unfortunate crew, entirely ignorant their course, let the vessel drift whereever winds and currents would carry her, and after being tossed about for fourteen months, were cast ashore near the Columbia river. During this long time, they subsisted chiefly upon the rice on board, and on what fish they could catch; eleven of their number died of scurvy, and the remaining three were nearly helpless when they landed. The Indians in those regions plundered them of everything, and kept them captives several months, when their situation and history became known to a benevolent factor of the Hudson's Bay Fur Company, who released them, and took measures to send them to England. After experiencing much kindness from this gentleman, whom they delight to remember they left the Oregon territory for the Sandwich Islands, from thence they went to London, where much interest was taken in their welfare; from thence they were sent to China, and here taken under the care of the Superintendents of British Trade,

with the hope that they might ultimately reach their homes. They arrived at Macao in December, 1835, and took up their residence with Mr. Gutzlaff, who regarded it a good opportunity to acquire some knowledge of their language. The names of these wanderers are Iwakitchi or 'Lucky Rock,' aged 33 years, who left a wife and family in Mía, a town of Owári; Kíukitchi or 'Lasting Happiness,' aged 20, and Otokitchi or 'Happy Sound,' aged 19; these two are from Stágori in Owári.

The remaining four men left Amákousa, a port belonging to an island of the same name, lying 40 miles S.S.E. from Nágásaki, in December, 1834, in a small junk; they were driven off to the southward in a gale which carried away the mast, and, after 35 days they were cast ashore on the north coast of Luçonia. Here they fell into the hands of the natives, who plundered them of every article, and, after keeping them a short time, transferred them to another village; from which, after a variety of hardships and adventures, being passed from one village to another, they reached Manila. They embarked on board a Spanish vessel, and landed at Macao in March, 1837, destitute and friendless; and, Japanese like, were on the point of committing suicide, but happily were directed to Mr. Gutzlaff's house, where they met their countrymen, and with whom they resided about five months, supported and clothed by Messrs. Olyphant & Co. Their names are Sianzau, or 'Heart,' aged 28, the captain of the junk, who has left a wife and family in jKáwáshíri, a town 50 miles east of Nágásaki in the principality of Fígo; Kumátaru or 'Bear,' aged 28, and Ríkimatz, or 'Strong Fir,' aged 16, both from Símabára, a large town in Físen not far from Nágásaki; and Giusabaru, or 'Fortunate,' aged 25, who is from Takáshí in Fígo.

It was considered, that so good an opportunity of producing upon the Japanese government a favorable impression of the character of foreigners, and perhaps of inducing them to relax their anti-social policy, as was now presented, ought not to be neglected; and this, added to the fact, that the United States of America were almost unknown to the Japanese, determined Messrs. Olyphant & Co., to attempt the experiment at the time the men were returned. It was hoped the exclusive policy of the nation had become somewhat weakened during the long period that had elapsed since a foreign vessel had visited any port besides Nágásaki; and that the influence of curiosity, and the nature of the errand, would at least secure a courteous reception. In order to take advantage of any opening, a small assortment of cloths was put on board, and a great variety of patterns of different cotton and woolen fabrics, which from their adaptation to a temperate climate, were calculated to attract the attention of the Japanese, and induce them to trade. A list of presents was added, consisting of a pair of globes, a telescope, a barometer, collection of American coins, some books, and a few paintings, among which was a portrait of Washington. Documents explanatory of our object were drawn up in Chinese; one of which stated the names and residences of the seven men, and a few notices of their adventures;

another gave a short account of America, its commercial policy, that it possessed no colonies, and that the men were returned in a vessel of the country where they were wrecked; and a third gave a list of the presents, together with the proposition, that if it met the approbation of the court, one of the party would remain in the country to teach the meaning of the books. Dr. Parker accompanied the expedition, provided with a stock of medicines and instruments, and a number of anatomical plates and paintings, which he thought would attract the notice of a people, who hold the healing art in high estimation. He was also furnished with a paper stating his profession, and his willingness to practice gratuitously on all who had diseases. I was attached to the expedition as naturalist.

From all that could be learned of the reception of former visitors, as well as of the regular Dutch traders at Nágásaki, the guns and ammunition were always taken out of a vessel as a previous step to all negotiation. If any cannon were carried, it was the fixed resolve not to use them as defensive weapons, whatever might be the provocation, but rather to retreat; and, lest this resolution might be too severely tried, the ship's armament was left at Lintin. But above all, it was desirable to try the experiment of a mission to the Japanese without arms, and ascertain what reception those who went in peace and good faith would meet. The benevolent nature of the errand, the offer to cure the sick, the commercial character of the vessel, and the presence of Mrs. King, combined to favor the trial, and prove to the Japanese the sincerity of our declarations of friendship. It would, moreover, tend to settle a question which has often been debated among some Christians, who have affirmed that the attacks which foreigners have received from the natives of countries little visited, were owing chiefly to their fears being excited, and to their being induced by an array of force to stand on the defensive.

The party embarked on board the Morrison, captain D. Ingersoll, on the evening of the 3d of July, and the next morning left Macao Roads. When passing through the Bashee channel, we encountered a gale, which was afterwards ascertained to have been much more severe in the Formosan channel, and the seas to the northeast. A short time before our departure, the ship had discharged a cargo of rice, some of which had escaped from the bags into the limbers of the hold, where it underwent a partial fermentation and decomposition, sending off an effluvia which was exceedingly offensive. This being partly composed of nitric acid and ammonia, united with the lead in the paint, and the plate and other silver, and changed them in a few hours to a dull black color; the green paint was scarcely discolored. The salt in the sea-water appeared also to be partially decomposed, and to give off muriatic acid,—judging from the effect the air had on the gold of our watches. We were told that when the ship was laden with rice, it was dangerous to breathe the hot air which came out of the hold, more than a few moments, as a few inhalations caused faintness and coughing. The water which was pumped from the ship threw off an insufferable odor of ammoniureted hydrogen, and was

quite black at first; but by means of a stop-cock in the stern, and continued pumpings for a few days, the ship became sweet.

July 11th. About 6 o'clock A. M., the islands known by the Japanese name of Madjicosima (Hajicosima) or Eight islands, were in sight. This group lies between latitude 24° and 25° north, and longitude 123° and 125° east, distant from Lewchew S.S.W. about 180 miles, and is but little known. Captain Broughton, in H. B. M. schooner Providence, was wrecked on Typinsan, the largest of them, in 1797, and the natives treated him kindly and assisted him to get to Macao. We passed about four miles to the southward of Typinsan (or Taeping shan), which presented a moderate elevation, with a flattish outline, and abrupt shores of a whitish color, surrounded with coral reefs. No boats were visible, nor could we discern any cultivation, though trees were seen on the eminences. The Japanese on board knew the group, and said, it is inhabited by people who speak their language, are few in numbers, and have little intercourse with Japan. We had intended to land on one of these islands, but during the night a current carried the ship too far to leeward to make this practicable; and with a fresh breeze we bore away for Lewchew. This group deserves more attention than it has yet received; for a thorough examination of the inhabitants, their language, and policy, would probably tend to throw much light upon one of the most interesting questions in this part of the world, the character and extent of Japanese influence.

July 12th. In the morning, about 6 o'clock, the southwest point of Great Lewchew was in sight, bearing E.N.E. A strong northeasterly current had been experienced since coming through the Bashee channel, and we were happy to find the ship well to windward on making the land. We passed along the southwestern shore at the distance of five miles, busily engaged in examining the picturesque scenery. The land gradually ascended from the beach in gentle undulations to a moderate elevation, presenting a pleasing alternation of woodland and fields, rendered still more charming at this time by a bright sun. The extreme southerly point of the island is known by a singularly cleft rock, separated from the mainland about 100 feet. Along the whole line of coast the surf was breaking on the coral reefs, which in some places extended out for miles, showing a crest of foam as beautiful as the reefs were dangerous. Within the reefs, a few fishermen were seen, some of whom had nets suspended from poles, which they elevated and depressed as in China. Their small canoes were hollowed out of logs; each contained two or three persons, and as we passed near them, the men suspended their occupation to gaze at the ship; but we met none, as captain Beechey did, who would come on board, or fasten their fish to our hooks.

About half-way between South Cape and Abbey Point, we noticed a remarkable rock, resembling in its circular form an arc of an amphitheatre, an illusion that was heightened by the resemblance the loose stones and stunted trees on the top bore to seats and persons. The extent of this "fragment of a Coliseum," was about three fourths of a

mile, and was upwards of 100 feet in height. Other grotesque forms were elsewhere seen; and Abbey Point was so named from the resemblance of its square rocks to ruined towers. On most of the rocky eminences near the beach, a prolific growth of pandanus was observed, and some small trees; and, farther inland, pines and tall trees were seen skirting the hills. Two or three small villages, almost of the same color as the rocks about them, were also observed in the ravines close to the beach.

At 11 o'clock A. M., we dropped anchor in Napa keäng, distant about one mile from the shore, Capstan Rock bearing S.E. by S. Here we remained several hours before a boat approached the ship, a circumstance we could not avoid contrasting with Beechey's account of the many boats that clustered around the Blossom before she came to anchor. With our glasses, we could discern the people gathered in groups on the tops of the houses, and along the shore, watching the ship with great attention; and now and then parties were seen hastening in various directions, bearing among them, as we supposed, the insignia of some official personages.

The appearance of the landscape lying before us was truly beautiful, and one which would engage the attention of the lovers of quiet scenery. The monotonous aspect of continued cultivation was broken by the clumps of trees which adorned the hills, and overshadowed the houses; and the neatly executed cemeteries, the junks bedecked with gay flags, and the towns of Napa and Pootsung, showing their red tiled roofs, combined to diversify the foreground. The curve of the bay was well defined at its extremities by the rocks at Abbey Point, and the heights near Barnpool; and a range of hills, rising in peaks, began at our right, and with partial interruptions, continued around the horizon, nearly to our left, where it stretched off to the northward. The country on the right rose gradually from the beach, apparently devoted to agriculture; and was separated from Napa by an inlet, which was defended at its entrance by two square stone buildings with loop-holes, and contained several junks lying at anchor. On one side of this inlet, a long low stone causey extended from the fort across the marshes, having in it several bridges, through which the water may flow off into the stream at high tides, and connecting the landing-place and forts with the city of Napa. North of the causey and near the shore, between the remarkable eminences of Capstan Rock and Sepulchre Point, lay the public cemetery, the horse-shoe tombs rising in galleries, the glare from their white surfaces a little broken by the trees scattered among them. Farther to the northward was the village of Pootsung, with its causey and boats; and, in its rear an extensive grove of tall trees, forming a contrast to the scenery near the beach. Still farther inland, was the high range of Onnodake; between which and the grove we could discern an undulating champaign, highly cultivated. Few or no boats were moving in the bay, but the view was enlivened by the groups of natives, and we long gazed at it with increasing pleasure.

At three o'clock, we were visited by two boats from the shore, the largest of which was about twenty five feet long, and narrow, shaped like a scow with both ends open, and paddled by a dozen half naked natives. It contained several persons, whom we immediately knew to be officers, from the respect paid to them, and who with much difficulty contrived to ascend the sides of the ship. They were dressed in loose flowing robes of grass-cloth, somewhat stiff, marked with a blue and white plaid, having very large sleeves, and bound at the waist with a girdle, to which were suspended a pipe and tobacco-pouch; the whole forming an agreeable costume, and very appropriate in a climate naturally warm. Their long black hair was oiled, neatly done up in a tuft on the top of the head, and fastened with two pins, *kameshashe* and *oomeshashe*, usually made of brass or tutenague; the former was a square pin, having a kind of screw for holding the hair, with a head resembling a six-petaled flower attached to it; the other was a pin about eight inches long, in its shape much like a marrow-spoon.

As soon as they reached the deck, each made a very low bow *à la Chinoise*, and the principal man immediately inquired, if "we could speak Chinese?" To this we replied in the affirmative, and requested them to be seated. This ceremony, however, was a matter of some difficulty, but was settled after a while by all sitting down simultaneously at a table, on which paper and pencils were placed. The same individual, who was a fine looking man, rather taller than his companions, then asked, "what is your business in Lewchew?" To this we briefly answered, "that we had come into the harbor to stay a few days, visit the people, and procure some refreshments." They then asked from what country we were, how many men there were on board, and other similar inquiries; and wrote down all the answers.

One of the party now pulled a book out of his bosom, which was their pocket, formed by the folds of the dress overlapping,) and after looking at it a moment, said in broken English, "Dis what ship? Dis Amelekan ship?" "Yes," we told him; "How many mans?" "Twenty-eight men." "Plenty mans! Have got guns?" "No; this is a merchant ship." "Plenty mans! Plenty guns! I talked mandarin;" and then he sat down, and entered into conversation with his associates. We then asked the party if it was not Anyah who spoke, to which they assented; and by their countenances seemed to wish to know where we had learned his name. Anyah, finding that we understood Chinese, seldom had recourse to his vocabulary after this experiment; but the similarity of this speech to the one spoken by him as reported by captain Beechey, amused us all. He had evidently forgotten the greater part of his English: but on one occasion, subsequently, when one of the chiefs was sea-sick from the motion of the vessel, Anyah slily remarked that he was a "litty drunk."

The chief then made several further inquiries about the size of the vessel, the length of our passage, whether we had come direct from

America, the names of the captain and passengers, &c.; ordering all the answers to be written down. Concerning Mrs. King, who happened to be seated on the deck during this conference, the Lewchewans asked several questions, the replies to which were also written down; and it was worthy of remark with what deference they regarded her, and how carefully they avoided the least rudeness. Whatever may be the cause, the inhabitants of this group, so far as regards true politeness and a desire not to offend, present an advantageous contrast to their neighbors, the Chinese; though, if we survey their whole social system, they cannot be called so polished a people. They informed us that there had been a typhoon five days before we came in, which had destroyed all the fruit trees, and done much other damage: this information explained the cause of the heavy northerly swell we had experienced. These tempests, they said, happened during all the months from April to September, and were generally very mischievous when they occurred. We asked where the Chinese junk was bound which had just left the harbor; and were told that she was a junk belonging to Lewchew, bound to Taetaou, laden with sugar. This vessel, about 200 tons burden, left the harbor shortly before the chiefs came on board, and was in her form and rigging, like a Chinese junk; she had on her stern in large characters, *shun fung seäng sung*, "may favorable winds attend us."

Sweet wine and cake were now handed around, and whenever one of the company took anything from the plates, he would express thanks by carrying it to his forehead, at the same time making a slight inclination of the head. While partaking of the refreshments, one of the chiefs, seeing his attendants wandering over the decks, said, "Many of the low mariners of Lewchew are thieves; it will be advisable for you to prohibit them;" but we told him that we had no fears on the score of their honesty. Some of them soon made the acquaintance of our Japanese, and a number gathered around them, carrying on an animated conversation, in which we could not perceive that there was the lest difficulty in their understanding one another. We ascertained that there were seven Japanese junks in port, and that the number which visited Lewchew during a year was considerable.

Anyah, hearing us converse together in English, again asked if the vessel was not an Englishman. We told him that America was originally peopled from England, but was now independent, separated from that country thousands of miles across a wide ocean; that the Americans had many merchant vessels, and were friends of the Lewchewans. We endeavored to show them the relative position of the two countries on a map, but Anyah still looked dissatisfied; nor was it wonderful, if the anomaly of two different states at such a distance from each other, speaking the same language, should cause a doubt in the mind of one whose knowledge of other countries was probably limited to Japan, China, and Corea. Some one then wished to know how many days' sail it was from America to England, and from America to China; and how many inhabitants our country contained.

Anyah now changed the subject by observing that there was some water for the ship in another boat; and proposed to his companions to depart, promising to return on the morrow.

None of our visitors wore the hats of office called hatchee-matchee by cap. Hall, nor did we see any during our stay. They had straw sandals like those used among the Japanese, which have one band passing over the instep, and another attached to it coming from between the two inner toes; but no stockings or trowsers. The common people were merely provided with a cloth about the middle, and were generally decent and cleanly. Some of them went aloft, but did not venture far; others examined the anchors and cables; and others walked into the cabin, looking at the books, seating themselves in the chairs, and appearing quite delighted with the strange objects around them. And although there was unlimited freedom granted them in going wherever they pleased, not the smallest article was missed. The chief also amused himself with looking about the ship, and inspecting some paintings, which, Dr. Parker had, of remarkable surgical operations. After attentively looking at them, he asked "If the patients recovered?" and seemed gratified at hearing that they did; and we added, that the doctor was ready to perform similar operations in Lewchew, or prescribe for any sick persons who should be brought to him. The whole party then took their leave, but we listened in vain for the baotmen's song of ya-ha-ma-shawdy, spoken of by Beechey.

Towards evening we went ashore at Abbey Point, and landing on the coral reef which there stretches out from the land, made our way over a beach composed of comminuted coral and fine sand. For several rods, we passed through patches of millet and sweet potatoes planted in this dry soil, and both apparently of luxuriant growth. In the lagoons on the reef we met a small fish of a beautiful blue color, and several black polypi, both of them difficult of capture; together with a few small plants which had encroached upon the rocks. As soon as we landed, the natives began to run together in crowds, and among them were four or five officers, who requested us to go back to the ship. We walked quietly on towards the rocks on the Point, meantime sending one of the sailors to a house standing at a distance, in order to procure a cup of water, and were soon under their friendly shade. The crowd, constantly increasing by fresh recruits, now stood gazing at us, especially regarding Mrs. King, who in this and all our subsequent walks attracted much notice, yet who never experienced any incivility from the multitudes around her. The messenger returned, bringing some water, and followed by a female from the house, who approached with timid steps. To encourage her, Mrs. King went forward and took her by the hand, at which the native exhibited the back of her hand, marked with blue lines on the fingers, and a square on the wrist, a sign of the married state. Her hair was loosely tied up in a tuft on the side of the head, secured by a single pin; but otherwise her dress was like that of the men. This scene was observed by the by-standers with great attention, and evi-

dent pleasure; and the whole accompanied us towards her house. The ground was strewed with loose blocks of coral of all sizes, most of them overgrown with ivy; the pandanus and dwarf palm grew wherever there was soil; and grasshoppers and others insects flew about us in great abundance.

On reaching the hut of the native female, we found a low bamboo cabin, with no opening besides the door, and in its general appearance resembling those in which the lowest classes of Chinese live. The floor of earth was covered with a matting of bamboo, and a slight hurdle of the same material surrounded the house. Within lay some water-melons, and a pile of millet partly thrashed was before the door, and several cooking utensils were scattered over the premises. The good woman of the house offered us a cup of tea, but it was too bad to drink. Most of the huts which we saw in this walk were surrounded with small wattled inclosures, in some of which were a few poor flowers, or a chicken, or a pig; all indicative of a peaceful people, who had few wants to supply.

Among the crowd, some of whom left their work in the field to run after us, were a few with agricultural implements of a very simple construction, as a bill-hook, a wooden hoe, or a rake. Burdens were carried across the shoulders as in China; and the bamboo hats of the laborers were broad-brimmed like those of the Chinese. A pipe and tobacco-pouch were appendages of the dress of the poorest. We returned along a well defined ridge of coral and sand, thrown up by the waves, to the boat, where we found another crowd assembled; and it was astonishing to see with what impunity the children scampered over the sharp reef with their bare feet. All were in good humor, and some, who knew a little Chinese, endeavored to open a conversation, by telling us how rough the path was; and in leaving, they all bade us farewell. Returning to the ship, we rowed round the bay towards the inlet, and went up to the landing-place, where were our visitors of the morning assembled with a crowd; after passing a few compliments, we left them, and went on board.

July 13th. Early in the morning, we landed at the causey near Pootsung, before many of the natives were abroad in the streets. In the creek which we ascended were many old boats, apparently the only residences of their inmates, but the absence of females inclined us to think they were coasting craft. Landing at a rude flight of steps, we proceeded into the village without interruption, and, passing through it, began to ascend the wooded hill we had seen from the ship. As usual, a crowd soon collected about us, some of whom could talk Chinese and we began to ask all manner of questions. On arriving at the top of the ridge, a beautiful and extensive prospect offered itself to our view, whose charms at this moment were heightened by the contrast of light and shade caused by the sun just rising over the hills, while the fields refreshed us by the sweet smell from the vegetation. On the right hand, from this commanding situation, are seen the distant islands of Kirrama, rising from a wide expanse of ocean, while the clearness of the water enables the eye to trace the coral reef which

protects the anchorage immediately below; to the south is Napa, the vessels lying at anchor in the harbor, with their streamers flying; and in the intermediate space appear numerous hamlets scattered about, with the white and glistening tombs near Capstan Rock. Turning to the east, the houses of Shoody the capital city, built in their peculiar style, are observed, opening from among the lofty trees which surround and shade them, rising one above another in a gentle ascent, to the summit of a hill, which is crowned by the palace—the interesting ground, between Napa and Shoody, a distance of some miles, being ornamented by a continuation of houses. At our feet lay the humbler village of Pootsung, at this time overshadowed by the declivity of the hill. To the north, as far as the eye could reach, the country was diversified, in some places flat and cultivated, and at others rising into a range of high wooded hills, which were lost in the distance. But alas! the inhabitants of this fair isle know not the Hand who has thus adorned it, nor do they render thanks to the Giver of all their blessings. May the light of the Sun of Righteousness soon be shed abroad over these lands, so ignorant and so benighted!

While we were admiring the scenery, the native were gazing at us. One lad among them carried a writing apparatus and two books, in one of which was the Chinese character alone, and in the other the same interlined with the Japanese hirakana, the latter apparently intended as explanatory of the former; he said he was a scholar, but he could speak only a few words of Chinese. Among them were many well dressed men, a few of whom were very eloquent in their efforts to induce us to return, but whose speeches were utterly lost on us for want of a reporter. However, a more powerful argument, the heat of the sun, compelled us to yield to their wishes a retreat, which they, no doubt, considered to be wholly owing to their cogent reasoning. The soil here was composed of a stiff marly clay, which the dew rendered exceedingly slippery, and much caution was necessary in walking. Passing along, we came to some tombs, excavated in the side of the hill, apparently works of great labor, for the face of the rock was full thirty feet high, and the masonry extended over the greater part; the tombs were closed, and bore no inscriptions. The rocks overgrown with ivy and creepers, the venerable trees standing around, and the retired stillness of the spot, combined with its mournful use, rendered this a solemn place. Continuing our descent into the village, we were struck with the regularity of the streets, bounded on both sides by walls of coral, forming enclosures for the dwellings. Some, apparently not able to afford a stone wall, had planted bamboo hedges, which were kept trimmed exactly the size of the other; and the alternation of the dark coral and green bamboo, particularly in the vista, was very pretty.

Many females, some of them venerable gray-haired dames, were collected at the entrances of the dwelling-yards and on the tops of the walls, in order to catch a passing glimpse of us, and there were a number following in the crowd. Most of the dwellings were substantial structures of coral, with now and then one of brick, of one story,

and with tiled roofs; some were bamboo huts; and all stood back from the street within the inclosures. But in the extent of the dwellings, the furniture of the houses, and the means which conduce to the pleasure and security of the inmates, the habitations in Lewchew are far behind the Chinese; yet the regularity of the streets, with trees overhanging the walls, gave this village an aspect of comfort which vanished on closer inspection. In many of the yards we saw garden vegetables cultivated; and oranges, pumelos, bananas, and pomegranates, were observed. Two things surprised us, the more so from our having just come from China; one was, that we saw no persons selling provisions, or hawking articles about the streets with loud cries, or stationed at the corners with a display of goods; and another, there were no dogs barking and yelping in our ears. Good humor pervaded all classes; even the village officers talked with vivacity, and unbent their dignity. Some of them, as well as several of the common people, were dignified old men, whose silvery hair and beards, together with their loose flowing garments, gave us a favorable idea of the better classes. On approaching the boat, an underling made himself conspicuous in clearing the way, by applying his bamboo rod of office to the half-clad natives, who appeard to receive his castigations very submissively; and having opened a passage for us, we left the beach, the crowd gazing after us as long as we could see them.

At 11 o'clock, Anyah and his associates came on board, bringing only a small part of the supplies requested. As soon as the party was seated, he opened the conversation by saying, "that two days before we arrived, a foreign vessel had been observed standing in towards Napa keäng, which afterwards sailed away to the northwest;" and wished to know if that ship was ours. We told him that she was not, but was probably one we were expecting; for, from their description of her, she was undoubtedly H. B. M. Sloop of war Raleigh, which we were to meet in Lewchew. This reply was only the signal for further questioning, and one wrote down, "for what purpose do you expect her?" They were told, that she was an English man-of-war, which carried a friend who was to accompany us to Japan. As was anticipated, this answer was a source of considerable uneasiness to the chiefs, and a long and anxious consultation was the consequence. It was our previous intention not tell the Lewchewans of the coming of the Raleigh, or of our destination, until she should arrive, in order that no intelligence of our course should reach Japan. They wished to know her size, number of guns, how long she was to stop in port, &c., upon which points we satisfied them. But the fact that Napa keäng should be made the rendezvous of two ships of two foreign nations, and one of them a man-of-war, was inexplicable, and tended to throw discredit upon our previous assertions that we were Americans.

To change the topic, Dr. Parker now produced the treatise of Dr. Pearson on vaccination, and proposed to inoculate some of those on board. Anyah read the book, explaining the object as he went along, and at last, one of the chiefs, named Tákalah, consented to receive

the virus. He sat down and three incisions were made in his arm, which he bore very well; but when it was attempted to introduce some of the virus just taken out of a fresh subject, his courage gave way, and he refused. Some encouraged him to go on, but Anyah, who had much influence over him, threw out suspicions of the baneful effects which might result from so unusual a proceeding; and Tákalah, with several others, requested to be allowed to take the book on shore, that they might more fully understand the subject. Anyah, who was of a suspicious spirit, and who moreover wished to monopolize all the dealings with us, endeavored to cut the matter short by saying, that "further efforts were needless, as every one in Lewchew had the small-pox before he was three years old." This assertion there were grounds for disbelieving; but Anyah several times did not scruple as to what he said, if he could restrain our intercourse with the people.

We asked him if he could procure us some horses for riding, stating that captain Beechey, whom he well remembered, had been thus accommodated. He replied, "The magistrates have issued orders that none of you gentlemen be allowed to go on shore; captain Beechey did not understand the orders, which was wrong; you all understand propriety, and consequently do not wish to go ashore." He was told that it was contrary to the rules of propriety not to return a visit; but he reiterated that it was against the laws of the land, and we ought not to go ashore. We replied, that we wished to walk about for health's sake, and to see the people and country, and that no harm could possibly arise from giving this permission. Changing the subject, he wished to know why we were going to Japan? and why we waited for our friend to go with us? On these points we were pretty well assured that the chiefs were not ignorant, for as soon as the party came on board, four or five persons went forward and entered into close conference with the Japanese, and now and then some of them walked aft, and spoke with those at the table. Our visitors were therefore simply told, that we were returning to their homes some shipwrecked sailors. Another list of the provisions we wished was given them; and they soon after took their leave, manifesting much less friendliness than the day before. Sweet wine recalled their good humor in a measure; but the knowledge that two foreign ships were making Napa keäng a place of meeting, when neither had any business to stop there, was a source of much solicitude.

In the afternoon, one of the Japanese junks left the harbor, laden with upwards of 200 peculs of sugar, bound for Satzuma, a port in Japan, lying about 400 miles N.N.E. from Lewchew. In coming out, she struck on a reef, but was soon got off without apparent damage, and as she passed the ship, we went in the gig to examine her. The hull was made of pine, and in its general form resembled a Chinese fast-boat: the bow was sharp, without bowsprit; but instead there was a high beak, like that of an ancient galley, with a fender, in case she should run stem on. The solitary mast was about 40 feet high, and supported by a huge forestay, under which hung a yard, in form like two cones united at their bases: this was raised by halliards

passing over the top of the mast aft to the quarters, where they went over a sort of windlass, and then round a capstan, below deck. The sail was made of very coarse heavy cotton, and the bolts were loosely laced together with cords, each being four or five inches apart, giving the sail a singular appearance; at the bottom, several ropes secured it in its proper place. There was no sternpost, and the open work permitted us to look directly into the cabin, where at this time the crew were hoisting sails with loud cries. The rudder was about fifteen feet long and eight broad, with a tiller like a spanker boom, reaching forward nearly to the mast. The longboat was lashed athwart the vessel near the bow, the ends projecting over each side about five feet, placed, one would suppose, in a very hazardous manner. Three or four graplings lay on the bows attached to large hawsers; and a double-headed one was placed athwart the vessel near the mast, with the flukes outside, for the purpose of strengthening the sides. The stern was high out of water as in the junks of China, and upon it was her name, *Hozammah*, painted in large Chinese characters; upon the bow was a bird rudely carved, and the character *pin*, 'a shore,' all neatly ornamented with copper, which here, as in other parts of the vessel was laid on profusely. The capstan stood in the cabin, which, like every other part of her, was kept very clean; her sides fell in above the water mark, and she was rudely, though strongly built. The crew numbered about fifteen, one or two of whom wore the singular leggins seen in Japanese pictures, but most of them were scantily clad.

Towards evening we went ashore to view some excavations in the hills near Barnpool; and in one, which we reached with difficulty, were a few human bones lying scattered about on the bottom. From this appearance, we thought these caves were not now, if they had ever been, used as sepulchres, for out of some near the top of the hill the natives came to see us. As usual, our landing was a signal for a crowd, and although we were at least a mile from Pootsung, the people came running along the beach. When we stepped into the boat, the aspect of the multitude was singular, as the eye, glancing over their heads, everywhere met the shining brass pins which secure the hair. Leaving them on the beach, we rowed along the reef for more than a mile, (the coral here, as everywhere in the bay, showing its beautiful forms through the transparent water,) until darkness compelled a return.

July 14th. This morning, again landed at the pier near the city, intending to walk as far as the inhabitants would permit. As soon as we stepped ashore, some officers requested us to be seated on the wet stones, which they were told was not according to propriety. Pressing onwards, we took the road to Napa, along the causey, but our officious friends put themselves before us in the narrow way, determined to prevent our progress by laying hold of our arms and dress, and requesting us to go into a temple near by. This we did, not wishing to press the matter, and walked about its precincts for some time, looking at the various buildings and garden plats within the

enclosure, which we afterwards ascertained were collectively called the hall of the Chinese embassadors, spoken of by père Gaubil, and noticed in the July number of the Repository as the teënsze kwan. The whole were in rather a dilapidated condition, most of them unoccupied, and surrounded by a wall of coral. This structure was a work of some magnitude for Lewchew, being defended by a wall with battlements on the seaward side, in some places built up twenty-five feet from the marsh. If an inference might be drawn from its present plight, I should say that embassadors had not lodged there very recently.

Resuming our seats in the boat, we pulled up towards Napa, which some of the officers seeing, immediately paddled after us. Passing several junks lying secured to the causey, we arrived at a kind of bay, around which the city is built, and continued on until the inlet terminated in a little brook, and the boat stuck fast in the mud. At this hour it was ebb tide, and people were seen wading about like leech catchers in the marshy banks: and behind them hills arose on which were tombs interspersed with cultivation. On the north side, buildings were seen along the road leading from Napa to Shoody, giving one a favorable idea of the quietude of the country; on the opposite side, there were few dwellings, and the land was hilly, and but partially tilled. When we came back, the sides of the bay were lined with natives, no doubt the greater part of the population, among whom some tall personages of the better sort beckoned us with their open fans to go out of the bay; but we bowed to them and lay on our oars, viewing the objects before us. Several large trees were seen high above the houses, and many of the buildings near the banks were old and in ruins. A few coolies were lading a junk with straw covered boxes, but every body besides was looking at the foreigners. When we reached the pier, we stopped for the officers to overtake us, and then told them the object of our rowing up the inlet was to get a sight of their city.

Passing out into the bay, we relanded at the foot of Capstan Rock, and went up the hill into the temple where our predecessors had been entertained. The road thither was a wide lawn, paved with coral, and overgrown with grass; it led into the yard before the temple, through a gateway; at the right hand of the yard, a path led through a flower garden into the centre of a group of houses, and on the left, turned up the hill. The buildings on the top of the rock were surrounded with a wall, and appeared entirely deserted and falling to ruins, the inclosure being overgrown with grass. The temple itself was inhabited by a few disciples of Budha who kept it in good repair; and being surrounded with large trees, among which was a very singular banian with contorted branches: it affords a cool retreat.

Leaving the temple, I strolled over the cemetery, endeavoring to find the grave of a midshipman who was buried hereabouts by the crew of the Alceste; but none of the officers would tell me where it was, and I searched in vain. The sepulchres are very similar to the Chinese, but without any inscription; and although some were old,

the chunam was not overgrown with moss: perhaps care is taken to keep them clean, as is the custom in China. Many appeared to be the resting places of families, judging from their size and compartments; and all were so carefully constructed, that we said the Lewchewans bestowed more pains and expense upon these retreats from all pain, than would suffice to accommodate many of the living. As if for contrast, several miserable huts, containing inhabitants more squalid and wretched than I had before seen, were scattered among the graves. Ascending a hill near by, I enjoyed another prospect of the grounds between Napa and Pootsung; though annoyed by the yelping of the only dog we saw during our visit.

On returning to the temple, two ancient gigantic idols of red sandstone, so much weather-worn that, the sculpture was barely discernible, were seen occupying two niches; and several other blocks of the same rock lay scattered in the vicinity. We remained in the temple some time, examining its structure, inspecting some Budhistic books of prayers in Chinese, and fruitlessly endeavoring to purchase a few, sipping tea from a japanned tea-pot of Chinese manufacture, and looking at the various idols, one of which was made of procelain, enshrined in their gloomy recesses. The floors were thickly matted, and the rooms opened into each other by sliding panels, a mode in general use, even with the external doors. Apart from the crowd was a group of females, apparently afraid to mingle with the men,—a fear well founded, from the rude usage we in several instances saw them receive. As we took our leave, we could detect a smile of gratulation on the countenances of the officers; and I am afraid that the exhibition of restless curiosity manifested by us, a disposition natural in a strange country, did not raise our characters in the estimation of the quiet Lewchewans.

After breakfast, Dr. Parker again returned to the village in order to recover the treatise on vacination. He was kindly received and conducted into the hall of the Chinese embassadors, where was an old man wearing a huge pair of spectacles, who had copied the entire treatise, and wished to know something more about the manipulation. This was fully shown him and those around, by performing the operation upon his own arm; he was then supplied with more of the virus, and with several lancets, which, in connection with the book, may enable the old doctor to become a great benefactor to his countrymen. The interest that was manifested, and the ample explanations contained in the tract, led us to hope that vaccination would become general in the island.

Soon after the gig returned, Anyah and his companions arrived, bringing with them three fine hogs, a couple of goats which were odd-looking animals, and two or three tubs of water. The old doctor and a few persons seeking medical advice came to-day, to whom such medicines were administered as were deemed safer in their inexperienced hands; though, before receiving them, they exhibited laudable caution and desire fully to understand the contents of the papers. At last, with the aid of Otokitchi, we removed all their doubts, and

the medicines were carefully packed away in their tobacco-pouches. Dr. Parker now showed a set of anatomical plates, and paintings of surgical operations, to his old friend, who examined them with much interest, asking a variety of intelligent questions concerning the modes of operating in surgery. This old man interested us much, and we regretted that he had not appeared sooner; but we could not ascertain whether he was the same person whom Beechey mentions as having visited his sick men. Before he left, he requested us to give him a map of England, but unfortunately there were none on board to present him.

A few more questions were asked concerning the Raleigh; but to-day, the chiefs appeared to prefer conversing with the Japanese, making several inquiries of them concerning our expedition, where they had been residing, &c.; yet they did not show a very deep acquaintance with the geography of China; for when I wrote the characters for Macao, none of them knew the place. A paper was now handed to Tákalah and Anyah, in which I had written a few particulars about our intentions in coming to Napa keäng, and desire to promote a friendly intercourse with the people; and assured them that they had not favored these intentions. They assented to the truth of the statement, but said nothing further.

Our guests were now invited into the cabin to partake of a few refreshments. Some Cologne water was poured into the hand of one, and while several of them were tasting and smelling, and inquiring its uses, it evaporated, to the great wonder of the holder, who could not imagine why his hand was so cold. Some was then poured on his head, and the odor and coolness quite delighted him, and he accepted the bottle. The engraving of Dr. Colledge, operating on the blind, was exhibited and explained to our Esculapius, who, after looking at it some minutes, begged it as a gift; and it was presented to him. While the chiefs were below, the common people were eagerly receiving specimens of printed calico, with whose gaudy colors they were much pleased.

When the party below came on deck, we requested to know the value of the provisions they had brought us, at the same time proffering a handfull of dollars. Anyah said, "we have neither gold, nor silver, nor coper money in Lewchew, and we cannot receive these; we give you a few worthless articles, but we cannot buy or sell." At this instant, the Raleigh hove in sight, and the excitement among the Japanese and others amazed the poor Lewchewans, who ran to the sides of the ship to see what was coming. Anyah, not at all disconcerted, turned round, and asked if that was the English ship we expected, and whether she was going to Japan with us? To these and some other queries, he was informed as he had been previously; and we concluded by saying, that we should probably leave the harbor the next day, intelligence that much delighted him. During all this time, while his countrymen around were excited and some rather alarmed, this man was imperturbed, continuing the conversation as calmly as if nothing had happened; he certainly in many ways and

at various times showed a great superiority the other chiefs, while he also frequently vexed us, either by thwarting our wishes or by preventing our inquiries.

We again attempted to remunerate them for their provisions, by offering a few handkerchiefs, suggesting that they were much better than the paper ones used in Lewchew, and remarking that they were presents and not to be considered as pay. Tákalah said, "We cannot take them, for it will be the same thing as buying and selling." Other things were offered, which were likewise rejected; Anyah saying, "It is against the laws of our country to trade with foreigners, I know you would repay us, but we cannot take the least article." He did, however, accept a pocket dictionary, and all took some of the specimens of calico. One reason which we assigned for this continued refusal was, that all our guests were chiefs, and anything received by one would be known to all, and become a source of trouble to the owner; and its strangeness would also prevent him from exhibiting or using it with any degree of safety. In one of their visits we gave them the flag of the United States, which they said they had never before seen.

Our observations, when we compared them with those of other visitors to Lewchew, led us to infer that the novelty of foreign ships has worn off; and that the present policy of the government is, to depute their reception to officers, appointed for the business, who are to supply them with refreshments, and induce them to depart as soon as possible, by prohibiting unlimited access to the people, and restraining their visits on shore. By this means, experience would be gained, the officers would acquire a knowledge of the best ways of dealing with their guests, and thus those excesses which unfortunately have characterized the intercourse of foreigners with too many of the isles of the Pacific would be prevented. In this respect the Lewchewans have cause to congratulate themselves on their situation; out of the common tracks of the Pacific, their proximity to the unsocial empires of China and Japan, united to their own system of restriction, has been the means of sparing them the visits of some whom they are ill prepared to resist. The same officers, with some exceptions, came off to the ship, each day, and they also waited on the Raleigh; while it was remarked, that, on shore, we hardly ever saw our visitors. In neither place, did we see any indications of official rank on their persons; and their baton of authority was usually a fan, or small bamboo or rattan in the hands of an attendant. The internal government and institutions of the islands are modeled after those of China, if we may believe Chow Hwang; but at present, it is very evident that Japanese customs, and influence obtain the supremacy. The four Japanese from the western part of Kiusiu, wrecked on Luconia, said Lewchew was regarded as a dependency of the prince of Satzuma, and that he monopolized all the trade.

The common people around Napa appeared to have a nearly equal share of comfort; and by their general devotion to agriculture, provide

a supply of necessaries, and escape those extremes of wealth and woe so strongly contrasted in China. Few or no beggars were seen; and when looking at a large crowd, the eye detected few diseased persons, and never rested on any distorted or crippled objects. Their stature seldom exceeded five feet, or five feet three inches; their limbs were small, and their whole frames indicated a people little used to hard work. They have not been tempted to exertion by the presentation of foreign luxuries; the country affords them food and clothing enough for their wants, with the addition of a few exchanges from Japan and China; and, while such is the case, where is the call for enterprise? Enlarge their knowledge, and their wants will be increased, and successively their activity, and influence, and importance. Along with their simplicity, and, as some would say, happy ignorance, they are debased by idolatry, and besotted by sin; and until this incubus is removed, whatever stimuli to enterprise are presented, they will never rise in the scale of civilization. Let the vivifying influences of our holy religion be felt, their comforts, their pleasures, their rank among their fellow-men, and their condition in this life, will be enhanced a thousand fold; and in the train of these will follow joy and peace beyond the grave.

Agriculture is conducted on the same principles as in China, and most of the labor is done by hand. The fields are very small, separated from each other by footpaths; and the seed is planted in rows. Indeed, the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular. Great Lewchew contains about 900 square miles, being 60 long by 15 broad, and comprises thirty-five departments, and upwards of three hundred and fifty smaller districts, which makes the average size of a district about two square miles and six-tenths. Two kinds of millet, sweet potatoes, and rice were the usual crops; besides which, the country affords all the common garden vegetables, melons, and many sorts of fruit. Sugar forms the chief export; and grass-cloth is the common stuff for garments, though cotton fabrics are abundant; tea and silk we were told did not grow in the island, but this information was probably incorrect. Seaweed is collected for manure, and piles of compost were observed in various places; irrigation is conducted in a ruder manner, and to a much less extent, than in China. The agricultural implements are few and simple, a hoe sharpened with iron, a bill-hook, and a rake, constitute the majority; and the same simplicity, as far we saw, runs through their mechanical arts. Arms we saw none, neither swords, matchlocks, nor knives; and we concluded, that their masters, the Japanese, like the Philistines when ruling over the Hebrews, had taken away their arms, and forbade them the use of weapons. The use of metals in any manner is limited, and for hair pins, pipes, tea-pots, kitchen utensils, &c., they are probably indebted to Japan and China.

The paucity of domestic animals seemed to us, a remarkable feature of Lewchew, although most of the kinds found in the neighboring countries are known. We met one small white dog, and a few hogs, bullocks, and goats, and knew from others that the island possesses

horses, asses, and cats; poultry was scarce, and the absence of al these associations with domestic life imparted an air of emptiness even to crowded streets. In natural history, we added nothing to the observations made by the gentlemen of the Blossom. The vegetable kingdom offered a limited variety of flowers and trees; and as for shells, coral, insects, or fish, we saw few specimens worth preservation, and none were brought to us by the natives. The islands very likely afford a considerable diversity in all departments of natural productions, especially in insects and fish, but a residence in the country is required to investigate them.

American half-dimes were eagerly received by the people, and one man exchanged a handful of copper cash, bearing the superscription Kwanyung; but money was not plentiful in Lewchew. Most of their dealings are probably carried on by barter; and, judging from the list of exports given by Chow Hwang, there is an extensive trade carried on between this and the surrounding countries. Little faith, however, is to be put in these old statements of the Chinese embassador at the present day; most likely, when he wrote, the amount of the majority of the commodities was barely enough to entitle them to a place in the list. A few Lewchew junks visit China; one, driven from her course, arrived at Macao, several years since; and Mr. Gutzlaff said, that he went on board one of their vessels at Fuhcow foo, during his late visit there in the Raleigh. The pattern for building junks given them by Keënlung has been faithfully adhered to, and the superiority of these to the Japanese model is very obvious. The proximity of Lewchew to China and Japan, and the fact that both of these nations can meet in its harbors, points it out as possessing peculiar advantages for increasing our intercourse with those powers. Make Napa keäng a free port, and junks from the interjacent coasts of Mantchou and Luçonia would flock to it, there to seek a market for their produce, and procure the fabrics of other lands. It is, I believe, the only foreign port where, at present, the vessels of China and Japan can meet. Here they could become mutually acquainted, without standing in mutual fear, and their antipathies and prejudices would gradually wear off by intimacy and trade. Foreigners, also, could make this an entrepôt for their commodities, exchanging them for the tea and silks of China, and the metals and wares of Japan; and thus develop the resources, and direct the energies, of two empires, too long shut out from the community of nations. Suspicion and prejudice, learned by dear-bought experience, are the great barriers which separate these two countries from their fellow-men; and, since it was the misconduct of foreigners which closed their ports, it in fairness belongs to the same source to disabuse them of their misanthropy. Free trade begets a free interchange of thought; and with the goods, the civilization and Christianity of foreign nations will extend; and these lands, for so many years shut out from the genius of universal emancipation, the gospel, will become accessible, by means of this port, and bibles and tracts can from here be distributed to the remotest parts of China and Japan. Are these plans visionary? Is not Singapore a sufficient witness to

the contrary? And why not have another Singapore in this great Archipelago of the Eastern Pacific? We hope these islands will receive more attention from those who wish to do good to the benighted nations around them.

The Lewchew group is situated between the 26th and 27th degrees of north latitude, and between 126° 50′ and 128° 20′ east longitude; comprising an area of about 5000 square miles; and numbering perhaps twenty islands, of which Great Lewchew is much larger than any of the others. Napa keäng lies due east of Fuhchow foo in Fuhkeën about 400 miles, and is nearly that distance S.S.W. of Nágásaki in Japan. Mount Onnodake, rising 1088 feet, is the highest peak of the range of hills which runs through the island lengthwise; Mount Sumar, on which the capital is built, is 540 feet high. The bluffs along the beach range from 60 to 100 feet high. Igúsicú, or Sugar loaf Island, is nearly the elevation of Mount Onnodake. We have no data of any value from which to estimate the population of these islands, but, from those we do possess, we should set it down between 60,000 and 80,000. Their language is a dialect of the Japanese, easily understood by the latter people, yet containing more words derived from the Chinese than that tongue. Chinese is studied for a particular object, and apparently by only a small proportion of the higher classes; for in our walks we met many well dressed persons who knew nothing of it, while all spoke the Japaaese. It may be the case that teachers come now from China, or perhaps the language is preserved by the people themselves.

There is much confusion among authors who have written on these islands with regard to the modes of spelling the names of places. For instance, the name of the group has been written Lewkew, Lewchew, Loochoo, Liqueo, Licou Kicou, Lequeyo, Liquijo, Rio Kio, Riuku, and Doo Choo, which last is the native pronunciation. We have also, for the name of the capital, Showle, Tseuli, Tchoole, Shoody (native) Cheudi, Shoomi or Sheni. Kin-tching or Kin ching, the "Golden city," is the appellation given to the palace within the walls of Showle, and not another name for the capital. Napa has been increased to Napa foo, which is the 'district of Napa;' Napa ching, or 'city of Napa;' and more frequently Napa keäng, the 'inlet of Napa,' on which it is situated. Among all these authorities it is difficult to decide which is preferable; perhaps, as a general rule, Chinese pronunciation should be the guide. Tákalah gave us Pó tsun, or 'village of Pŏ,' for Pootsung; and Hwanteën for Oonting in Port Melville; Abbey Point he called Yalasah. Concerning many of the persons mentioned by captains Hall and Beechey, he knew nothing; Ching Oonchoo, the officer who visited the Blossom, he said was dead; Shtafacoo was up in the country; Madera was dead; and whoever else was mentioned, was either gone away, or forgotten, or dead. Tákalah wrote his own name, and Anyah's,) who is more properly called Anking, the *yah* being the title of respect, like *yay*, in Chinese,) but the latter, requested him to give no more, thinking, perhaps, there was too much notority already for their good. The

pictures in Beechey's narrat ve annoyed the chiefs a good deal, they were too faithfully drawn, especially the man and woman.

July 15th. This morning, we weighed anchor, it being our intention to lay off and on just outside of Blossom Rock, until Mr. Gutzlaff should come on board; but when we had passed the channel, a strong tide to the southward carried us far out of our course. Mr. Gutzlaff came on board about 3 P. M. from the Raleigh, whose destination hence was for the Bonin islands; and we immediately bore away, around the south point of Lewchew, for the bay of Yédo. The account of our reception there will be given in a subsequent number.

ART. II. *First annual report of the Morrison Education Society, read before the general meeting convened in Canton, September 27th,* 1837.

THE first annual Meeting of the Society was held at No. 2, American Hong, this day, Wednesday, the 27th September, 1837. Present: Messrs. Dent, Jardine, Green, Reeves, King, Turner, Lt. Boileau, Rev. Dr. Jarker, Rev. Mr. Bridgman, Hon. Mr. Drummond, Messrs. Williams, Moller, Gilman, Schwabe, Cox, Slade, and Morrison.

The Meeting was opened by the President of the Society, Mr. Dent, who said, he considered it unnecessary to enter into any details, as all the proceedings of the trustees connected with the management of the Society were embodied in the report about to be read by the Corresponding Secretary. The other trustees felt a warm interest in all that could tend to promote the objects of the Society; but the chief work had hitherto necessarily devolved on the Corresponding Secretary; and he felt happy in having this opportunity publicly to express, how willing, amidst his other multifarious duties, that gentleman ever was to bestow talent, and labor, whenever they could be made useful. This first year had been one of preparation, rather than of operation; but, looking to the great object they had in view, he trusted they would not be discouraged, that they would imitate that worthy man, whose name the Society bears, and as a tribute to whose memory it was established—who devoted his whole life to efforts to benefit others, and to thankless endeavors for improving the condition of the Chinese.

The president concluded his remarks by inviting the attention of the gentlemen of the meeting to the report which was then read by Mr. Bridgman.

REPORT.

THE selection of scholars, the procuring of teachers with means requisite for giving instruction, and the employment of the same, form three distinct departments in the great business of education, each

requiring the constant care of those who are charged with its direction. Only partial success can be expected, if scholars are not well chosen, or if good teachers, with ample means and opportunity to employ them, are not provided. The combination of all these prerequisites, in the best possible manner, is a desideratum, which, even in the most favorable circumstances of the most enlightened parts of the world, remains to be attained. To ascertain what is the best method of education—especially as it regards the age at which children should begin to study, the time, the books, &c., to be employed,—is a problem yet to be solved. Often has it been necessary for men, when entering on the business of life, 'to unlearn the errors of early education.' There is throughout all China, great lack of education, as well as great defects in that which exists. Its friends, therefore, have a two-fold object—they must correct that which already is, and must supply what is wanting. Here, as in India, "it is just as necessary to know the extent of the ignorance that prevails where education is wholly or almost wholly neglected, as to know the extent of the acquirements made where some attention is paid to it."

In accordance with these views, and following the plan which was laid down in the proceedings of the Society at its formation, the trustees have now to report what they have done—not so much in efforts to obtain scholars, and teachers, and means for giving instruction, as in endeavoring to ascertain the magnitude of the work to be accomplished in effecting that improvement and extension of education, so much needed among those who speak the Chinese language.

At their first meeting, held January 18th 1837, two letters, which had been previously prepared, were read and approved, and soon after forwarded—one to literary gentlemen long connected with one of the oldest colleges in the United States of America, and the other to the Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society in England.

The object of the former was to obtain a teacher immediately. The trustees expressed their wish for a young man, one who will come directly to China, and who will enter heartily and unreservedly on the work of education. Provision for his passage out has been obtained gratuitously; and the assurance given him, that, on his arrival here, he shall be provided with a residence and everything necessary to make the same convenient for prosecuting the business of the Society. On his arrival, his attention will be immediately directed to the study of the Chinese language, which must we suppose, form a principal object of his attention for four or five years, and will occupy a considerable portion of his time for almost another equal period. A few boys may perhaps at once be taken under his care.

The acquisition of teachers, properly qualified to give oral instruction in the native language, and to prepare elementary books in the same, since no such books have yet been written, is exceedingly desirable. In order to accomplish its design, the Society will need to train up a corps of native teachers. This task is as difficult as it is important, and we need the best foreign masters of the art to accomplish it. Without such auxiliaries, very little progress can be made,

either in extending or improving education among the Chinese. The trustees, therefore, felt bound to lose no time in obtaining a man for this specific purpose. Should their first application not prove successful, it should be renewed and pressed until a teacher be obtained.

It being deemed desirable to have at least one gentleman from England early associated in the department of teaching with one from the United States, the trustees expressed their desire, in the letter to the British and foreign School Society, to know if its directors could second such a measure and nominate a teacher; and, in the event of their doing so, whether they could contribute to his support. Knowing, as we do, that the directors of that noble institution desire to avail of every good opportunity to further the cause of learning, and that they have acquired, in various ways, during a long series of years, a great mass of information respecting almost every branch of education, we felt no hesitation in laying before them our plans, and soliciting thereon a free expression of their opinion.

Answers to these letters may be expected early next year. Considering the great importance of having thorough masters of education to train native teachers, the trustees solicit, on this subject an expression of the opinion of the members of the Society here convened.

Five lads are now under the auspices of the Society. Four of them are learning both Chinese and English; and one, a child six years old, is confined, for the current year, to the rudiments of his own tongue. But for the means afforded by the Society, this boy, and one of the others, would probably never have been provided with the means of education.

The first child whose name was entered on our list was a beggar. Forsaken by his parents and elder brothers, the poor boy was left to wander in the streets, unprovided with food, clothing, or shelter. In this forlorn state, he had become so emaciated and weak, that recourse to medical aid was necessary for his recovery. Even now he suffers from what he endured while a beggar. In this part of China, there are many such children, who must, unless relieved by charity, grow up in ignorance, or, what has often happened, pine and die before reaching the age of manhood.

Two of these lads are at Singapore, and three in Canton; and it is the wish of the trustees that they be continued in a course of education, until they are well prepared for the active duties of life. We wish to see them not only trained up to useful and industrious habits, but taught also to be diligent and to earn their own livelihood. If possible, we would have them become teachers, and thereby support themselves and benefit others.

To the little group of children collected by Mrs. Gutzlaff, in Macao, some aid has been afforded from the funds of the Society, the amount of which will be exhibited in a statement from the treasurer. According to the last account, which was received only a few days ago, the school contains twenty children. They are taught in the same manner, and nearly the same lessons, as children usually are in primary English schools, with the addition of daily lessons in reading and

writing Chinese, given by a native teacher. In writing English they are instructed by a Portuguese master.

This school was commenced on the 30th of September, 1835, with an attendance of twelve little girls and two boys, under the auspices of the Ladies' Association for the promotion of female education in India and the East. The number of pupils has fluctuated om fifteen to twenty-five or more, the average being about twenty. They have generally been furnished with clothing, stationary, board, and lodging, gratuitously. The mode in which this school is conducted, particularly as it regards the selection of scholars, does not meet entirely the wishes of the trustees; it should be stated, however, that Mrs. Gutztaff has had to encounter great difficulties; but, resolved, as she is, to persevere, we trust further experience will induce such modifications and improvements of the system, as to justify that support which it is one of the objects of this Society to extend to similar establishments.

In the present incipient state of our Society, it seems especially desirable to ascertain, as early and as distinctly as possible, the actual condition of education among the Chinese, both within and without the empire, in order that we may form just conceptions of what needs to be done. The higher branches of education—those on which promotion in the civil service chifly depends, are regulated by a fixed code of laws, a digest of which we should like to see given to the public. By these rules the rank of scholarship is determined at regular examinations, one of which is now in progress in the metropolis of each province of the empire, where not less than 100,000 students are the competitors. Our present concern, however, is with *primary* education—a subject of vast importance, involving several distinct points of inquiry.

Those who have turned their attention to this subject, and endeavored to investigate it, need not be told how difficult it is to gain minute and accurate information in China. The whole field is beyond the reach of our personal inspection; and our sources of information are such, generally, as cannot be relied on, except with considerable limitations. Uniform as the Chinese are, what is true in one part of the empire may be wholly inapplicable to another part. For the present, therefore, we must be contented with indefinite statements on many points, and with mere conjectures on others,—leaving it for future research to corroborate or modify them according as facts may be developed.

The principal topics to which our inquiries have been directed, we have arranged under eighteen distinct heads, which we will here enumerate, adding under each the substance of the information already collected. In order to form just ideas of the work to be accomplished, and to have the whole field ot once in view, our first inquiry was directed to the—

1. *Population of the empire.*

According to their own statistics, the population of the Chinese empire, in 1812, amounted to 362,447,183; of whom 360,279,897 belonged to the eighteen provinces. Allowing an equal population to

each province, there will be 20,015,550 in that of Canton. But according to the census of 1812, this province contained 19,174,030; and is, consequently, as the Chinese themselves regard it, in respect to population, one of the middling provinces. It is divided into fifteen departments, which are subdivided into eighty-eight districts. Kwangchow foo, or the department of Canton, contains fourteen of these districts; to six of which, and those the nearest to us, our inquiries have been chiefly confined; these are Nanhae, Pwanyu, Tungkwan, Shuntih, Heängshan, and Sinhwuy. In extent, these districts are about equal to the counties in Old and New England. The first and second include the city of Canton, and large tracts of country beyond, where the people dwell in communities which they call *heäng*; these, in their territorial extent, are like the parishes of European nations, and may be styled townships. Throughout the whole empire, so far as we have been able to ascertain, the Chinese have their houses built contiguous to each other in cities, towns, and villages; the first are always, and the latter often, surrounded by walls. Thus, as they themselves say, the empire has its capital; each province its metropolis; and each department and district its city or chief town. All the inhabitants beyond those of cities or chief towns are collected into *heäng*; of which there are 180 in the district of Nanhae, the one in which we live. The number of inhabitants in each township, according to the accounts given us, varies from 200 to 100,000; ordinarily, however, it ranges between three hundred and three or four thousands. In all these districts, the numbers composing the respective families and clans are also different in different places. "How is it possible to state the exact numbers!"

2. *Different classes of people.*

In ancient times the inhabitants were divided into four classes, namely, scholars, husbandmen, mechanics, and merchants. These divisions still exist to a certain extent, though minor subdivisions are in vogue. Besides those men who are in office, there are two respectable and influential classes, styled elders and gentry The first includes all the old men, who are "past service," being 60 years of age or upwards. The gentry are the managers of all local public business, which is not in the hands of officers of the goverment. Next to these two honorable classes, are the common people, who are classed according to their respective occupations, as agriculturists, gardeners, fishermen, several kinds of mechanics and tradesmen, &c.; and lastly, strangers, some uncivilized tribes, and a few out-casts. All of the latter, and some of the classes of the common people, are wholly without the means of education.

3. *Proportion of males and females*

On this point the facts hitherto collected are so few, that it would be premature and unsafe to draw from them any general statements. It is said, that, in this part of the empire, ninety-five of the men in a hundred are married; and it is well known, that a plurality of wives is not uncommon; and yet, so far as our inquiries have extended, the

number of males exceeds that of the females. In pursuing these inquiries in future, it ought to be borne in mind, that no females emigrate from China. This fact will, in some measure, account for the excess of females in those places from which many of the men emigrate. In order to obtain accurate statistics for elucidating this subject, the following simple mode of inquiry has been suggested to some of our native friends: "take the name of an individual (where the case is well known), and mark his residence, age, number of wives, sons, and daughters, with such additional facts as seem worthy of notice."

4. *Different kinds of schools.*

Schools among the Chinese have assumed a great variety of forms. We suspect that the ancient divisions, given in the classics, exist only in books; and that modern institutions, both high and low, public and private, have been greatly modified according to the circumstances and wants of individuals and communites. The influence of government on primary schools as well as on those of a higher rank, has been felt: but the extent and effects of such influence remain to be ascertained.

5. *The number of males able to read.*

In Nanhae the people are remarkable for their literary spirit; and, excepting agriculturists, gardeners, fishermen, with those who are engaged in providing fuel, and the classes before specially excluded, nearly all the men are able to read; and two or three tenths devote their lives entirely to literary pursuits. In other districts not more than four or five tenths can read; and only one or two in a hundred are devoted to literary pursuits for life.

6 *The number of females able to read.*

There have always been some females able to read; but at present the number is very small, probably not more than one in a hundred; in some places the number may be greator and in others less. Among the most opulent people in Canton, a few schools have been opened, under the care of tutoresses. The number of pupils in these schools has usually varied from ten to forty. "This is delightful and ought to be recorded."

7. *Age at which scholars enter school.*

In ancient times, boys commenced their primary studies at the age of eight years; and at fifteen entered on the study of the higher classics. Girls, after they reached the age of ten, were not allowed to leave their apartments. Children now usually enter school at the age of seven or eight years. But there is no fixed age; and they may commence at any time of the year. There is no division into terms and quarters, suceeded by long vacations, with the exception of new-year, when there is a recess for two or three months. Auspicious days must always be selected for the children to make their first entrance at school.

8. *Primary books.*

The boo s used for primary education are the Trimetrical and Thousand Charac er Classics, a book of odes for children, with parts

of the Four Books, and Five Classics. An appropriate set of lessons have been selected for girls. These books contain a large collection of moral maxims and some remarkable sayings of the sages, with which are blended a variety of mystical dogmas, and a few historical facts. None of the branches of science, properly so called, enter into any part of these primary books. They are from beginning to end unfitted for the minds of children, being, for the most part, hard to understand, and wholly devoid of topics calculated to awaken interest in the minds of children or to enlarge their understanding.

9. *Method of teaching.*

The method of teaching has, no doubt, been modified by the character and style of the books used. When the pupil enters school he commences learning from the diction of the master, the latter reading, and the former following, endeavoring to imitate his teacher as perfectly as possible. As soon as he is able to read a few lines or sentences, the child is seated by himself and continues the repetition, until the lesson becomes so familiar that he is able to '*back*' it, i. e. repeat it with his book behind his back. Book after book is '*backed*' in this manner. In the mean time, lessons are begun in writing. The Chinese paper, used for this purpose, is so thin, that, perfect copies being placed beneath it, the pupil can trace the letters with his pencil, and so take off a facsimile of the copy. After having pursued this course for a year or two, and become familiar with the forms of a few hundreds, or perhaps thousands, of characters, the teacher commences a course of explanatory lessons, proceeding over the ground already trod, and explaining, word for word, and phrase after phrase, what has already been committed to memory.

10. *Number of years spent at school.*

In this particular there is a great diversity. Those who are destined to a literary course, entering at the ordinary period, continue their studies, with few interruptions, until they have gained the highest literary honors to which they can attain—if successful, passing regularly through the degrees of *sewtsae*, corresponding to that of bachelor of arts; *keujin*, master of arts; *tsinsze*, a still higher advance; and finally to the *hanlin*, corresponding to, or perhaps a degree higher than, our doctorates. The better course of common education occupies the student five, six, or seven years; others are continued at their books for three or four years; while some remain only a few months, or at most one or two years. The rich generally give their sons the advantage of a full course in the study of the classics, with the opportunity, if they wish it, to compete for literary honors. The middling classes, of the better sort, usually give their children every aid in their power. The poor, for the most part, are restricted by their poverty from giving their children any education, or from continuing them in school beyond two or three years.

11. *Hours of study.*

The hours of study also vary considerably, being regulated by the seasons of the year, and other accidental causes. The most common

hours observed are, from sunrise till ten, when an hour is allotted for breakfast; after this, the studies are resumed and continued until four or five o'clock, when the pupils disperse for dinner. Sometimes, in the hot months of summer, they do not reassemble; but more generally, and always in the winter, they have a lesson in the evening, commencing at early lamp-lighting, and continuing until nine o'clock. During all these hours there is very little change or variety in the studies,—the same book, and often one and the same lesson being continued from morning until evening. A little relief is occasionally obtained by reviewing former lessons, and by exercising the pencil in writing.

12. *School-rooms.*

At Peking there are several public buildings, and in the metropolis of each province there are colleges, with a hall for literary examinations, all belonging to government. But we are not aware that any houses or school-rooms are provided by government for primary education. In the country, each village, or subdivision of a village, has its own school-room. Some of the apartments of temples, especially those dedicated to ancestors, are frequently employed for school-rooms. One of this description, which stands near the residence of the Siamese tribute-bearers, is about twenty-two feet by eighteen; and during the year has contained thirty-two boys, between the ages of seven and seventeen. The scholars are not arranged into classes, but are seated promiscuously, the old and the young together. Each has his own table, which is about three feet long and one and a half broad, furnished with a drawer and writing apparatus. The boys are seated on bamboo stools, most of them with their faces towards the master, who occupies an elevated seat at one of the corners of the room. Close by him, on his right, is a tablet with an altar, consecrated to Confucius and the god of letters. On the whole, the room is a very poor one, being narrow, close, dark, and low. The boys are tolerably well clad, and appear neat and cleanly. They all study, aloud, raising their voices to a high key; and each recites separately in his own place, or comes forward to the master's table. Their master is a respectable looking man, aged thirty-four years.

13 *Number and character of pupils in the schools.*

In common schools the number varies from ten to forty. In private establishments the number is smaller, often not being more than two, three, or four, under the charge of a single master. In the higher schools, or colleges, the number sometimes rises to hundreds. As to the character of the scholars it is not easy to form any correct opinion, without much more extended observation than we have yet enjoyed. On two points, however, we feel confident that we are safe in drawing conclusions; 1st, that the natural capacities of Chinese children are every way equal to those of Europeans; and 2d, that the mental discipline, arising partly from the nature of the books used, and partly from the method adopted in teaching, is very inferior to that enjoyed by European children.

14. *Character of teachers.*

The business of teaching is rendered honorable, more from its own nature, than from the character of the teachers, or the things taught. Not a few seem to have recourse to this occupation because they can find no other. A great majority of teachers, in common schools, are unsuccessful candidates for literary honors. Having failed at many successive examinations, and having arrived at an age that unfits them to enter on a mercantile life or any course of manual labor, they turn pedagogues, in which occupation little is expected beyond a good stock of patience and some tact at governing. Qualifications requisite for giving instruction seem to be of little consideration in the selection of teachers. Besides prompting the children in the first reading of their lessons, and afterwards hearing them repeat the same, the master has only to act the part of a sentinel, and keep watch over his charge.

15. *Wages of teachers.*

The remuneration of teachers depends very much on the number and the wealth of their pupils. In a school of twenty boys, the average of a dollar per month from each is regarded as a high rate; ordinarily they do not obtain more than one half, or two thirds, of that sum. In some village-schools, pupils obtain tuition for two or three dollars per annum; while, in private schools, they sometimes pay one two, three, or more, hundreds. It is customary, also, for the pupils, on entering school, and at other stated periods in the year, to make their master small presents, which consist usually of eatables.

26. *Examinations.*

The examinations of primary schools seem to be both informal and unfrequent. The only examinations which obtain are made by the masters themselves, and for the sole purpose of ascertaining how much the pupil has retained in his memory. We are not aware that parents or friends ever visit the schools in which their children are being educated. All trial of the boy's abilities is reserved for the examinations which take place under the direction of the government.

17. *Rewards.*

Rewards are frequently given, but seem not to be of much value or to have much influence. They usually consist of some trifling articles of writing apparatus, such as pencils, paper, ink, inkstones, &c. Sometimes money is given.

18. *Punishments.*

Punishments are often and severely inflicted. Neglect in arriving punctually at school, or in acquiring his lesson in a given time, together with any kind of misbehavior, renders the pupil liable to punishment, by reproof, chastisement, or expulsion. Whether the frequency and severity of the punishments depend most on the character and disposition of the master or pupil we cannot tell. Great severity is highly esteemed by parents, who seem to fear only that their boys will not receive their full dues. Among the instruments of

punishment, the rattan, or a small bamboo, is conspicuous, and is usually hung *in terrorem* close by the master's chair. Its application is sometimes made before the whole school; but oftener in private, either in another apartment, or in the school-room after the other scholars have been dismissed. When both the rod and reproof fail, expulsion is the last resort.

We pass now to give a few particulars respecting the state of education among Chinese without the limits of the Empire. At the first meeting of the trustees it was agreed to send a circular, containing a series of inquiries, addressed to gentlemen resident in Manila, Batavia, Pinang, Malacca, Singapore, and Bankok. The series of inquiries we here introduce, hoping that further information may be elicited.

1. What is the proportion of males and females, among the Chinese population, in any given place or places, as in a street, village, district, town, department, province, &c.?
2. How many of each are able to read?
3. How many are able to write?
4. At what age do children commence learning to read and write?
5. In what manner are they taught?
6. What are the annual expenses of each scholar?
7. How many years are children kept at school?
8. What wages, or compensation, do teachers receive per month, or year?
9. How, and when, are they paid?
10. What are their duties as teachers?
11. What are the modes, and degree, of punishments in the schools?
12. Are any rewards given to the pupils?
13. If so, what are they? What their effects?
14. What are the daily hours of study?
15. What the manner of recitation?
16. How are scholars examined at the close of a term, or year?
17. How are the school-rooms fitted up?
18. How many scholars in a room?
19. How are they arranged?
20. What are the Books used?
21. Are there any defects in the system of education?
22. Can any improvements be introduced? If so, what, and how?

From Batavia we have been favored with a document in Chinese, and a short extract from the governmental returns of population, exhibiting the number of Chinese in the residency of Batavia.

The fact stated above, that no females emigrate from China should be here kept in mind. But how far the intermarriages with the natives of the Archipelago have affected the Chinese character, we have not the means of determining. The numbers of Chinese in the residency of Batavia for the last four years, stand thus:

Years.	*Men.*	*Women.*	*Boys.*	*Girls.*	*Totals.*
1833	11,370	9,424	5,906	5,160	31,860
1834	12,333	9,751	5,901	5,604	33,589
1835	11,843	9,324	6,119	5,226	32,512
1836	12,363	9,818	6,545	5,823	34,549

Whether the merchants who go annually to Batavia, are included in this statement, we do not know; probably they are not.

The information contained in the Chinese document seems to have been collected with much care. We give a free translation of the whole paper.

"Having received your commands to make inquiries respecting the Chinese in Batavia, we immediately and carefully sought for the particulars and have ascertained that the number of men is 12,000; of women 9,000; of boys 6,000; and of girls 5,000; giving a total of 32,000. But this estimate is confined to the city of Batavia, and does not include those who dwell on the hills in the country, the number of whom we cannot ascertain. Though the Chinese in Batavia are numerous, very few are able to read, probably not one in ten. And if you wish to obtain teachers, we suppose you would be able to find only a few tens among the whole population.

"This neglect of learning among the Chinese may be attributed, in part, to their love of idleness and aversion to study, which renders them foolish and blind; and, in part, to their poverty, which requires the children, at an early age, to assist their parents in gaining a livelihood, so that they find no time for study. The state of things being thus, it is evident that girls can never be taught to read.

"To your other inquiries, respecting the education of the Chinese in Batavia, we have prepared a few answers, which are subjoined; and we beg you to bestow thereon a glance.

"What is the annul expense of educating Chinese boys in Batavia? It is various. Wealthy families, who wish their sons well educated under good masters, pay from 30 to 100 dollars per annum; but the poorest families pay no more than 22 dollars. They are paid sometimes half yearly, and sometimes oftener; there is no uniform rule.

"What is the daily routine of study? At five o'clock the pupils enter the school-room to 'attack their books,' and recite their lessons to the teacher; this done they take a new lesson, and continue their studies till half past seven o'clock, when they retire to breakfast. At eight, they return to their books; at ten, they again recite and receive new lessons. Writing now engages their attention until noon, when they go for their dinners. They enter the school-room again at one o'clock, and either resume writing or attend to an explanatory lesson from the teacher. At half past two, they all resume their books, and continue at them till half past four, when they recite and receive another lesson for the evening. At half past five the business of the day closes.

"What compensation do the masters receive? Sometimes a thousand dollars; or perhaps six, eight, or nine hundred. The very lowest wages are four hundred annually. (?)

"Are any rewards given to the scholars, or punishments inflicted? No rewards of money are ever given; but sometimes, when the children are very intelligent and skillful in composition, the teachers, pleased with their attainments, reward them with presents of paper and pencils. When the pupils err, they are beaten on their hands with the bamboo, to make them reform.

"Do the scholars undergo any examinations? They are sometimes examined by their teachers in writing poetry; but there are no public literary examinations like those in China.

"What is the usual number of scholars in a single school, and how are they arranged? The number varies from ten to thirty; and sometimes they are seated in two rows, according to seniority; but usually they take their seats promiscuously.

"What are the ceremonies observed, and the books used, in the schools? When the scholar enters the school-room he must first bow to Confucius, then to his master; and afterwards go directly to his studies. The Four Books and the Five Classics, with the commentators, and a few other ancient writings, are used as school books in Batavia."

We turn next to Pinang, which is comparatively a new settlement. According to a census completed in June, 1836, the Chinese population was 8,993; the same census gave 2,295 to Province Wellesley. These numbers are supposed to be too low. Most of the people are from Fuhkeën. Considerable numbers of mechanics, however, are from Canton and its vicinity. Our correspondent, gives a dark picture of the state of education among the Chinese in Pinang. Many of the men, he says, who read a few characters, are often unable to comprehend their meaning. No females can read, except a few girls, who have been taught in schools recently established. "The present female-school system—I mean that at Pinang,—does not admit of efficiency, at least such is my most matured opinion." So says our correspondent. The details which he proceeds to give are for the most part, in good keeping with those from Batavia. We add a few particulars. Children enter school between the ages of six and twelve years, and follow the course usual in their mother country. Some of the most wealthy send their sons to China to complete their education. The wages of teachers, are much lower than in Batavia, being 20 sicca rupees (about $10) per annum.

Two documents have been sent to us from Malacca; one has failed to reach us; from the other, which was intended only to supply the deficiencies of the first, we gather the following particulars; which seem to refer exclusively to the primary schools recently established by foreigners.

There are of Chinese in Malacca, about four males to one female. The major part of the males are able to read and write. They generally enter school at the age of five or six years, and are taught on the interrogative system; and at an annual expense of eight dollars per annum. Children are continued in school seven or eight years. The teachers are usually paid according to the number of children: thus for twenty pupils $8 are given, and a dollar for every addition of ten scholars; they are paid monthly. Books, apparel, money, &c., are given as rewards, and their effects are good. Public rebuke in the presence of the whole school, confinement, chastisement, and expulsion, are the punishments for bad conduct. At the end of each week the scholars are examined in what they have learned during

that period; they are examined, in like manner, at the close of each term. From thirty to seventy are assembled in a single school, and are arranged in classes. Christian books, composed of short and easy sentences, together with the Chinese Classics, are used.

From Singapore, Bankok, and Manila, no information respecting the Chinese schools has yet been received. Full accounts, however may be expected to reach us soon.

We have now presented to the Society all the information, worthy of notice, which we have been able to collect. A great many more particulars, however, must be collected before we can gain any very satisfactory results. It will be desirable, therefore, to continue and extend our inquiries, until each and every topic is thoroughly canvassed, and well understood.

We close this part of our report, with a short extract from a private letter, written by Dr. Morrison not many months before his death.

"In China no poor women can read, and but few of the rich. Classical studies are not for them; and Chinese novels are often very bad; inability to read, therefore, is no great loss. Yet to be able to read and write a domestic letter is of course useful, and even Chinese books would somewhat enlarge the mind; but not many of the millions of celestial females are so far educated. However, some learn, and others are school-mistresses, who teach chiefly needle work and domestic duties. To these general remarks there are some exceptions. And ladies are occasionally to be found, who are learned in ancient lore, such as it is. There are ladies also, who make verses. The late governor Yuen of Canton [now member of the cabinent at Peking] had a learned daughter, who died recently; after her death, his excellency published a hundred of her verses."

The library has received considerable additions during the year. A convenient room has been obtained for it; and measures adopted to open it to the public, which will be carried into effect as soon as the catalogue can be printed. The rules for the regulation of the library, with the conditions on which it is opened to the public, will accompany the catalogue.

All the books of the library, now amounting to 2310 volumes have been presented to the Society unsolicited. Mr. Colledge set the example, and was followed by Mr. Reeves, both of the gentlemen bringing in large collections of the books, formerly belonging to the members of the Hon. East India Company's Factory. The other donors are Messrs. Dent, Fox, Blenkin, Morrison, Moller, Innes, Keating and Rev. Messrs. Medhurst, Stevens, and Bridgman.

What the books are that now compose this collection may be seen by inspection, either of the library, or catalogue. Since such generous contributions have been made to the library, we trust it will continue to receive additions, especially of those books which relate to this country, and such other standard works as may serve for reference.

With so great and good an object before them, as that contemplated in the constitution of this Society, the trustees feel confident in the hope, that both its members and its friends abroad will ever, as occasion may demand, afford all requisite assistance. Our expenditure, though small at present, will necessarily increase as our operations are extended. Care will be taken to state fully, from time to time, both what is accomplished and what is needed, and on the considerations thus presented the claims of this Society must rest.

After the Report had been read, the President explained to the meeting, that, in consequence of the absence of both the auditors appointed at the last meeting, the trustees had requested Messrs. Green and Cox to act provisionally in their place: it was then moved by Mr. Reeves, seconded by Mr. Moller, and unanimously resolved:

"That the provisional appointment of auditors, which has been made by the trustees, be confirmed by this meeting."

Some discussion next ensued on one or two of the subjects alluded to in the report; and Lt. Boileau made some remarks on the mode of conducting schools in India, and obligingly promised, on his return to Bengal, to communicate to the secretary fully details of the general arrangements of the schools, which he had not then with him.

It was then moved by the Rev. Dr Parker, seconded by Mr. Reeves, and unanimously resolved:

"That the Report which has been now read, be approved and accepted."

Some further conversation having arisen, on the subject of schools, and it having been asked, whether schools might not be established at Canton and Macao, under the care of native tutors, objection was made to such a measure, on the ground of the utter inefficiency of such native tutors as are at present procurable. In enforcing this objection;—

Dr. Parker, who was just recovering from illness, rose, and addressed the meeting in the following terms:

"I want strength, Mr. President, rather than inclination, to express a few of the sentiments which the occasion and report irresistibly awaken. There are several facts, sir, which require to be strongly impressed upon our minds. The Society is exposed to animadversion, because it cannot immediately display the fruits of its labors. But the peculiarity of its circumstances should be kept in view. No similar institution in the world is like it in the obstacles to be encountered at its commencement. An immense work of preparation must precede its successful operation. You must half circumnavigate the globe to obtain the men who are to become your agents in instruction; and then, in the words of the report, 'four or five years of close application to the language will be necessary,' before they will be prepared for *efficient* action. This may seem disheartening. But it is a universal law, that cause must equal effect. The object of the Society is vast. The foundation must be deep and broad to sup-

port the superstructure you hope to erect; and much forethought, toil and patience, are indispensable. By laying a broad basis, you will create confidence among, and secure coöperation from, the wise and benevolent abroad. They will perceive that it is not an ephemeral thing, but a concern that reaches forward far into the future, and is worthy of their patronage.

"The mind is overwhelmed in the contemplation of the results which this Society is capable of effecting. Take, if you please, the case of the little beggar mentioned in the report: contrast his present prospects with his former condition. Think of the little sufferer dwindling away for a few weeks or months, and perishing in the streets; then look forward and behold the man he is capable of becoming under the auspices of your Society. This is a single case. Multiply this until by the millions of children, within and without the empire, whose education you contemplate,—and how great is the aggregate of good to be accomplished! In the moments of calm reflection, when the mind revolves the various objects of virtue and philanthropy, some may equal, but few will surpass, in *desirableness* or moral grandeur, the Morrison Education Society.

"Happy allusion has been made to *him* whose name the Society bears. We love to dwell upon his memory; and upon what he, an individual, under God, accomplished, by system, diligence, and patient perseverance. The allusion involuntarily carried my mind back to an early period in his history. I seemed to see him pursuing his studies in a 'godown,—with the large volumes of a commentary on the Bible screening his lamp from the wind—and thus poring over the language which he afterwards so successfully acquired, and the knowledge of which has rendered him a blessing to so vast a portion of his fellowmen. It is, sir, this spirit of perseverance—nothing daunted by difficulties, and the pure and exalted motives, which characterized that man, that this Society ought to imbibe. Without these, it is unworthy of its name. With them, under the the divine blessing, it will surely succeed.

"How commercial and political changes may affect this and kindred institutions in China, none can foretell. Everything, however, at present, encourages us *onward*. Death, has it is true been among us; at this, our first anniversary, we are reminded, that one of the original members of the Society, one whose valued counsel and varied coöperation would ever have been cheerfully given, had his life been spared, will meet us no more. I allude to the Rev. Mr. Stevens.

"Notwithstanding the obstacles met with (to which a bare allusion is sufficient—for they are familiar to, and appreciated by, the Society), satisfactory progress has marked this first year of the Morrison Education Society's existence. The men on whom the labor has devolved—the trustees—hold no sinecure. They have otherwise full occupation for their time and talents; and yet resolutions formed by them have been executed, correspondence has been attended to, and statistics have been collected, as is fully shown by the report that has this morning been read.

"No particular sect or nation is here brought together for a subordinate end; but we behold a converging of accordant minds to the great object of educating, 'according to the best systems of Christendom,' myriads of the present, and millions of future, generations of the youth of this empire."

The members present then proceeded to elect by ballot the office-bearers for the ensuing year. The following gentlemen were elected: trustees; president, Lancelot Dent, esq; vice-president J. C. Green, esq.; treasurer, William Jardine, esq.; corresponding secretary, Rev. E. C. Bridgman; recording secretary, J. Robt. Morrison, esq.: auditors, R. Turner esq., and C. W. King, esq.

After the ballot, the business of the anniversary being finished, the meeting was immediately dissolved.

ART. III. *Relations of England towards China; her consequent duty to extend a knowledge of China has been neglected; Dr. Morrison's Chinese Library; the Anglo-Chinese College; what remains to be done.*

OF all the foreign nations holding intercourse with China, England has long occupied the first place, whether we regard her in a commercial or in a political point of view. Holland and France each send forth to China three or four ships annually; to which Java adds a few more, under the Dutch flag. Hamburg and Denmark have each generally one ship in the seas of China. Prussia sends a vessel about once in two years. The direct trade between Portugal and Macao is scarcely greater than that of France; the trade between the Portuguese and Spanish colonies and Macao is conducted by less than twenty Portuguese vessels, mostly of light draft, with a trifling addition of still smaller Spanish vessels from Manila. The trade of the United States is carried on in about fifty vessels, averaging not above 500 or 600 tons each; and even of these many reach China direct from England. But the English trade, even in the time of the Company's exclusive commerce, employed every year no less than twenty large ships of 1300 or 1400 tons, from England, with more than an equal number of ships in the Indian trade, averaging 700 and 800 tons; besides occasional visitants from the Indian ports, and from Pinang and Singapore. Since the opening of the trade, although the number of very large ships has been much reduced, yet the whole number of vessels has increased in a much greater ratio. In the year ending June 30th 1837, no less than 150 English vessels visited China. Looking at the *value* of the English trade, as compared with that of any other country, the disproportion is still greater. For the

year ending June 30th 1837, the value of imports by British vessels amounted to 34½ millions of dollars, of exports to about 30 millions. The value of the other trade we are not at present able to state, except that conducted in American vessels during the same period, which gives of imports about $3,500,000, and of exports $7,800,000.

If we view the English relations with China in a political light, her only rival for superiority over all other nations is Russia. France, before the revolution, held, by her missionary-emissaries, those particularly of the school of Loyola, a position that might have been made highly advantageous. The revolution, however, having removed from these missionaries the royal countenance and support, that position was soon lost and has never since been even in part regained. We have only then to compare the situation of England with that of Russia.

The latter country, shut out from all maritime intercourse with China, has access at one point alone, Kiachta. Her intercourse from this place with Peking is almost wholly of a commercial nature. Her school at Peking, in which are four priests and six scholars, is under strict surveillance; and a decennial change of persons prevents individuals, who at their first arrival are wholly ignorant of the language of the country, from forming any intimate connections among the people. The Russian and Chinese empires are, it is true, for a very long space conterminous; but high mountains divide them from each other along the greater part of the length; and in every direction, an elevated sandy desert separates Russia from the cultivated and populous provinces of China proper. Russia now stands in the same position in relation to China that she did a century ago.

England, on the other hand, is daily drawing nearer and nearer to the Chinese frontier. In the Straits of Malacca, the British possessions in the immediate neighborhood of China are extensively colonized by Chinese. In Burmah, a friendly state, daily yielding itself to British influence, we find no barrier but that of military posts between her fields and those of China. In the southeast of A'sám, a small portion of Burman territory alone separates us from the province of Yunnan; at Mainkhon, within eight days' journey of Sadiya (the eastern capital of A'sám), we already find Chinese settlers, and these will very soon spread themselves farther north, into A'sám itself. On the north-east of Sadiya, a few wild tribes (whose mutual contentions are from time to time compelling some of them to place themselves under British protection) alone separate us from the province of Szechuen, distant from 120 to 150 miles. B'ítán on the northwest of A'sám, is in part possessed by the Chinese. Nipál, a friendly state, at whose court the English have a political resident, and whose monarch is in great measure awake to the value and importance of European science, has for many years been reckoned among the tributaries of China. And to the north-west of this country, a morning's ride out of the British territories brings one into immediate contact with the Chinese military posts on the Tibetan frontier. These are very modern and still progressive approaches to the frontier of China; they are approaches made at many distinct points; and are hence the

more calculated to arouse the suspicions of a haughty and repulsive, but feeble government. And surely it is imperative on the British government to put itself in a position, by means of trustworthy and responsible officers, acquainted with the people and their language, to smooth off all such jealousies, and at the same time to gain every possible advantage in regard to mutual intercourse. Surely it behoves her, in her Straits' colonies, to have officers acquainted with the language and habits, the customs and the prejudices, of a people, who promise erelong to exceed all other natives in numbers, as much as they now do in enterprize and industry. Nor, holding such a position as England now holds in the view of the Chinese, does it less behove her to appear, through her functionaries in this country, in her true and proper character (would that character were never even in these days tarnished), as a great, an intelligent, a powerful, and at the same time a generous, and forbearing nation.

But while England stands thus preëminent among the nations, in her commercial and political relations towards China, how greatly has she allowed other nations to excel her in endeavors to attain a knowledge of the people, and of the language of the people, with whom she may so soon be brought into close, or it may be hostile, contact! Russia has her school at Peking, which has as yet, however produced little that the world has been permitted to see. France has her Chinese library, and has long had a professor of the Chinese and Tartar languages. Prussia, that sends a single ship to China once in two years, has her Chinese library and professor. Yea, even Bavaria supports a Chinese professor, at the university of Munich. But the English government has neither of its own accord done anything for Chinese literature, nor has it afforded, even when earnestly applied to the least countenance to the strenuous efforts made by private individuals, to give facilities for acquiring a knowledge of Chinese without the necessity of a distant voyage. The East India Company, which has until very lately stood in the place of the British government here, and which still does so in India, has done a little for Chinese literature. With the single and striking exception, however, of its munificent support of Dr. Morrison's lexicographic and other literary labors, it has acted at all times with anything but liberality towards efforts for the extension of a knowledge of China, and has shown itself wholly wanting in any due appreciation of the value of such knowledge to its own political interests. We do not risk these assertions in regard either to the British government, or to the East India Company, without having it in our power to bring forward abundant facts in proof of them. These, however, are mostly well known, and one only need here be more particularly alluded to. In 1824, Morrison conveyed to England a large and valuable Chinese library, collected by him when commencing his lexicographic labors; and this library it was his purpose to present to any literary institution that would establish a Chinese school or professorship. His efforts to effect such an object were, however, fruitless: the needful interest in Chinese literature did not exist; and the govern-

ment, when applied to, declined making any attempt to create it; and even a remission of duties on the books was refused!

We have now, however, the pleasure to record, that the attempt in which Dr. Morrison failed, and in which the British government declined its aid, is about to be again made by a few private individuals, friends to the memory of the deceased Chinese scholar and philanthropist. Before proceeding briefly to point out what steps may at once be taken by the British government, whether at home or in India, for extending a knowledge of China, we will here subjoin the prospectus that has been issued by the individuals who have interested themselves with regard to this library.

* * * * * * *

The late Rev. Dr. Morrison, in the year 1824, brought to England a collection of Chinese books, in every branch of the literature of that nation, which he had obtained by great perseverance, and at an expense of about £2,000.

It consists of about 900 distinct works, occupying (according to the manner of the country), nearly 10,000 volumes, and forming, undoubtedly, the most complete library of Chinese literature to be found in Europe.

His design, in bringing this library to England, was to offer it as a free gift to his country, provided it could be rendered the means of introducing into it the study, and of establishing, in one of its seats of literature, a school for the cultivation of the Chinese language.

Not meeting with encouragement in this primary design, he projected a society under the title of 'Language institution,' to whose apartments in Bartlett's buildings the library was transferred. The object of the institution was to give instruction to all persons desirous of obtaining a knowledge of the Chinese and other oriental languages; and gratuitously to such as intended to devote their attainments to the propagation of Christianity. Dr. Morrison himself attended at stated hours and gave instructions in Chinese to several pupils.

After his return to China the institution langished, and at length was closed. The library, according to the doctor's direction, was placed under the care of trustees, in the house of the London Missionary Society, where it still remains. The trustees have since made several efforts to dispose of it to the government, and other public bodies, in their own country, but without success. In the mean time the attention of the professor of Chinese in the college of France having been attracted to it, and a catalogue granted, overtures of purchase for the royal library of Paris were made on the communication of which to the doctor, he declared it to be his determination that it should not be sent out of England.

In consequence of the death of Dr. Morrison, and the inadequate provision which is found for the support of his widow and seven children,—five under the age of ten years (and one only, his eldest son, provided for) it becomes imperative that this unique collection of Chinese literary productions should be rendered available to the better support of his family and the education and future establishment of his children. To give effect to this interesting measure, by inviting an extended and liberal subscription for the purchase of the library, is the object of the present address.

It would derogate from the honor of the country, to doubt that a plan, intended to express public esteem for the memory, and benevolent feeling towards the family, of a man, whose name, whether he is regarded as the founder of the Anglo-Chinese College, the compiler of his great Chinese and English dictionary, the chief translator of the Holy Scriptures into Chinese, or for many years the able servant of the East India Company as Chinese translator to their factory at Canton,—presents so many claims to the esteem of his countrymen, will meet with their cordial support.

From Dr. Morrison's original intention in bringing this library to England, it is concluded that a destination of it, which shall render it instrumental in promoting the study of the Chinese language in Great Britain, will erect the

best monument to his memory, and accomplish his patriotic desire thereby to confer an important benefit upon his country.

With this view, the friends of the deceased, who have undertaken to conduct the measure now submitted to public attention, beg respectfully to recommend; that, as the library will be obtained by voluntary donation, the trustees of the fund shall be authorized to present it, as a gift, to one of the most eminent literary institutions of the metropolis, the directors of which shall be willing to institute a Professorship of the Chinese Language. The increased interest which recent political events have given to the vast and important regions of the globe, over which that language and its cognate dialects prevail, seems to invite Great Britain, at this crisis, to the honor as well as the advantages of adopting a measure which together with other important results, may yield facilities to the formation of future relations between the Chinese and British nations.

These views are submitted to the consideration of the public, in the confidence that they will meet with the concurrence and support of Englishmen of all ranks, at home and abroad, who feel it an honor done to their country, when unassuming merit, and disinterested labors for the good of mankind, meet from it a sure, though it may only be a posthumous reward

The following gentlemen have consented to become trustees of the fund to be raised, until the library shall be legally conveyed to the institution which shall accede to the proposed terms.

Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart.
Samuel Mills, Esq.
William Alers Hankey, Esq.

Heartily do we wish these gentlemen the fullest success in their undertaking. Should they succeed (and that they will we can hardly for a moment doubt), England, though not the British government, will have cleared herself from the stain that now rests upon her for her gross neglect of China. All will have been done that can at this moment be effected in England itself.

Even when this has been accomplished in England, however, neither the Home nor the Indian government will be thereby excused from duties still resting upon them. The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, founded by Dr. Morrison, was mainly established, and for some years wholly conducted, in dependence on private liberality. But it is contrary altogether to the course of human nature, to continue liberal to a distant institution, which is not open to the personal inspection of its supporters, and which necessarily can show but little difference from one year to another, unless it be in the greater or smaller number of its pupils, or the more or less encouraging state of its funds. Hence the means of the college became reduced; and mortality and illness among those in charge of it were at the same time greatly against its prosperity. The former difficulty was in some measure removed, by a grant from the Straits' government of $100 monthly, and when this was soon after withdrawn, it was replaced by a similar grant from the factory in China, which is still continued (we are happy in being able for once to accord praise) by the British government. The latter difficulty was not so easily removeable, and the consequence has been, that the 'college' has never been able to rise above the the character it had at first to assume, that of a merely elementary school. More ample funds, however, by enabling it to retain around it a greater number of instructors, would remove this difficulty, by providing against unexpected illness or death. We

deem it the undoubted duty of both the Home and the Indian governments to see that its funds are so increased, and so applied; and to encourage, by all means in their power, the acquisition by Englishmen of the language and dialects of China, as well as of a thorough insight into the habits and manners of the Chinese. For enabling them to make these acquisitions, the Anglo-Chinese College, liberally supported, would afford the greatest facilities. British officers in Burmah, A'sám, Nipál, &c., should have about them those who have made these acquisitions: so should officers also in the Straits of Malacca, where, at every station, multitudes of Chinese are settled in the country: and none will for a moment doubt that the superintendents of trade in China should have it in their power immediately to replace a translator, in case of the occurrence of any of those numerous casualties which flesh is heir to. Is death or permanent illness so improbable an event, that the British government should not take some steps for having successors in the Chinese department to those who are now serving in it?

We will merely add that these remarks apply in a lesser degree to the other side of the Atlantic, so far at least as commercial relations are concerned. And here we regret that we should have to mention a parallel case of illiberality to that of the British government in regard to Dr Morrison's library. A few years since, a large collection of articles, illustrative of Chinese habits, and of Chinese arts and natural history, was carried from hence to the United States; and these are now, or lately were, mouldering in the custom-house, because the duty could not be remitted, even to allow them to be placed in a public room, for the benefit and amusement of the proprietor's fellow-townsmen!

Since writing the above, we have learned, that the Chinese library is now in the University College, London, and that a professor of Chinese has been appointed for a period of five years.

ART. IV. *Grammaire Turke; par Arthur Lumley Davids, membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris, &c. Traduite de l'Anglais par Madame Sarah Davids, mère de l'auteur.* London, 1836.

WHILE the preceding article was passing through the press, a correspondent put into our hands a short extract from the Foreign Quarterly Review, with some remarks of his own—bearing directly on the subject, which we have just had under consideration. The extract is from a review of the work, the title of which we have given above. The reviewer speaks in high terms of the grammar, and of its author, 'a youth of twenty, who, to the honor and disgrace of our literature, and enlowed societies be it spoken, is our sole champion in Turkish

lore.' In the paragraph from which our Correspondent has made his quotation, the reviewer is speaking of those eastern 'tribes' from which the Turkish power is descended, and which yet wander through the wide plains of Central Asia, and the northern parts of the Chinese empire. He says—

"To Europe their existence is scarcely known; to France alone, and her science-seeking sons, their language has been an object of curiosity: while to England, whose interest is connected with theirs, for these last are but the steps to our eastern throne, the one and the other are a *tabula rasa:* neither national pride, rivalship, nor palpable inferiority, have roused us to emulate our active neighbors in this. *De Guignes, Visdelou,* and *Remusat* have no competition to fear from English inquiry. History, antiquity, science, language, policy, all here are abandoned to the Gaul or the Muscovite. The interests we should consult and the ties we should form, to balance the desert-tribes against their and our barbarian enemy, are beyond the sphere of an English vision: we prate of history, and disregard its sources; of philology, and derive it from derivation; of science, yet shun its research. *A nobleman is martyred for some chests of tea at Macao!* a soldier carries steam to the Indus; but the great wall and the Himmálaya are the boundaries of trade and suffice, therefore, to bar our scientific and political vision of Tartary, shut up as before in the 'happy valley' of ignorance! *The Foreign Quarterly Review, No.* 35, *p.* 228.

With reference to this quotation, A Free Trader—and one of the oldest residents in Canton, a British subject, whose sentiments are not peculiar to himself—thus remarks, in his note:

"It is with shame, that any English gentlemen can allude to the fact, that, while his government is annually drawing £4,000,000 of revenue from China, yet her statesmen and ministers, are more ignorant of the policy, temper, fears, and resources of that vast country than any book-student at Paris! And joined to this disgraceful ignorance is attached the usual concomitant of ignorance, a heartless obstinacy to all appeal by practical men, setting aside as waste paper their respectful petitions, until the evil itself is on them! I believe this conduct to be but in accordance with the nature of place-men; but how the good sense of the English, as a body, submitted to such usage on the part of their public servants is to me unaccountable.

Yours, A Free Trader."

Art. V. *Burmah: British relations with that country; travels in the interior among the Singphos near A'sám and towards the Chinese frontier; revolution in the government.*

Burmah is a country destined, if we mistake not, to form one of the bonds of connection, now rising into existence, between British India and China. A British resident has, for several years past, been stationed at the court of A'va; and, though regarded with no cordial

feelings, has been gradually gaining influence in the counsels of the nation. Last year the Burman government was induced to take measures to suppress the marauding incursions of its tributary Singphos into A'sám, and permitted the commander of colonel Burney's guard, captain Hannay, to accompany the officers who, for this purpose, were sent to the frontier. Mr. Griffith, an officer of high attainments in botany and other branches of natural science, was engaged, previously to March last, in researches among the Singphos and other wild tribes on the frontier of A'sám. In the early part of that month, he joined Mr. Bayfield, assistant to the resident at A'va, who had come with a Burman officer of rank to the Patkaè range of mountains, which forms the boundary between the Burman territories and the British province of A'sám; and Mr. Bayfield and Mr. Griffith then returned to A'va by the same route as had previously been traveled by captain Hannay. A journey has also been performed, lately by captain Macleod, assistant to the commissioner in Tenasserim, towards the Chinese frontiers, through portions of the Siamese and Burman territories, respecting which we have not hitherto possessed any accurate intelligence.

Situated as Burmah is in regard to China, we cannot refuse to take an interest in her concerns, and particularly in her political and social revolutions. A revolution of the former kind has lately been effected, which, though it threatened, at one time, a long course of *civil* contention, has concluded, without a battle, and almost without bloodshed, in the removal of the old king and the establishment of his brother on the throne of Alompra. The fullest, and apparently most correct, details of the origin and events of this revolution are contained in the Bengal Hurkaru of the 14th and 15th of July. The principal individuals who have figured in the drama are, a brother of the ex-king, prince Tharáwadí; his sister the princess of Pagán; the king's favorite queen, a woman of low origin, daughter of the governor of a jail; and her brother, who enjoyed the title of Menthagí, or great prince. The king himself, his son by another queen, and his other brothers, of whom there are several besides Tharáwadí, have not been actors, but mere pageants in the scene. The king has suffered under mental debility since the year 1831, and being thereby incapacitated for the business of government, the power has been assumed by the queen and her brother, in whose hands the king has been a mere instrument. The king's son, although of age and therefore entitled to the rank of ain-y-meng, crown prince, or heir to the throne, has not been admitted to it; and he, in common with his uncles and aunts, has, since 1831, been prevented from ever seeing his father.

The brothers and sisters of the king, although they had been subjected to many insults, yet had met with no violence from Menthagí, until the night of the 21st of February last, when the house of the princess of Pagán was surrounded by armed men, sent to search for one Ngáyé, an alleged agent of the prince Tharáwadí. The princess escaped from her own to her brother's house: and, although the bro-

ther solemnly denied all knowledge of Ngáyé's place of concealment his house was similarly invested on the 24th. His people fired on and dispersed the party sent to search; and, while Menthagí and the queen, terrified by the reports of the fugitives, were, with fear and trembling, awaiting his appearance at the palace, he effected a peaceful retreat to Tsagáin, a town on the opposite side of the Iráwadí. While the dominant party had at their command 4000 or 5000 troops, the prince had not as many hundreds. As soon as his departure was discovered, his house was forthwith plundered; and his sister, the princess of Pagán, was imprisoned and loaded with irons. As an excuse for this conduct, it was alleged by Menthagí and the queen, that they had long known it to be Tharawadí's purpose to usurp the throne. In this there is little of verisimilitude; nor does there seem to be any reason to suppose, that such a purpose was entertained by prince Tharáwadí, until from Tsagáin he had removed to Moutshobo, the birth place of Alompra, distant about thirty miles from A'va. At Moutshobo, many of the people resorted to him. After having acted for sometime solely on the defensive, he at length began to act offensively, and shortly became master of several large and well-garrisoned towns. At this period, the British resident endeavored to induce Menthagí to propose an amicable arrangement; but all was in vain until they were driven to the last extremity, when, having at length communicated the state of affairs to the king, the whole court applied to the British resident to intermediate. It was now, however, too late. Although the resident, at very considerable personal risk, procoeded to Tharáwadí's, camp, and, as it is said, obtained from the prince a solemn promise to spare life, yet he could not induce him to listen to any terms short of abloute submission. The result was that the Menthagí and twelve ministers yielded themselves up to Tharáwadí's eldest son commanding at Tsagáin,—The king and queen were separated,—and the prince's second son was sent to take charge of the place. On the 9th April, prince Tharáwadí, himself reached Tsagain, and shortly after the British resident had an interview with him, at the prince's own desire. Flushed with success, the prince now seemed little disposed to listen to any remonstrance, or even to adhere to his promises: on the 20th, however, he yielded so far as to release several state prisoners, giving them their freedom, but leaving them utterly destitute. Some of the most obnoxious were executed with great cruelty. The prince does not appear to have taken up his abode in A'va, to which place he has a superstitious aversion, he talks of deserting it for Moutshobo, a place twenty miles distant from the river, and in no respect fitted to become the capital. Others say that 'Kyouk-myoung' is to be the new capital. We do not know whether to regard these two accounts as contradictory, or to consider the two names common to the same place.

Since the above was written, reports have reached us of an anticipated war between the British government and Burmah, the new king, excited with his easy success, being vain enough to hope, that he can wrest the conquered provinces of Arracan from British power.

We trust this is not the case; for we desire to see the influence of western powers in the east depending on their superior knowledge, rather than on their superior prowess in arms. If, however, war breaks out, the effect of it will be to bring the British posts still nearer to those of China, towards the frontier of Yunnan.

ART. VI. *Practical lessons in sacrificial rites, given at the public literary hall in the department of Kwangchow, by two professors from the Board of Rites in Peking, under the direction of the commissioner of territory and finance.*

THE present incumbent in the office of pooching sze, the head of the territorial and financial branch of the provincial government, caused no small consternation among gamblers, and others of like occupation, on his arrival in Canton, about two years ago. He is a Mantchou. According to current reports, he is tall and well formed; and in his official capacity, watchful, impartial proof against bribes, and easily moved by persons in distress. His excellency's tenderness is so unlike what is customary in official persons, that the common people have not been contented with the usual epithets of father and mother of the people, but have dubbed him with the title of "grandmother." Once on a former occasion, he filled the same office which he now holds, in this province; and, in the ordinary course of governmental honors, was raised from the rank of pooching sze to that of lieutenant governor, and sent to Keängse. There he so far yielded to the solicitations of a young friend, a magistrate, as to receive him in the capacity of a pupil; for which act, it being in opposition to the laws, he was degraded, and sent again to Canton to fill his former station. Here, among other things, the duties of his office require him to watch over the manners of the people, and to preserve their morals. A sincere wish faithfully to discharge his trust, united, no doubt, with a desire to regain the imperial favor, or some other equally cogent reasons, have induced the worthy commissioner to make special efforts to improve the manners of his "grandchildren," by procuring two able instructors for those who stand forth before them as the exemplars of propriety and as guides in the performance of sacred rites. The evidence of such wish and desire is exhibited in the following proclamation.

"Altsingah, by imperial appointment territorial and financial commissioner, &c., in the province of Kwangtung, hereby invites attention to the practice of sacrificial rites.

"Whereas the ceremonial observances, prescribed by the ritual for the temples of the sages, ought not to be neglected; and whereas in this province they have been long falling into desuetude, and are now in a very low condition; therefore, when about again to return to this place, with special care I selected, from those attending at the Board of Rites, two professors, not re-

garding as an obstacle the long distance which they have had to travel These professors I have sent to the literary hall of Kwangchow foo, there, in the temple dedicated to the sages, to give instruction in the performance of sacred rites, with the purpose of adding thereto a glorious dignity. Hereby information is given to the masters of music and ceremonies in Canton, who may wish to improve their practice, that each attendant on these lessons shall receive for his encouragement one mace [about 15 cents] per day. Be careful to avoid sloth. Earnestly, diligentty fulfill my wishes.

"Taoukwang, 17th year, 4th month, 3d day" (April 7th, 1837.)

A few explanatory remarks will enable our readers to understand the nature and object of these 'lessons.' In every district and department of the empire there is a public hall, called *heŏkung*, in which the chief local officers are required to offer sacrifices, and do homage to the ancient sages and emperors. The chief provincial officers are required to officiate in the metropolis of the province in which they reside. On particular occasions, fixed by the ritual or by custom, they are required to proceed to the temples in state, and there individually go through the prescribed ceremonies—offering incense, kneeling, bowing, &c. In the performance of these polititco-religious rites, the officers of government, the ministers of the state religion, are aided by two classes of men, one called *yŏsăng*, and the other *woosăng*,—titles which the English language has no words to express. The phrase, 'master of ceremonies,' conveys the general sense of the words; but a more correct idea will be obtained from a brief description of the respective rank and duties of these professors of music and ceremonies. They are literary men, who have obtained the degree of *sewtsae*, and are appointed to this service by the chief provincial officers. Their rank is respectable. They constitute two classes, each containing ordinarily not less than sixteen persons, who are arranged into courses, eight in a course. Two courses, one in each department, officiate in concert, which gives sixteen as the full complement of performers for a single service. Their situation and duties in the temples is not unlike that of the Levites in the ancient Jewish service; while on the magistrates devolve the duties of the priesthood.

The *yŏsăng* are musicians. During the time of service they play appropriate airs on their 'eight kinds of instruments,' one or more of them, in the mean time, performing a recitative. This music,—very unlike any thing European,—requires careful attention. At Peking the cultivation of it is entrusted to a Board of musicians, attached to the Lé Poo. In Canton, except on occasions like the present, music receives no patronage from government; and the *yŏsăng* are left to seek instruction whereever they can obtain it.

The *woosăng*, by word of mouth, by a wand, or by walking to and fro, lead the services of the official worshipers. While the music is playing, every advance and retreat, every turning, kneeling, or bowing, is done at the word of one of the woosăng, who is appropriately the master of ceremonies, and whose stentorian voice is not unlike that of command in a military drill. A complete service occupies forty

minutes or an hour, during which not a word is uttered nor a voice heard, except from the yŏsăng and woosăng. The worshipers stand erect, march, countermarch, kneel, rise, bow, &c., then make their exit; and the performance is ended.

Such, in brief, are the ceremonies, which the worthy commissioner wishes to improve. The two professors, whose family names are Soo and Le, are still in Canton: the first is a native of Soochow in Keängsoo; the second is from the province of Cheihle. They are attached to the Board of Rites, in the same capacity as the yŏsăng and woosăng are to the public hall in Canton. The attendance on their lectures here, is said to have been neither punctual nor numerous. What improvements have been made in the practice of ceremonial rites, remains to be seen; no doubt, however, the commissioner will receive a due reward for his great solicitude and munificence in promoting the worship of the dead!

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Return of the Morrison from Lewchew and Japan; of the Raleigh, from Fuhkeën and the Bonin islands; Lintin anchorage resumed; deaths; the Siamese navy; Lahore and Cábul; Persia.*

SINCE our last number went to press, more than two months have elapsed, but without any very important local events, so far, at least, as the Chinese are concerned. The ship Morrison returned on the 29th of August. A full account of her voyage will be published in our pages. H. B. M. ship Raleigh, after inquiring for the Fairy's crew at Fuhchow, touched at Lewchew and the Bonins; but we have no account of what she effected. On reaching Macao, she was immediately dispatched to Calcutta. The discussions, on the part of government, about sycee and opium still continue; but 'the fleet,' in the mean time, has returned quietly to Lintin, the prohibitory edicts notwithstanding.

Deaths. The Peking Gazettes notice the decease of the general commandant of Fuchow foo, and of Yang Yuchun. the retired governor of Shense and Kansuh Both are praised as able and faithful military men; both had seen service in the Mohammedan wars. His majesty's obituary notice of Yang Yuchun is so much more diffuse and laudatory than usual, that we must allow ourselves to make some extracts from it. 'Since the reign of Keënlung, says his majesty, 'when he took his second military degree, he has diligently worked his way as a soldier; he never failed to be immediately present wherever military service was to be seen. For his suppression of revolters at Hwăching, in the reign of Keäking, our august father conferred on him the title of *nan*, with various honorary privileges. After our own accession, we conferred further honors, especially after the Mohammedan war, in which he himself brought four cities back to their duty. From the office of provincial commander-in-chief, he was raised to the governorship of Shense and Kansuh. His able government of the frontier was of advantage; his upright conduct, and his strictness combined with kindness, are universally known; and his unwavering fidelity rendered him an all important member of the body politic. When, at the age nearly of 80 years, he requested leave to retire, we, unwilling whotlly to refuse his request, commanded his presence at court; and to manifest our regard for a meritorious servant, we raised him to the rank of a *how* of the first class We then permitted him to retire on the full pay of his office. The rest of the document records the grief of his majesty on hearing of his servant's death, and gives presents of money for the funeral expenses, remits all offences, &c., nearly in the usual terms. The eldest son of the deceased, Yung Kwochung, himself of

high civil rank, is to succeed to the title, *kow* which we may render by that of 'earl;'—*nan* may be rendered by 'baronet.'

Siam. The Singapore Free Press of 27th of July, notices the arrival at that port of his Siamese majesty's frigate "Conqueror," a vessel of 600 tons, just launched from the decks at Chántibun. She is armed with forty guns, of what calibre is not said; but, notwithstanding her warlike equipment and name, she is at present to be employed only as a peaceful carrier of the goods of his golden-footed majesty's subjects. Another vessel of 1000 tons has been laid down, and is to be similarly equipped and employed. The Malay pirates, expelled by the vessels of his Britannic majesty, from the immediate neighborhood of Singapore, have taken refuge in the northern part of the gulf of Siam. War-boats have been dispatched against them by the Siamese government, but, as may be supposed, to no purpose—neither party having any desire for too near a contact. It is said that the king has directed the phráklang, or foreign minister, to address the Straits government on the subject, requesting their aid in extirpating the pirates. We are glad to find so haughty a potentate as the Siáyuthayan monarch entering into an unsought communication with a subordinate European government.

Lahore and Cábul. Every one who has had enjoyed the pleasure of an introduction by lieut. Burnes, to Ranjít Singh, and to the brother-chiefs of Peshawur and Cábul, must feel some degree of interest in the proceedings of these potentates. The maharájá of Lahore, and the chief of Cabul are now at war, and the following correspondence has lately passed between them. The veteran maharájá writes: "I have always considered you in the light of a son, and have therefore directed my officers to refrain attacking Jellahabád [the eastern frontiers of Cabul]; but you, like an ungrateful child, have appeared contumaciously before me. It has always been remarked, that the weak are peevish and the strong magnanimous. Notwithstanding what has passed, if you will send your son with valuable presents, and some excellent horses, your faults shall be forgiven. Should you refuse, my armies shall advance to the very heart of your country." To this Dost Máhomed replies: "Every one knows who is weak and who is powerful in this part of the world. God, of his excelling bounty, has bestowed upon you the wealth, the power, and sovereignty over nearly five provinces of the Panjáb: many have died of grief because they failed of obtaining even a tenth part of what you enjoy. After such a gift from Providence, of what value can Peshawur be to you, the whole revenue of which would hardly pay the salaries of your servants for one day; in subduing Peshawur, you have forgotten your original promise, and have not acted according to agreement with me, nor with the kindness and consideration you have otherwise shown to me. God knows how long, and with what success. I with so little power and authority—can contend against you; but Peshawur is the place where my ancestors have lived and died: I shall follow their example." Dost Máhomed's forces were in the first instance successful; but could not stand against disciplined troops commanded by a French officer. Generals Ventura, Allard, and Court, have all been sent to the field of action; and Dost Máhomed had lost a son in battle. Down to the latest date, the maharájá's troops seem to have acted only on the defensive.

Persia. A correspondent of the Calcutta Courier mentions the establishment of a lithographic press at Téheran, and the publication of two numbers of a monthly journal, under the auspices of Máhomed Sháh. 'News from various quarters of the globe are given in the columns of the new journal, which comprises twelve pages. The emperor of China is represented to have attained to his sixty-fifth [fifty-fifth] year, and to have declared his will, that on his death, the extensive empire of China should be ruled by the empress, until when the heir apparent to the imperial throne shall come to maturity. Máhomed A'lí Pasha, the renowned potentate of Egypt, is said to have nominated the son of Ibrahim Pásha his successor. He is spoken of in terms of great commendation, and held in high admiration for his encouragement of the useful arts in Egypt. —We have quoted the passage referring to China, to show that some interest is taken in its affairs by nations at the western extremity of Asia, not as having the slightest belief in the truth of the representation therein contained. Modern China is too much led by precedent for the emperor to place his empress on the dragon's seat, even as a temporary occupier of it.

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ART. I. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; the expeditions of Gomez, Loaisa, Saavedra, Villalobos, and Legaspi.* A.D. 1524 to 1572.

THE safe return of one ship from the fleet of Magellan, her valuable cargo, and the accounts submitted by her commander, Cano, gave a new impulse to the zeal and enterprise of Charles V., and he immediately commanded a second expedition to the Moluccas. Among the strenuous advisers of these renewed attempts, we are surprised to find Talero, the early friend and after rival of Magellan. This unexpected resuscitation is, however, authorised by our authorities, who correct themselves as to his reported death, and represent him as applying for royal leave to send out two ships at his own cost and promising to pay, for such license, one third of the profits of the expedition. It does not appear, however, that his propositions were favorably received, probably because certain inconvenient rights might be revived in the person of the partner of Magellan. While the well founded pretensions of Talero were thus evaded, our notions of political justice are further shocked by finding a royal license granted to Gomez, the runaway pilot of the San Antonio, who thereon fitted out a ship for a voyage to the Moluccas. The cost of this equipment seems to have been borne chiefly by the lordship of Biscay. Gomez set sail in 1524, but meeting with boisterous weather, he soon returned, and his expedition thus resulted in a total failure.

Reserving for a future page, a notice of the controversy which arose between the Spanish and Portuguese monarchs, as to their respective rights to the Maluccas, we proceed to trace the course of the fleet of Loaisa, the second attempt to reap the fruits of the discoveries of Magellan. This fleet consisted of six ships and a tender, and in fitting it out, the pretensions of Seville were set aside, in favor of Coruna. It was well supplied with arms, and the more peaceful ammunition requisite for commercial exchanges, and placed under the

command of Garcia Jofre de Loaisa, as captain-general, seconded by Sebastian de Cano. Ample instructions as to dealing with the native tribes and with the Portuguese, were prepared, the oath of homage taken, the royal pennon blessed; and thus thoroughly furnished, Loaisa sailed from Coruna in July 1525, and on the 2d August, anchored in Gomera. Pursuing the voyage hence, the coast of Brasil was made in safety, but one of the six ships was lost, in a harbor in 37° south latitude during the night of the 14th of January.

The remaining vessels pursued their course, encountering frequent gales and often seeking shelter in the Patagonian harbors. One of these, like the quiet haven which received the ships of Æneas, was so secure, that the resting bark needed not the anchor.

* * * * hic fessas non vincula naves
Ulla tenent, unco non alligat anchora morsu.

Clearing the Straits of Magellan, the 25th May, a storm separated the squadron, and the little tender, almost without provisions, bore away for New Spain, then just known as the splendid prize of the adventurous Cortez. The flag-ship pursued her way across the Pacific, but before half the long and painful passage was accomplished, Loaisa expired, and his successor Cano, the survivor of all the disasters of Magellan's expedition, was consigned, four days after, to a last resting place beneath the waters of the Pacific. The command of the fleet now devolved on Toribio Alonzo de Salazar, and on the 13th September, the first of the Ladrone islands was descried in 14° north latitude, and called San Bartolome. On approaching a second island, of the same group, the ship was hailed in Spanish, by a deserter from the fleet of Magellan. His native companions brought supplies of cocos, plantains, rice, fish, &c., but were ill requited for their confiding attentions, eleven of them being entrapped and carried away to work the pumps of the leaking vessel. The death of Salazar again deprived the expedition of a head, and an election followed, which conferred the command on Martin Iniguez de Carquizano.

On the 2d October, Mindanao was descried, but it was with difficulty that refreshments could be obtained from the shore, the natives mistaking the strangers for a new detachment of hated Portuguese. A better reception was met with at Talao, half way between Mindanao and Ternate, but when the native chief besought, in return, that the strangers would fight his battles for him, Iniguez refused and sailed for Gilolo. Early in November, a friendly port in this island was entered, and here the party first learned the fate of 'la Trinidad,' and the companions of Espinosa. It was also told them, that the Portuguese had revenged on the rájá Almansor, his kind reception of the Spanish fleet, and that for the same reason, they had recently burned the principal town of Tidore, and driven the chief to the mountains. The Spanish writers say, that the recollection of this earlier visit and the hatred of the Portuguese, made the fleet of Iniguez most welcome at Gilolo, and that their arrival was celebrated by the natives, all around, with illuminations and dances.

A different reception was given to the new comers by the Portuguese colonists of Ternate, then commanded by F. de Castro, a name of much note, in the colonial history of that nation, at this period. De Castro denied the right of the Spaniards to interfere in the commerce of the Moluccas, and required them to be gone, but the rough and loyal Iniguez refused submission, and declared that he would answer all such demands, 'without ink or paper.' Repelling some slight attacks of the Portuguese, he anchored before the destroyed capital of Tidore, where the young chief of the island came to wait on him, supported by the rájá of Gilolo an old man of eighty years. This alliance brought on an open war with the Portuguese, in the course of which, one of their vessels, with 250 quintals of cloves, was captured.

Several battles, negotiations, and ill-kept armistices, fill up the interval, to the death of Iniguez, who fell a victim, not long after, to poison administered by a Portuguese. On his death Hernando de la Torre was chosen as the fourth successor of Loaisa, and the new commander, aided by the práhus of Tidore and Gilolo, exerted himself in making head against the Portuguese and their ally the chief of Ternate.

We leave De la Torre for a while, in this unhappy position, to follow the tender of Loaisa's squadron, which, it will be remembered, sought a refuge from famine, in some port of New Spain, seven years before an independent empire, but now reduced to a Spanish colony. Before her arrival, it is said that the genius of Cortez, or perhaps the promptings of his superiors in Spain, had suggested to him that the western ports of his new conquests were the most favorable points, from which to carry on the spice trade. On the arrival of the tender he immediately gave orders for an expedition in aid of Loaisa, and the little vessel being no longer seaworthy, three new ships were equipped, well armed and manned, and furnished with an assortment of merchandise and some Mexican silver. This fleet sailed from Cevatlanejo on all-saints' day A. D. 1528, under the command of Alvaro de Saavedra. Passing in sight of several of the Ladorne or Marianne islands, Saavedra made the coast of Mindanao, and at a port in the vicinity he cemented his friendly intercourse with a petty rájá, by performing the usual Dayak ceremony. Here he was informed that eight of his countrymen, refugees from the fleet of Magellan, had been sold as slaves to the Chinese; and two others, presenting themselves with a similar story of their manner of arrival in the island, he ransomed for sixty dollars. Standing on toward the Moluccas, Saavedra repulsed a Portuguese squadron which attempted to oppose his progress, and reached Tidore in safety, where he found a cordial welcome from De la Torre. After a stay of two months, he sailed again on his return to New Spain, with sixty quintals of cloves, then quite a valuable cargo, but now worth about $1590.

A discovery was then made which threw an unhappy light on the fate of the Santa Maria d'el Parral, one of the missing ships of Loaisa's squadron. The Spaniards ransomed by Saavedra proved to be two of the mutineers of her crew, which after putting their officers to

death, had carried the vessel to the island of Sangin, where the greater part of them fell by the hands of the natives, and the survivors were sold into slavery. The wretches who made this disclosure were drawn and quartered.

While this retribution was inflicted at Tidore, Saavedra pursued his course and touched at a large island which he named 'Isla de Oro,' peopled by a black race, with curly hair, naked and armed with swords, &c. This discovery is said to have been in 7° north latitude, and cannot therefore be identified with the 'Gold Island' which figured on the charts of the Pacific to the southeast of Japan, down even to the time of Krusenstern. After carrying his vessel seven degrees farther to the north, and finding the northeast winds too strong to be resisted, Saavedra put back to the Moluccas.* After a short respite, he again attempted this, till then unaccomplished passage, and reached the 20th degree of north latitude; but falling sick, he was compelled to resign the command of the fleet and expired soon after. His successor, in compliance with his directions, pressed on, intending to reach the 30th parallel, and, if the easterly winds should be found to prevail far north, to put back to the Moluccas. Eight days after the death of Saavedra, his successor Pedro Laso followed him; and the remaining crew, 18 in number, baffled in all their efforts to get to the northeast, returned to Tidore, where a part entered the service of De la Torre, and the rest, seeking a passage home by way of India, were apprehended, and kept two years in prison, by the Portuguese governor of Malacca.

Thus ended the expedition planned by Cortez and executed by Saavedra. Our authorities leave us in the dark as to the fate of the remaining vessels of Saavedra's fleet, but we infer that they were retained by De la Torre, and no doubt were soon ruined by the worms so destructive to ships in these latitudes. No clue is given as to the fate of the three missing vessels of Loaisa's fleet, whether they were lost in the passage across the Pacific or rejoined the admiral at Tidore.

The return of Saavedra's ship to the Moluccas deprived De la Torre of the hope of early succors from New Spain, but he still maintained the contest with the Portuguese, and a series of petty conflicts ensued. The brunt of the war seems, however, to have fallen on the native allies of both parties; and in its progress, their towns were burned, their cultivation wasted, and themselves plundered, murdered, or reduced to slavery. At length an occasion presented, which was eagerly seized by the Portuguese, and De la Torre was surrounded in the fort of Tidore, when the greater part of his force was absent, and compelled to a capitulation. The absent partisans refused to accede to the stipulations, and De la Torre himself, distrusting the good faith

* We may as well confess, once for all, that our authorities are very brief and obscure, on the subject of courses, positions and names of places, and that we do not attempt, for fear of making this a geograpical disquisition, to collate the information derivable from other sources, or discuss all the points which may not satisfy the reader.

of his conquerors, broke his engagements and the war was thus renewed. The Portuguese now spread the report that the king of Spain had sold to them his right to the Moluccas, and it is added, that when this announcement came to the ears of the native chiefs, it aroused them to a determined resistance and even to plans for the extermination of the foreigners, who would thus treat them as slaves in buying and selling them. Their threats coming to the knowledge of the Portuguese commander, he seized several of the influential chiefs, and put them to death. A general rising is said to have followed this cruel act, and De la Torre, regarding the animosity of the natives as directed indiscrimately towards both nations, joined the Portuguese in provisions for the common defence and safety. It was now the beginning of 1530, and the Spanish party were still without advices or succor from any quarter. Menezes, the Portuguese governor was then succeeded by Gonsalo Pereira, an old man, but who exposing himself unguardedly to the natives, soon fell a sacrifice to their fury. With his successor Fonseca De la Torre, discouraged by his long disappointments, treated for the return of his party, in the Portuguese ships to Lisbon. A tedious reference of this treaty to the governor-general of India, was then made, and his answer being favorable, the remnant of the Spanish force left these lands in 1535; and arriving in Spain while Charles V. was absent on his expedition against Tunis, they found a kind reception from the council of the Indies.

We must here advert briefly to the negotiations which had been in train during the first five years of their long and dreary absence, and which had terminated long before their return, in the practical renunciation of the Spanish right to the trade of the Moluccas. It has been already mentioned that the first outfit of Loaisa's fleet called forth a remonstrance from king John of Portugal. The Spanish sovereign replied, that he should certainly adhere to the demarcation established between the discoveries of the two crowns, by papal authority, and that he proposed to send two vessels, one east and the other west to ascertain its true position. King John rejoined by sending an ambassador, and this measure effecting nothing, the disputed point was referred to the royal councils, each of which, very naturally, sided with its master. Arbitrators were then appointed who met on the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, and here the question was taken up and mooted, cosmographically, politically, and all ways save disinterestedly. The Spanish writers say that the claims of their king were substantiated by the demarcation and by the voluntary submission of the native chiefs, so that no ground was left to the Portuguese, but that of prior, but unlawful, possession. But before a compromise could be arrived at, the commissions of the negotiators expired, and it was agreed that the question at issue should be remitted to the royal principals, between whom there existed ties of blood and friendship, whose force might facilitate its amicable decision. Unhappily for the Spanish cause, the treasury of Charles V. was sadly exhausted, and the monarch was much pressed at this moment to meet the charges of his coronation day, in Italy. The wily Portu-

guese saw his necessities and persuaded him to supply them by selling his claims to the trade with the Moluccas. A bargain was struck for 350,000 crowns, or more correctly this sum was paid by Portugal for the exclusive trade in spices, until the Spanish right by the demarcation should be established, and the money refunded. The Spanish council saw that this was a silly contract; and the procuradores of the cortes even offered the same sum for a six years grant of the spice trade; but it was now too late, and the emperor, ashamed of his bargain, commanded that nothing more should be said to him on the subject. This arrangement was completed in 1529 and its stipulations placed the Portuguese in exclusive possession of the Moluccas.

But, Charles V. by no means intended to cede to the king of Portugal under this contract, any thing more than the Molucca trade for the time being. He continued to claim a perfect right to push his discoveries in the Pacific and convinced that the navigation by the Straits of Magellan was extremely hazardous, he committed the business of exploration and conquest to the viceroys of New Spain, as his ablest representatives. Under his direction the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, examined the coasts of California as far as 40° north lat. and proceeded to extend discoveries in and beyond the pacific. For this purpose, a fleet of four vessels was equipped, which sailed under command of Ruy Lopes de Villalobos, on all-saints' day, A. D. 1542. It passed through the Marianne islands, naming many and taking possession of them for the crown of Spain. Arriving in the vicinity of Mindanao, in February 1543, and touching at Sarragan, it was determined to form a settlement; but the old Spanish soldiers could hardly be persuaded that it comported with their honor to become tillers of the soil, mere laborers. In fact they succeeded so ill in this line, that scarcity began to press on the settlers, nor did their native allies prove a sufficient dependence for necessary provisions. Ruy Lopes now sought an alliance with the chief rájá of Mindanao, but previous quarrels with the Portuguese had awakened the fears of the native chief, and the Spanish envoy meeting hostilities instead of a welcome, returned unsuccessful. Necessity still pressing on the colonists at Sarragan, a vessel was sent to obtain supplies from the neighboring islands, and it was on one of these expeditions, that the group to the northward was first visited and called 'Filipinas,' in honor of the prince of Asturias, after Phillip II.

The arrival of a Spanish fleet had by this time become known at Ternate, and the Portuguese governor lost no time in remonstrating against the infraction of the treaty of 1529. Villalobos replied, that his master had at the same time forbidden him to approach the Moluccas, and commissioned and required him to form establishments in the islands without the cession line. Dissatisfied with this answer, the Portuguese, coasted the islands, persuading the natives to refuse all supplies to the Spaniards, till Villalobos, unable to maintain himself, resolved to seek new locations for his starving followers, at some more northern points. Leaving Sarragan, with this design, the winds and

currents carried his fleet still farther south, and compelled him to make a harbor in Gilolo, where the native chief had before entertained Loaisa's squadron, and by this hospitality, had drawn on himself the enmity of the Portuguese. Villalobos was induced to land and form an alliance with this friendly rájá, but scarcity, resulting from the hostilities of the Portuguese and the impoverished condition of the island, followed him even here. He now dispatched a vessel to conduct the two ships, left at Sarragan, to Gilolo; but the messenger found that the vessels, and a great part of the men left with them, were already cut off. The surviving colonists were collected, and conveyed to Gilolo, stopping on the way to assist the rájá of Panguisari in a petty war, on condition that he would permit the preaching of the Catholic faith and own himself a vassal of Spain! Meantime the 'San Juan' had been dispatched, the 6th August, for N w Spain; but after passing through several groups of islands, one of which was a volcano, and reaching the 30th paralled of north latitude, she was compelled, like all her predecessors, to put back again.

The governorship of Ternate now fell into other hands and the new officer made a treaty with Villalobos, that there should be no communication between their followers, that the Spaniards should purchase no cloves except from the Portuguese, and that this compact should continue in force, until rescinded by their superiors the viceroys of India and New Spain. The San Juan was again dispatched for New Spain, the 7th March, 1545, with a cargo of 600 quintals of cloves, for which the other large Spanish ship had been sold to the Portuguese. After four and a half months' absence, she again made her appearance at Tidore. Her commander, persuaded that so many failures proved the impracticability of the northern passage, had attempted to reach New Spain by a southern course. He had coasted the shores of new Guinea with this design, but meeting with the never failing easterly winds and pressed by a mutinous crew, he was compelled to abandon his purpose and return to Tidore.

During the absence of the San Juan, Villalobos had been called on by the Portuguese commander to join him in an attack on the rájá of Gilolo, which he promptly refused. The conferences held by the governor on this subject, and the appearance of several Spanish deserters in the Portuguese service, awakened the suspicions of the native princes who had so long espoused the side of the armaments from Spain. While Villalobos was weakened by this partial defection, the Portuguese party was strengthened by the arrival of a new fleet; and the Spanish officers, fearing that circumstances would force them into ungrateful subserviency to their old rivals, offered to treat for their return to New Spain. Their stipulations on this last point, as well as for the future security of their Tidorean allies, were rejected by the Portuguese, and Villalobos, yielding to the pressure of the times, consented to abandon the native chiefs and take passage viâ India to Spain. His high-minded followers indignantly disavowed these engagements, and many of them passed into the service of their ally, the rájá of Tidore. Villalobos however, continued faithful to his

treaty, and embarked with the greater part of his men for Europe, after having first lent them to the Portuguese, as auxiliaries in an unsuccessful descent on Tidore. These weak concessions to trying circumstances, did not avail their author; he died in the early part of the passage home. His fellow-voyagers, including four Catholic priests, reached Lisbon viâ Goa, in August, 1549. Thus ended this unfortunate expedition; its only fruits—the examination of some of the islands north of the Moluccas and the bestowal on them of their present name.

A new and happier epoch now opens, in the history we are tracing, with the death of Charles V., on the 21st September, 1559, and the accession of Phillip II. to the throne of Spain. The new monarch remembered the distant islands which had so long borne his name, and enjoined their further examination on Luis de Velasco, his able representative in New Spain. Velasco entered into these views with ardor, and four vessels were immediately prepared and placed by a happy choice under the command of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a native of Guipuscoa, and in all respects an accomplished leader and able man. Six Augustine friars accompanied the expedition, headed by P. Urdaneta, who had figured as a good soldier under Villalobos, and thus furnished, the fleet put to sea November 21st, 1564. Ont he 13th February land was made in about 12° north latitude, which must have been the eastern coasts of the now valuable island of Samar. Following the shores of this and the neighboring island of Leyte, Legaspi sought a friendly intercourse with natives, which their suspicions, grounded on the recollection of previous injuries from foreigners, often made it impossible to obtain. To those chiefs who had before befriended the Spanish expeditions he sent messages of thanks, and gave the strictest orders that, in every interview with the islanders, the mildest bearing should be shown. At Cabalian, on the southwest, point of Leyte, the Dayak ceremony of tasting blood was performed, but unable even after this, to quiet suspicion and obtain provisions, Legaspi was compelled to seize all the edibles within his reach, and then make payment for what their owners could not be persuaded to part with in a more peaceful way.

Remembering the kind reception given to Magellan's fleet at Limasava, a small island south of Leyte, he steered toward it, but the stranger had been there before him, and its principal port was deserted and desolate. Legaspi proceeded to Bohol, and having captured, on the way, a Bornean práhu which shewed hostile demonstrations, he liberated the prisoners, with regrets that they had compelled him to treat them as enemies. From his captives Lagaspi learned that his inability to obtain provisions was the result of the general hatred produced by the long continued oppressions of the Portuguese. At the town of Dapitan he was more fortunate; the ancient chief impressed by the superiority of his new guests, sent away his Bornean visitors, declaring that he would have no friends but the Spaniards. Here Legaspi learned the importance of Zebu and determining to proceed thither, he arrived before the town, now one of the most important in

the Phillipines, the 27th April, 1565. The gross defection of the Zebuans from the Catholic faith, their treachery to the companions of Magellan, and the hostilities with which they met his first approach, drew Legaspi from his accustomed mildness, and, landing a force, he sacked the town and drove the inhabitants to the jungles. An image of the Savior, found in one of the native huts, was regarded by the superstitious Spaniards as a miraculous testimony in their favor, and they resolved to fulfil, on the spot, their vow to found a convent and church in the name of Jesus. A general council was also held and it was agreed, that a vessel should be dispatched to New Spain for succor, while possession was kept of the new acquisitions. Urdaneta was chosen to be the messenger of the expedition and to urge the desired assistance. Meanwhile the Zebuans resorted in vain to blockade and poison, to dislodge the invaders. Legaspi found means to procure supplies, by visiting the neighboring islands and forming friendly connections with them. Under these auspices, the Catholic faith was preached in various places, and its ministers were encouraged by many marvellous conversions. A feeble attempt was made by the Portuguese to support their claim to the possession of Zebu; but to these pretensions no concession was made by the Spanish colonists, and they ceased for a time to be pressed.

The ship which it had been determined to dispatch to New Spain, sailed the first of June, and after a favorable passage reached the port of La Navidad, October 3d, 1565. Two months before, the little tender, which had run away from Legaspi's fleet, had also regained a port on the same coast. We are not informed what courses were taken by these two vessels—the first that succeeded in crossing the Pacific from west to east, but no doubt, their happier fortune was due to the choice of a more northern track. The navigator who performs this passage so easily, at the present day, in ships sheathed in copper and with a perfect understanding of the winds of the Pacific, will not the less respect the sagacity which first led the way to his own success.

The representations of Urdaneta and his associates procured the immediate dispatch of the 'San Geronimo,' the 1st May 1566, to Legaspi's aid. Unhappily her passage was protracted by mutiny and deviation to five and a half months, and her commander had been cut off by the mutineers, and twenty-six of them were abandoned on a desolate island, before the loyal part of her company brought her safely to Zebu. In the mean time Legaspi had been extending his commerce with the adjacent islands, on one of which considerable quantities of cinnamon were found. Three more years were passed in these limited efforts; but when a further reinforcement of two ships and 200 men came, under Felipe de Salcedo, in 1569, Legaspi enlarged his plan of operations, subdued the island of Panay, and prepared an armament for the conquest of Luzon. This expedition moved northward in May 1570, and after some successful descents on Mindoro and Batangas, it approached the spot where Manila now stands.

The territory around this noble bay was then governed by two rájás an uncle and a nephew, named Matanda, and Soliman. From

the latter cognomen, as well as from their joint possession of some pieces of artillery, we must infer a connection with Arabian visitors, if not a Mohammedan descent, or perhaps an intercourse with China and a traffic with the Portuguese. The elder chief seems to have been a sincere and steady friend of his Spanish guests; but Soliman, notwithstanding his celebration of the Dayak ceremony with De Goyti, attempted soon after to cut him off. The Spanish captain defended himself, and, in turn becoming the assailant, he captured the fort of Soliman with its twelve cannon, and burnt his village.

In De Goyti's absence, Legaspi employed himself in preparing for a meditated attack of the Portuguese, and in dispatching his largest ship with a cargo of 600 quintals of cinnamon to New Spain. This ill fated vessel was driven on shore at Guam, the largest of the Ladrone or Marianne islands (now a Spanish settlement), and no part of her valuable lading saved. The shipwrecked crew warded off the attacks of the islanders, and built themselves a small vessel from the wreck, in which they returned in safety to Zebu. The Catholic faith was now making rapid progress, around the settlement of Legaspi, and among the early converts were Tupas and his son, the former the ablest and most sagacious of the Zebuan chiefs, the latter a promising youth, 20 years of age.

The preparations which Legaspi had been making against an attack from the Portuguese, now proved neither unnecessary nor in vain. A squadron under Pereira appeared off the port, and the Spanish general was required to surrender himself, and to go and answer before the tribunal of Lisbon for his infraction of the compact of 1529. Legaspi answered by fortifying himself, and by assuring his opponent that he was executing, and would abide by his royal master's commands. Hostilities ensued, but the firm resistance of the Spanish commander compelled his antagonist to retire. De Goyti now returned with highly encouraging accounts from Manila, and with him came also a further reinforcement of three vessels from New Spain. Legaspi had the satisfaction to find himself confirmed in his command, and to receive the royal orders to subdue and colonize the Phillipine group, to assign the lands to his victorious soldiers, and to promulgate the Catholic faith. He immediately commenced a regular fortress at Zebu, erected the settlement into a city; and determining to be present at the fulfilment of his purposes, he sailed the 15th April, 1571, for the bay of Manila, the admirable position of which for his colonial capital, he already foresaw. Matanda received the Spanish general kindly, and a friendly arrangement of differences being made with Soliman also, both these chiefs were formally accepted as vassals of the crown of Spain. Legaspi proceeded to found a fort, a church, a convent, and a palace, on the left bank of the river Pasig, at the eastern extremity of the bay, and an existence was thus given to Manila, the 19th May, 1571. The day being that of Santa Potenciana, she was named patroness of the Phillipine islands, an honor which her saintship still retains.

It now became evident that there existed a party among the native chiefs, who regarded the intruding foreigners with hatred, or who had by no means understood what was meant by the submission they had promised to a foreign crown. A league was formed by the malcontents for the expulsion of the strangers, but when these rude allies presented themselves before the walls of Manila, the newly planted cannon soon broke their ranks and their compact, and Legaspi remained, without an antagonist. His first attention was then given to his capital, and on the 24th of June, 1571, '*Manila*' was formally incorporated as the chief city of 'Nueva Castilla' or Luzon, as well as of the lesser islands of the Phillipine group; officers were appointed; and Don Miguel Lopes de Legaspi assumed the title of first 'governor and captain-general,' the style which his successors still retain. Afterwards, when the royal cedules of 1574 came, they conceded to the 'noble and ever loyal city,' all the privileges of the capitals of kingdoms. Legaspi now extended his power northward to Pangasinan, Ylocos, &c., and southward to Camarines; and to his perpetual honor it is recorded, that these advances were unmarked by any of those excesses and cruelties, which foul the annals of Spanish supremacy in America, and disgrace many an otherwise distinguished name. We must not omit to notice a happy augury which is recorded as having greatly cheered the founders of Manila at this time. A soldier, strolling beside a marsh, discovered an image of the Virgin. The natives declared that it had been, from time immemorial, the object of their veneration, and that they had often removed it to a worthier site, but that it would always find its way back to the palm-marsh again. This treasure trove was forthwith deposited in the church of the Conception, amid much questioning, whether it had reached the islands by some prior vessel, or by the hands of saint Thomas the apostle. A sumptuous church was afterward built to the Virgin on the spot where this relic was found, but being shattered by earthquakes, and having moreover served the ill purpose of covering the approaches of the English in 1762, the holy image was removed to the cathedral, whereof it still continues, say our authorities, to be a chief ornament. Its miraculous powers, they add, have been most signally displayed in the protection of those navigating between Manila and Acapulco, in recognition of which, a novenary of votive masses is always celebrated on the sailing of the annual galleon, to the manifest preservation of this most valuable branch of the Manila trade.

The able leader, who had thus achieved the conquest of the Phillipines, is said to have held equally sagacious and liberal opinions on matters of foreign policy, and to have sought to obtain for them all the benefits of a free and extensive intercourse. The wreck of some Chinese junks on the coast of Mindoro soon after afforded him an opportunity to display these sentiments to great advantage. The Mindorans, with the same lax views on this point which long prevailed elsewhere, appropriated the property of the unfortunate Chinese; but Legaspi compelled them to give up their spoil, and on dismissing

the grateful strangers, assured them of a welcome, at all times, to the *free port* of Manila. This liberality is said to have made a deep impression on them: and as to the accompanying offer to give them the silver of Mexico in exchange for the merchandise of China, it seems quite probable, for aught we know of the Chinese character, that it was very interesting to them—"les era muy interesante,' as our books say. Relying on these overtures, junks came the following year with Chinese cargoes, which were promptly exchanged for silver, and Legaspi availed of their return, to send letters and presents to the governor of Fuhkeën, which it is probable, were duly delivered. A ship which was dispatched soon after for New Spain, carried a portion of these Chinese productions, as evidence that a commerce was really opened with that country.

But the time was now come when the individual, to whose prudence, enterprise, and courage, Spain was mainly indebted for her possession of the Phillipines, was to be called away from the scene of his arduous but successful labors. On the 20th of August 1572, Legaspi died, after a very short illness, and was buried in the Augustine church, amid all the expressions of public veneration and public sorrow. Very probably those who shared his successes and lamented his death, have drawn his character in too glowing colors. The spirit of a military age and a proud nation prevented them from seeing, as we do now, the odiousness of armed colonisation, both in a public and private point of view. But palliating this common obliquity of his day and generation, the sagacity, patience, activity, and liberality, which marked the enterprises of Legaspi and ensured their success, entitle him, beyond a question, to the highest rank among the celebrated leaders of his age, if not to the very first name on the list of the founders of the colonies of Spain.

ART. II. *Siamese History: notices continued from the Siamese era, 918 to 926 (or from* A. D. 1542 *to* 1550). By a Correspondent.

SIAMESE ERA, 918. After the taking of the city by the Peguans, the following circumstances are related with considerable minuteness, and may be quoted as an illustration of eastern etiquette. The king of Siam was conducted to the king of Pegu, into whose presence he *crawled.* The first thing the conqueror did was to move his *betel* and *siri* apparatus to his visitant, who did not take anything from it; he next took betel and siri and presented them with his own hand; the recipient clasped them a while and then masticated them; the Peguan king then presented him a cospidor, but he did not use it.' The relation of such matters the Siamese call history! After all this, the

Peguan monarch proceeds to say to his guest, that it was customary in war for kings to seek for conquest that the glory of it might fill the earth, but he would not have his guest dejected, and invited him to go home with him and visit Pegu. He was committed to Mahá Thamma járá with instructions to see him well provided for; the king of Pegu then collected most of the people, and every thing that was curious and fanciful, to be conveyed to Pegu. But 10,000 men, women and children, with a hundred officers of vdrious grades, were left to people the country, and Mahá Thamma rájá was constituted king of Siam, at the age of 55, under a title which recognized him as divine, related to the sun, equal to the greatest genius above, the righteous conqueror of celestial spirits, however exalted, and emperor of the magnificent kinddom of Siam, ever abounding in all precious substances. After all this, his Peguan majesty left 3,000 men to guard the country, and returned home by way of Kempéngpet. While on their way to Pegu, the captive king fell sick. His conqueror furnished him with physicians, and gave orders, that, if they did not cure him, they should be put to death. However, after ten or twelve days he died, and the Peguan king caused ten of his doctors, Peguan, Burman, and Siamese, to be executed, after which he burnt the body, and sent the bones back to Siam.

919. The Cambojans marched upon Siam with 30,000 men. The Siamese, conscious of their defenceless state, and their inability to contend with such a force, proposed to fall over in a body to Pitsanulók. But it was suggested to the king that such a step would disgrace him in the estimation of the Peguans, and he concluded to try his strength. The enemy assailed the city three times, but being unsuccessful, retired, not, however, without taking many prisoners from the outer provinces. Afterwards they plundered and carried off the inhabitants of Chantaburí and the neighboring settlements.

920. The king sent his son, Naret, to govern Pitsanulók, at the age of sixteen.

921. The king of Pegu set on foot an expedition against Lán Cháng (South Laos), and sent word to the king of Siam and the governor of Pitsanulók to assist him in the enterprise. They obeyed the summons, but the Laos defended their country so bravely that the assailants were obliged to return before the commencement of the rainy season. The Cambojans, moreover, marched into Siam, took numerous captives, approached the capital from whence they were repulsed, but succeeded in carrying off great numbers of people and their officers, and the two bronze images, of the digging out of which an account has already been given.

922. This year the king of Camboja sent an army under charge of two of his principal officers (one of whom was a Chinese named Chantu), to assail a province of Siam called Pechhaburí. They proved unsuccessful, and Chantu fearing the displeasure of the king at his defeat, instead of returning, collected forces at his disposal, and fled to the king of Siam. The latter was so pleased that he loaded Chantu with favors. With the property thus acquired, he built him-

self a junk—embarked his family and attendants, and fled. He was closely pursued by prince Naret, who had come to visit his father; but he escaped.

924. The king had the royal city enlarged by a trench on the east, ten fathoms broad and three deep, and the wall extended near it. Phyá Phichhian excited rebellion, which threw the whole country into commotion; but he was slain in an attempt to take Lopburi, and his party made slaves to the government. In the 3d month, the king of Camboja, with 70,000 men, made another attempt to take Pechaburí, and after three unsuccessful attacks at scaling, succeeded the fourth time—plundered the city—took all its inhabitants prisoners, and returned.

925. The Cambojans made another assault upon the country, but were repulsed with slaughter by Naret.

926. The king of Pegu died on Saturday, 7th day of the 2d month, at the age of 65, after a r ign of 15 years, and was succeeded by his son Mangurng. This change of sovereigns, was followed by the rebellion of the provinces Rum and Khang. Prince Naret being apprized of these circumstances, visited his father, and explained to him the whole course of events, and resigned his place to go and assist the king of Pegu, in restoring order to his empire. He then returned to Pitsanulók, collected 100,000 men, 800 elephants, 1500 horses, and marched for Pegu, where he was received with great rejoicing. He joined his forces with those of Pegu, and, by his skill and courage, the rebellious cities were soon reduced, and their leaders led captive to the capital. The king rewarded prince Naret with high praises and substantial presents of golden vessels, &c. He then returned to Pitsonulók, and thence proceeded to the Siamese capital, where he related every occurrence to his royal father, who was so delighted, that he caused his achievements to be celebrated in a feast of seven days' duration. Thence Naret returned again to Pitsanulók. The Peguan king, however, regardless of gratitude and justice, concluded, that as prince Naret was so intelligent and so daring and powerful in war, he would probably hereafter prove a thorn to the Peguans. He therefore formed the plan of removing all the inhabitants of the northern provinces down to Pegu, as a means of defence in any emergency. He then employed false pretences to overthrow prince Naret's fair prospects. He dispatched messengers to him, saying the governor of Ava had rebelled and was fortifying himself, and he solicited Naret's assistance. The latter, on consultation with his father, collected an army of men, horses, and elephants, and marched for Pegu without the least suspicion of evil. The Peguan king, on the other hand, when he heard of Naret's approach, sent a part of his army to waylay him, rout his forces, and bring him a prisoner to Pegu. It was supposed that, if this purpose was effected, it would confer a glory on Pegu such as no other country had ever enjoyed. Phyá Kian, and Phra Rám, to whom this business was entrusted, proceeded, and met Prince Naret at a place called Kréng, told him that they had been sent by the king of Pegu to conduct him forward, and after having

paid their respects to him, left him to pay their devotions to a priest of the place named Kanchang, to whom they disclosed the commission with which they had been entrusted by the king of Pegu. The priest was touched with compassion for the prince Naret, as one who had committed no offense, and looked upon him as one through whose influence the Budhist religion was to be perpetuated. In the evening, therefore, he took his informers and paid a visit to Naret, and after giving him his blessing, told him that his companions brought information of some mischievous porpose of the Peguan king against him. Prince Naret inquired the reasons of such a measure, and Phyá Kian and Phra Rám rehearsed the whole matter from the commencement. The prince was greatly vexed, and his affections sundered from the king of Pegu at once. But, in token of his gratitude for the timely information communicated, he offered to take the priest and his attendants under his protection, convey them to Siam, and provide for them and all connected with them, to which they, of course, assented. He then took a solemn oath, calling upon all the genii of the world above to witness, that thenceforth the kingdoms of Siam and Pegu were severed forever. He immediately commenced his march home, gathering all the Peguans he could find on his march, and when he came to the Sataung river, he collected all the boats and rafts possible, crossed his army and captives, and then burnt the whole flotilla. On his arrival at the capital of Siam, his father confirmed the oath he had made, rewarded the priest and his companions, under whose government he placed the Peguan captives, and the Prince returned to Pitsanulók where he expended immense sums of gold in religious offerings.

[A race of people called Thaiyai are often referred to in writings regarding Siam; but who they are, or where, has been matter of considerable doubt. They are referred to in this Siamese history several times. In the year 926 (Siamese era), a part of them belonging to Wiang Siia, fled from Kampéngpet to Pitsanulók. About the same time, more than 20,000 are said to have come and located themselves in Chhiang Thông. Among them were a prince from a place called Chi, and another from Lôngchémai. Wiang in the South Laos dialect, and Chhiang in the North Laos, both signify country, but where Siia, Thông, Chi, and Lôngchémai are situated is beyond my knowledge. Some writings which are said to be Thaiyaí, have been shown me, which are evidently in character of the South Laos, and it seems not improbable that they were a portion of the Laos, possibly having some peculiarities of manner and language, such as now prevail between the Northern and Souther Laos, or between the inhabitants of Bankok and Ligore. These two latter have indeed the same written character, but their pronunciation is exceedingly diverse. The principal object of this note is to elicit information on this topic from any who are capable of communicating it.]

ART. III. *Geology of Central Asia: survey of the four great systems of mountains, which cross that region; the Altaic, the Teënshan, the Kwanlun, and the Himálaya.*

In connection with the accounts given in our previous numbers concerning the different geographical divisions of Central Asia, and the brief survey there taken of the various nations and hords inhabiting that region, we here give our readers an epitome of its geological formation, extracted from Macgillivray's sketch of Humboldt's travels. The journey of that distinguished traveler into Asiatic Russia afforded him an opportunity of investigating a portion of the world, of which the physical formation is as yet very partially known, and which still presents a rich field to the enterprising naturalist.

The middle and internal part of Asia, which forms neither an immense aggregate of hills nor a continuous platform, is intersected from east to west by four great systems of mountains, which have exercised a decided influence upon the movements of nations. These systems are, 1. The Altaic, which is terminated to the west by the mountains of the Kirghís; 2. the Teënshan; 3. the Kwanlun; and, 4. the Himálaya chains. Between the Altaic range and the Teënshan are Soungaria and the basin of the Ele; between the Teënshan and the Kwanlun, are Little or Upper Bokhára (Eastern Túrkestan) or Kashgar, Yárkand, and Khoten, the great desert of Shamo, Túrfan, Khamil, and Tangout, which last must not be confounded with Tibet. Lastly, between the Kwanlun and the Himálaya are eastern and western Tibet, in which are Lassa and Ladak. Were the three elevated plains between the Altaic, the Teënshan, the Kwanlun, and the Himálaya ranges to be indicated by the position of three alpine lakes, we might select for this purpose those of Balkashi, Lop, and Tengri or Tengkiri, which correspond to the plains of Soungaria, Tangout, and Tibet.

1. System of the Altaic. This chain surrounds the sources of the Irtish and Yenisei or Kem. To the east it takes the name of Tangnou; between the lakes Kosogol and Baikal, that of the Sayanian mountains; beyond it is called the Upper Kentai (Kenteh), and the Daourian mountains; and lastly, to the northeast, it connects itself with the Yablonoy chain, the Khingan range, and the Aldan mountains, which advance along the sea of Okhotsk. The mean latitude of its prolongation from east to west is between 50° and 51° 30′ north. The Altaic range, properly so called, scarcely occupies seven degrees of longitude; but the northern part of the mountains, surrounding the great mass of elevated lands in the interior of Asia, and occupying the space comprised between 48° and 51° north, is considered as belonging to this system, because simple names are more easily retained by the memory, and because that of Altaic is more known to Europeans by its

metallic richness, which amounts annually to 45,917 troy pounds of silver, and 1246 troy pounds of gold. The Altaic mountains are not a chain forming the boundary of a country, like the Himálaya, which limit the elevated plain of Tibet, and have a rapid slope only on the side next to India, which is lower. The plains in the neighborhood of lake Balkashi, have not an elevation of more than 1920 feet above the level of the sea. Between the meridians of Oust-Kamenogorsk and Semipolatinsk the Altaic system is prolonged, from east to west, under the parallels of 49° and 50°, by a chain of low mountains, over an extent of 736 miles, as far as the steppe of the Kirghís. This ridge has been elevated through a fissure which forms the line of separation of the streams of the Sarasou and Irtish, and which regularly follows the same direction over an extent of 16 degrees of longitude. It consists of stratified granites not intermixed with gneiss, and of greenstone porphyry, jasper, and transition limestone, in which there occur, various metallic substances. This low range does not reach the southern extremity of the Ural, a chain which, like the Andes, presents a long wall running north and south, with metallic mines on its eastern slope, but terminates abruptly in the meridian of Sverinogovloskoi. Here commences a remarkable region of lakes, comprising the group of Balek-koul (lat. 51° 30′ north), and that of Koumkoul (lat. 49° 45′), indicating an ancient communication of a mass of water with the lake Aksagal, which receives the Tourgai and the Kamichloi Irghis, as well as with lake Aral; and which would seem, from Chinese accounts, to have formed part of a great plain extending to the borders of the Frozen ocean.

2. System of the Teënshan or celestial mountains. The mean latitude of this system is 42.° Its highest summit is perhaps the mass of mountains covered with perpetual snow, and celebrated under the name of Bokhdaoula, from which Pallas gives the name of Bogdo to the whole chain. From Bokhdaoula and Khatounbokhda, the Teënshan runs eastward towards Barkoul, where they are suddenly lowered so as to fall to the level of the elevated desert, called the Great Cobi or Shamo, which extends from Kwachow, a Chinese town, to the sources of the Argoun. If we now return to Bokhdaoula, we find the western prolongation of these mountains stretching to Goudja and Koutché, then between lake Temoustou and Aksou to the north of Kashgar, and running towards Samarkand. The country comprehended between the Altaic chain and the Teënshan is shut up to the east, beyond the meridian of Peking, by the Khinganoula, a lofty ridge, which runs from southwest to northeast; but to the west it is entirely open. The case is very different with the country limited by the second and third systems, the Teënshan and Kwanlun ranges; it being closed to the west by a transverse ridge running from north to south under the name of Bolor or Belúrtág. [This chain separates Little Bokhária from Great Bokhária, the country of Kaffiristan, Badakshan, and Upper Jihon?] Its southern part, which is connected with the Kwanlun system, forms a part of the Tsungling of the Chinese. To the north, it joins the chain which passes to the northwest

of Kashgar. Between Khokand, Dervagel, and Hissar, consequently between the still unknown sources of the Sihon (or Sir) and Amou (or Oxus), the Teenshan rises before lowering again in the khanate of Bokhára, and presents a group of high mountains, several of which are covered with snow even in summer. More to the east it is less elevated. The road from Semipolatinsk to Kashgar passes to the east of lake Balkashi, and to the west of lake Ossikoul, (?) and crosses the Narim, a tributary of the Sihon. At the distance of 69½ miles from the Narim, to the south, it passes over the Rovat, which has a large cave, and is the highest point before arriving at the Chinese post—to the south of the Aksou—the village of Artuche, and Kashgar. This city, which is built on the banks of the Aratumen, has 15,000 houses and 80,000 inhabitants, although it is smaller than Samarkand.

The western prolongation of the Teënshan, or as it is there called the Muztág, is deserving of particular examination. At the point where the Belúrtág joins the Muztág at right angles, the latter continues to run without interruption from east to west, under the name of Asferahtág, to the south of the Sihon, towards Kodjend and Ourateppeh (Uratippa) in Fergána. This chain of Asferahtág, which is covered with perpetual snow, separates the sources of the Sihon (Jaxartes) from those of the Amou (Oxus). It turns to the southwest nearly in the meridian of Kodjend, and in this direction is named (till it approaches Samarkand) the Aktág or Al Botous. More to the west, on the fertile banks of the Kohick, commences the vast depression of ground comprising Great Bokhária and the country of Mawer-alnehar; but beyond the Caspian sea, nearly in the same direction as the Teënshan range, is seen the Caucasus, with its porphyries and trachites. It may, therefore, be considered as a continuation of the fissure upon which the Teënshan is raised in the east; just as to the west of the great mass of mountains of Azerbaijan and Armenia, mount Taurus is a continuation of the action of the fissure of the Himálaya and Hindú Kúsh mountains.

3. The Kwanlun system. The Kwanlun or Koulkoun chain is between Khoten, the mountains of Kokonor, and eastern Tibet, and the country named Kachar. It commences to the west at the Tsungling range. It is connected with the transverse chain of Belúr, as observed above, and according to the Chinese books, forms its southern part. This section of the globe between Little Tibet and Badakshan is very little known, although it is rich in rubies, lapis lazuli, and mineral turquoise; and, according to recent accounts, the plain of Khorásán which runs in the direction of Herat, and limits the Hindúkho to the north, appears to be rather a continuation of the Tsungling and of the whole system of Kwanlun to the west, than a prolongation of the Himálaya, as is commonly supposed. From the Tsungling, the Kwanlun or Koulkoun range runs from west to east towards the sources of the Hwangho or Yellow River, and penetrates with its snowy summits into the province of Kansuh. Nearly in the meridian of these springs rises the great mass of mountains bordering on lake Kokonor, resting to the north upon the snowy chain of the

Kelëenshan, which also runs from west to east. Between the last and the Teënshan, the heights of Tangout limit the margin of the upper desert of Cobi or Shamo, which is prolonged from southwest to northeast. The latitude of the central part of the Kwanlun range is 35° 30′ north.

4. Himálaya system. This range separates the valleys of Cashmere and Nipál from Bútan and Tibet. To the west it rises in the mountain Javaher to an elevation of 25,746 feet, and to the east in Dhwalagiri to 28,074 feet, above the level of the sea. Its general direction is from northwest to southeast, and thus it is not at all parallel to the Kwanlun range, to which it approaches so near in the meridian of Attok and Jellalabad, that they seem to form the same mass of mountains. Following the Himálaya range eastward, we find it bordering A′sám on the north, containing the sources of the Brahmapútra, passing through the northern part of A′va, and penetrating into the province of Yunnan in China. It there exhibits pointed and snow-clad summits. It bends abruptly to the northeast, on the confines of Hoonan, Keängse, and Fuhkeën, and advances its peaks to the ocean, the island of Formosa, the mountains of which are in like manner covered during the greater part of summer, being its termination. Thus we may follow the Himálaya system as a continuous chain from the eastern ocean through Hindúkho, across Candahar and Khorásan, to beyond the Caspian sea into Azerbaijan, along an extent of 73 degrees, or half the length of the Andes. The western extremity which is volcanic, (like the eastern part,) loses its character of a chain in the mountains of Armenia, which are connected with Sangalou, Binghel, and Kachmirdagh, in the pashalic of Erzroum. The mean direction of the system is north 55° west.

These mountain chains with their various ramifications and intervening platforms and valleys, afford evidence of revolutions anciently undergone by the crust of the globe; these having been elevated by matter thrust up in the line of enormous cracks and fissures. The great depression of Central Asia was probably caused by the same action. Analagous to the Caspian sea and other cavities in this district, are the lakes formed in Europe at the foot of the Alps, and which also owe their origin to a sinking of the ground. It is chiefly in the extent of this depression of Central Asia, and consequently in the space where resistance was least, that we find traces of volcanic action. Several volcanoes are described in this space by ancient Chinese authors, who also mention a variety of volcanic products, such as sal ammoniac and sulphur, which form articles of commerce.

We thus know in the interior of Asia, a volcanic territory, the surface of which is upwards of 2500 square geographical miles, and which is from 1000 to 1400 miles distant from the sea. It fills the half of the longitudinal valley situated between the first and second systems of mountains. The principal seat of volcanic action appears to be in the Teënshan. Perhaps the colossal Bokhdaoula is of trachite formation like Chimborazo. On both sides of the Teënshan violent earthquakes occur. The city of Aksou was entirely destroyed

at the commencement of the eighteenth century by a commotion of this nature. In eastern Siberia, the centre of the circle of shocks appears to be at Irkutsk, and in the deep basin of lake Baikal, in the vicinity of which volcanic products are observed. But this point of the Altaic range is the extreme limit of these phenomena, no earthquakes having been experienced farther to the west, in the plains of Siberia, between the Altaic and Uralian ranges, or in any parts of the latter.

The volcanic territory of Bishbalik is to the east of the great depression of Asia. To the south and west of their internal basin, we find two cones in activity—Demavend, which is visible from Tehran in Persia, and Seiban of Ararat, which is covered with vitreous lavas. On both sides of the isthmus between the Caspian and Black seas, springs of Naphtha and eruptions of mud are frequent. On the western margin of the great depression, if we proceed from the Caucasian isthmus to the north and northwest, we arrive at the territory of the great horizontal and tertiary deposits of southern Russia and Poland. Here we find igneous rocks piercing the red sandstone of Jekaterinoslav, together with asphaltum, and springs impregnated with sulphurous gazes.

A phenomenon so great as that of the central depression of Asia, which resembles the circular valley of the moon, could have been produced only by a very powerful cause, acting in the interior of the earth. This cause, while forming the crust of the globe by sudden raisings and sinkings, probably filled with metallic substances the fissures of the Uralian and Altaic chains. *See Humboldt's travels and researches, by W. Macgillivray, pp.* 352–367.

Note. We have found it difficult to follow our author in some parts of his Essay; and to avoid the hazard of changing his meaning we have followed for the most part his own orthography in the names of places.

ART. IV *Gaoumun fan yu tsă tsze tseuen taou, or A complete collection of the miscellaneous words used in the foreign language of Macao.* 2. *Hungmaou mae mae tung yung kwei hwa, or those words of the devilish language of the red-bristled people commonly used in buying and selling.*

IN the account given sometime since of the means usually employed by the Chinese in learning to speak English, we mentioned the existence of manuscript vocabularies, which were frequently seen in their hands, and which each individual formed as his circumstances required. Some of them attain a very respectable size, containing upwards of three thousand words and phrases, and are valuable to those who wish to learn the modes employed by natives in expressing foreign objects. But we were not aware that these collections had ever been

published until recently, when we met with the two little Vocabularies whose titles are quoted above. The first, much the most complete of the two, is a general collection of Portuguese words and phrases; the other is designed to assist the Chinese trader in his traffic with his 'red-bristled' customers. Small and imperfect as they both are, these incipient attempts in philology deserve a passing notice, inasmuch as they show the Chinese mode of doing such things; and moreover plainly declare the want that exists for fuller and better arranged dictionaries. Were this want supplied, the native merchant would not continue to use the barbarous jargon now spoken at Canton; since from a well digested grammar and dictionary he would learn English idioms; and not, as at present, arrange all his English words according to Chinese idioms.

Indeed, we are of the opinion that it would be well worth the while of some sinologue to prepare a complete vocabulary of English words for the special use of the Chinese. He could procure his materials from such manuscripts and published collections as those we allude to; and would, no doubt, by such a work materially improve the present colloquial dialect. How greatly the mutual good understanding of natives and foreigners would be improved by a better dialect, every one residing at Canton can testify. The fact that for many years to come, the task of acquiring another language will for the most part fall to the share of the native, is also another inducement for compiling such a work.

The collection of Portuguese and Chinese words is designed for natives residing at Macao and its vicinity; and in the compass of thirty-four pages contains upwards of 1200 examples. They are arranged under sixteen heads; as eatables, social relations, natural objects, buying and selling, furniture, weights, &c.; and under each division there are found words sufficient for the common intercourse of life. The examples are placed in columns, and the translation is given in Chinese sounds immediately beneath each one, but in a smaller type. The same character is always employed to represent the same sound. But while the sounds of many of the Portuguese words are expressed so uncouthly, as they are with the rough monosyllables of the Chinese, we do not see how a native can use his acquisitions in conversation without at the same time he learns the pronunciation *viva voce*. For instance

Imperador, emperor, is sounded, *in-pe-la-taw-loo*.
Agora, now, is sounded, *a-ko-lăp*.
Gente, a man, is sounded, *yen-tik*.
Casa, a house, is sounded, *kak-tsze*.
Carta, a letter, is sounded, *keel-ta*.
Dentro, within, is sounded, *teen-too-loo*.

The majority of the words are, however, represented by Chinese sounds close enough for the reader to detect the word he has heard in conversation; and also, on the other hand, for the student to catch by the ear the phrase he previously learned from the book. On the

cover there is a picture of a Portuguese, dressed in the costume of 1600, with a cocked hat, powdered cue, short breeches, and a sword. Both of the works are printed at Fushan near this city, and are anonymous. The first book is as good a 'muster' of Chinese attainments in foreign philology as we have hitherto seen; though far behind what can and ought to be accomplished in the really difficult task of expressing foreign words and ideas in Chinese.

Against the title of the second vocabulary we have a strong objection. It is another instance of the studied contempt this people endeavor to throw upon everything foreign; and cannot be too strongly reprobated. In several places, things and occupations are stigmatized by the epithet of *devilish*, and that without the least necessity. Nothing of this kind is to be discovered in the Portuguese and Chinese collection, where the term *foreign* is used. This continual endeavor to degrade the English in the eyes of their countrymen appears to run through all classes of the Chinese; and we were rather surprised that any one should have condescended to prepare a vocabulary of a 'devilish language.' The title alone is an inducement for one to give them a new and better compilation. The English vocabulary consists of only sixteen pages, containing less than 400 words, and is probably the production of the same hand as the first one. He, however, knew much less of English than he did of Portuguese. The examples are arranged under the four heads, of numbers, men and things, words used in conversation, and eatables. Some of the phrases are singular for the attempt to express a difficult sound; and others are curious for the translation given. A few examples will suffice.

Tael is pronounced *te*.
Jacket is expressed by *tik-ka*.
Alike is expressed by *a-loo-sum*, intended for all the same.
To sell is expressed by *say-lum*, or sell' em.
Commonly by *so-so*.
To exchange by *cheen-che*, or change.
To want by *kah-le*, probably derived from the Portuguese *querer*.
A clothes-seam devil is expressed by *tay-le-mun*, or tailor man.
The devil of the kitchen is a *kok-mun*, or cook.
An account is *kan-ta*, or counter.
A husband is *hah-sze-mun*.
A wife is *wi-foo*.
A beggar is not inaptly rendered by *kum-sha-mun*, or *kum-shaw-man*.
Unclean is *tah-te*, or dirty.
To call is *kah-lum*, or call 'em.
The earth is *kaw-lang*, or ground.
Distant is translated by *lang-wi*, or long way.
Please is rendered by *chin-chin*.
To set is *sheet tum*, or sit down.
Great is rendered *kah-lan-te* from the Portuguese *grande*, which is an evidence that the same person is author of both works,

Leisure is *hap-teem*, or have time.
Whither is *kwut-yu-ko*, or what you go?
To enter is *ko-yeen-si* or go inside.
Occupied is *hap-p -chun*, or have pidgeon or business.
Presently come is *tik-lik-ke-kum*, or directly come.
Not understand is *no-sha-pe*, naŏ saber, or not know.
Orange is *loo-lan-che*, like the Portuguese *laranja*.
Gentlemen's sons is translated *meet-che-mun*, or midshipman.

These are enough to show why the Chinese speak barbarous English as they do. If the teachers and books are so defective, how can we expect the scholars to be accomplished? A Chinese commits one of these vocabularies to memory, and then constructs his sentences according to the idioms of his own language; which is the only way he knows aught about the subject, and then considers himself an elegant scholar, fully able to act as an intrepreter between the high authorities of his own country and the foreign merchants! None of these 'linguists' can read the simplest document in English; nor can more than two or three of them understand two Englishmen in their common conversation. Persons in England might suppose that a Chinese would be glad to receive instruction, and qualify himself for his profession; but we know that not one of these linguists ever comes to a foreigner for aid, or ever thinks of taking any lessons in the English language. They pick up their words in conversation and from vocabularies and native teachers. Now, while such is the state of things, we think that an intelligible chrestomathy and dictionary, which will give the native the sound of the foreign word in Chinese and in English characters, with some directions for speaking with a little regard to gender, time, &c., would be an excellent means of improving the present barbarous jargon. The publication of a work of this kind would perhaps come within the sphere of a society having for its object the promotion of useful knowledge. And with such crude attempts as these before us, we can recommend the preparation of a complete dictionary to the society already established, believing that it would do much towards the improvement of our intercourse, and tend to create a better mutual good will between parties now mutually prejudiced, because each is ignorant of the other's views and motives.

Moreover, we think that foreigners, who intend to reside many years in this country, will find themselves amply rewarded for any time they may employ in learning the Chinese language. With proper attention, and suitable helps, an industrious man, by daily attention to the local dialect, for a few months, or a year or two at most, would learn such a number of words and phrases as to enable him to excuse his Chinese friends from the hard task of acquiring their *kwa hwa!* The man, too, who learns the language, even to this limited extent, will truly save himself from many impositions; and, not unfrequently, will command respect, and secure influence, far beyond what he could do without such knowledge. In this case, as in all others, he would find that knowledge is power.

ART. V. *English and American trade: statements of the trade to Canton, in vessels of Great Britain and the United States of America, from July 1st, 1836, to the 30th of June, 1837.*

THE following statements have been prepared and published under the direction of the 'General Chamber of Commerce;' we copy them from the Canton Register, where they are signed by William Scott, secretary to the committee of the Chamber. Mr. Scott has appended to the statements the following remark as a note; 'The values of the different articles must be considered as only a rough approximation to the probable average of the season; it being impossible to attain greater accuracy, owing to the Chamber having been formed at so late a period of the year, that before commencing to collect the materials from which the foregoing statement is compiled, most of the vessels had taken their departure.'

STATEMENT OF TRADE IN BRITISH VESSELS AT CANTON

IMPORTS.		Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	TOT. VAL. *Sp. Drs.*
Broad Cloth	Yds.	1295279	$ 1 20	Yard	1554335
Camlets	Pces.	16257	25.	Piece	406425
Long Ells	„	89127	9.	„	802116
Bombazetts	„	4613	11.	„	50743
Woollen Yarn	Pls.	165	100.	Pecul	16500
Flannel	Yds.	2400	.33	Yard	792
Blankets	Pairs	1322	4.	Pair	5288
Velveteens	Yds.	4966	.20	Yard	999
Cotton Yarn	Pls.	18431	40.	Pecul	737240
Long Cloths	Yds.	5629849	.12½	Yard	703730
Domestics	„	7286	.10	„	729
Handkerchiefs	Doz.	35620	1.50	Dozen	53430
Chintzes	Yds.	119808	.12½	Yard	14976
Cambrics	„	22850	„	„	2856
Linen	„	10920	.1	„	10920
Canvas	Bolts	198	12.	Bolt	2376
Gold Thread	Catties	167	40.	Catty	6680
Cochineal	Pls.	349	180.	Pecul	62820
Smalts	„	166	38.	„	6308
Ginseng	„	52	60.	„	3120
Quicksilver	„	2054	115.	„	236210
Tin Plates	Boxes	1200	7.50	Box	9000
Tin	Pls.	15732	19.	Pecul	298908
Spelter	„	2955	5.50	„	16252
Lead	„	14961	6.	„	89766
Iron	„	16238	3.	„	48714
Copper	„	54	20.	„	1080
Amber, False	Chests	42	20.	Chest	840
Betel Nut	Pls	23755	3.	Pecul	71265
Bicho de Mar	„	134	6.	„	804
					5,215,229

Imports, continued.		Quantity	Average Price.	Per	Tot. val. *Sp. Drs*
					$5215222
Birds' Nests	Catties	373	$20.	Catty	7460
Camphor, Baroos	,,	121	40.	,,	4840
Cotton, Bengal	Pls.	240192	Tls.9.	Pecul	3002400
,, Bombay	,,	347580	8.5	,,	4103375
,, Madras	,,	89579	9.	,,	1119738
Cornelians	—	—	—	value	135700
Cloves	Pls.	198	$28.	Pecul	5544
Ebony	,,	9796	3.	,,	29388
Elephants' Teeth	,,	532	85.	,,	45220
Fish Maws	,,	1501	55.	,,	82555
Glass Beads	Chests	10	18.	Chest	180
Gum Olibanum	Pls.	3820	3.	Pecul	11460
,, Animi	,,	157	4.	,,	628
,, Myrrh	,,	205	5.	,,	1025
,, Copal	,,	67	20.	,,	1340
,, Bdellium	,,	1234	4.	,,	4936
Horns, Rhinoceros	,,	20	20.	,,	400
,, Unicorn	,,	63	40.	,,	2520
Kayabuco Wood	,,	33	5.	,,	165
Mother Cloves	,,	46	10.	,,	460
Mother O'Pearl Shells	,,	1619	4.	,,	6476
Opium, Patna	Chests	7192	778.	Chest	5595376
,, Benares	,,	2575	683.	,,	1758725
,, Malwa	,,	17687	675.	Pecul	11938725
,, Turkey	Pls.	292	611.	value	178412
Pearls	—	—	—	,,	120000
Pepper	Pls.	12311	8.	Pecul	98488
Pimento	,,	30	10.	,,	300
Putchuck	,,	357	18	,,	6426
Rattans	,,	8155	3.	,,	24465
Rice	,,	218949	1.50	,,	328424
Saltpetre	,,	10031	7.50	,,	75233
Sandal wood	,,	10325	22.	,,	227150
Sapan Wood	,,	142	3	,,	426
Seahorse Teeth	,,	44	40.	,,	1760
Sharksfins	,,	4650	26	each	120900
Skins, Land Otter	No	7376	6.	,,	44256
,, Sea Otter	,,	834	40.	,,	33360
,, do. Tails	,,	713	4.	,,	2852
,, Rabbit	,,	9981	.50	,,	4990
,, Musk-rat	,,	4735	1.	Pecul	4735
Soap	Pls.	162	3.	,,	486
Stockfish	,,	1195	5.	,,	5975
Sundries	—	—	—	value	77224
Treasure, Gold	—	—	—	,,	5912
,, Plata Pina	—	—	—	,,	87393
,, Bar Silver	—	—	—	,,	70226
,, Dollars	—	—	—	,,	307409
				Spanish Dollars.	34 900 662

Advances negotiated by the East India Company, from 1st May 1836 to 30th April 1837, Spanish Dollars 1,136,663 = £ 368,236.8*s*.10*d*.

Exports.		Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	Tot. val. *Sp. Drs.*
Alum	Pls	35632	2.50	Pecul	85080
Anniseed	Chests	383	11.	Chests	4213
Arsenic	,,	114	10.	,,	1140
Bangles	,,	66	50.	,,	3300
Beads	,,	1345	18.	,,	24210
Brass Leaf	,,	231	45.	,,	10395
Bricks	No.	100000	5.	Mil	500
Camphor	Chests	863	33.	Chests	28479
Capoor Cutchery	,,	78	6.	,,	468
Cassia	,,	11675	5.	,,	58375
Chinaware	—	—	—	Value	16346
,, Root	Pls.	665	3.50	Pecul	2328
Cochineal	,,	153	180.	,,	27540
Copper	,,	11	20.	,,	220
do. White	Boxes	49	50.	Box	2450
do. Ware	—	—	—	Value	830
Corals, false	Chests	124	40.	Chests	4960
Cotton Yarn	Pls	5643	40.	Pecul	225720
Crackers	Boxes	3762	4.	Box	15048
Galangal	Pls	266	3.50	Pecul	931
Gauze	—	—	—	Value	300
Gold Ware	—	—	—	,,	4450
Grass Cloth	—	—	—	,,	4120
Gum Benjamin	Chts.	38	40.	Chest	1520
Hartall	Pls.	612	14.	Pecul	8568
Hats	Boxes	56	50.	Box	2800
Ivory Wire	—	—	—	Value	2200
Kittisolls	Chts.	2007	11.	Cht.	22077
do. Silk	,,	61	13.	,,	793
Lacquered Ware	—	—	—	Value	3630
Marble Slabs	Boxes	3856	5.	Box	19280
Matting	—	—	—	Value	4532
Musk	—	—	—	,,	17600
Nankeens	—	—	—	,,	109718
Oils Spice	Pls.	78	30.	Pecul	2340
Paper, White	Chests	2338	13.	Chest	30394
,, Colored	,,	237	12.	,,	2844
,, Gilt	,,	287	15.	,,	4305
,, Cards	,,	19	30.	,,	570
Pearls false	—	—	—	Value	13991
,, seed	—	—	—	,,	105
Preserves	Boxes	1050	4.	Box	4200
Rhubarb	Pls.	922	58.	Pecul	53476
Silk, Canton &c.	,,	6635	T. 200.	,,	1843056
,, Nankin	,,	13762	455.	,,	6261710
,, Piece Goods	—	—	—	Value	338212
Silver Ware	—	—	—	,,	4645
Sugar	Pls.	63803	T. 5.2	Pecul	460800
					$9,733,769

EXPORTS, CONTINUED.		Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	TOT. VAL. *Sp. Drs.*
					$9,733,769
Sugar Candy	Pls	31377	T. 7.	Pecul	305054
Sweetmeats	Boxes	1161	$ 4.50	Box	5225
		Pls. T.	Taels		
Tea, Canton Bohea		702 a 14	9,828		
Fokien do.		447 a 16	7,152		
Congo		183509 a 32	5872,288		
Caper		5094 a 26	132 444		
Souchong		19100 a 50	955,000		
Campoi		287 a 30	8,610		
Ankoi		1274 a 21	26,754		
Hungmuey		3989 a 32	127 648		
Pekoe		2952 a 71	209,592		
Orange Pekoe		7088 a 31	219,728		
Black		224442 Pls.	7569,044	=	10512562
Hyson		19923 a 61	1215,303		
Young Hyson		5118 a 38	194,484		
Hyson Skin		12613 a 26	327,938		
Twankay		31448 a 29	911,992		
Gunpowder		4557 a 58	266,046		
Imperial		3149 a 55	173,195		
Green		76838	3088,958	=	4290220
Not specified		6925 a 34	235,450	=	327013
Tiles	No.	21000	10.	Mil.	210
Tobacco	Pls.	400	25.	Pecul	10000
Trunks	Sets	329	22.	Set	7238
Umbrellas	Chests	200	20.	Chest	4000
Velvet	Boxes	119	70.	Box	8330
Vermilion	,,	1096	63.	,,	69048
Sundries	—	—	—	Value	62615
Treasure, Gold	Taels	43919	23.50.	Tael	1032098
Sycee	—	2058754	5. per cent	Prem.	3002350
Dollars, Spanish	—	—	—	—	728395
South American		68304	3. per cent	Dct.	66255
					30,168,380

AVERAGE DISBURSEMENTS

On 77 Vessels at Whampoa		$ 6000 each	462,000	
38 do.	do. with rice	1500	57,000	
56 do.	Lintin	750	42,000	561,000
Balance				4,171,282
			Spanish Dollars.	34,900,662

STATEMENT OF TRADE IN AMERICAN VESSELS AT CANTON.

IMPORTS.		Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	TOT. VAL. *Sp. Drs.*
Broadcloth	Yds	263344	1.20	Yard	316013
Camlets	Pce	5042	25.	Piece	126050
Long Ells	,,	34472	9.	,,	310248
Bombazettes	,,	6344	11.	,,	69784
Woolen Yarn	Pls.	76	100.	Pecul	7600
Blankets	Pairs	1251	4.	Pair	5004
Cotton Yarn	Pls.	4232	40.	Pecul	169280
Long Cloth	Yds.	3605826	.12½	Yard	450728
Do. Dyed	,,	391117	.14	,,	54756
Domestics	,,	489520	.10	,,	48952
Handkerchiefs	Dox	20783	1.50	Dozen	31173
Chintz	Yds.	194964	.12½	Yard	24370
Cambrics	,,	3000	.12½	,,	375
Velveteens	,,	4400	.20	,,	880
Linen	,,	5726	1.	,,	5726
Canvas	Bolts	420	12.	Bolt	5040
Ginseng	Pls.	1509	60.	Pecul	90540
Cochineal	,,	132	180.	,,	23760
Quicksilver	,,	501	115.	,,	57615
Tin	,,	834	19.	,,	15846
Spelter	,,	3049	5.50	,,	16770
Lead	,,	9946	6.	,,	59676
Iron	,,	3490	3.	,,	10470
Copper	,,	2288	20.	,,	45760
Betel Nut	,,	2005	3.	,,	6015
Cloves	,,	122	28.	,,	3416
Mother o' Pearl Shells	,,	449	4.	,,	1796
Nutmegs	,,	39	120.	,,	4680
Opium, Benares	Chests	5	683.	Chest	3415
,, Turkey	Pls	446	611.	Pecul	272506
Pepper	,,	2292	8.	,,	18336
Rattans	,,	3781	3.	,,	11343
Rice	,,	577578	1.50	,,	866367
Skins, Beaver	No.	1465	4.	Each	5860
,, Fox	,,	1198	1.20	,,	1438
,, Land Otter	,,	6773	6.	,,	40638
,, Sea Otter	,,	560	40.	,,	22400
,, do Tails	,,	310	4.	,,	1240
,, Musk-rat	,,	410	1.	,,	410
Sundries	—	—	—	Value	8450
Treasure, Dollars	—	—	—	,,	428485
Plata Pina	—	—	—	,,	35485
					3,678,696
Balance					4,524,173
				Spanish Dollars.	8,202,869

EXPORTS.			Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	TOT. VAL. *Sp. Drs.*
			Pls. T.	Taels		
Tea, Bohea -	Chests	2183	1266 a 11	13,926		
Souchong -	,,	29139	17483 a 20	349,660		
Pouchong -	,,	4644	2322 a 25	58,050		
Pekoe - -	,,	1604	802 a 30	24,060		
Black	,,	37570	Pls 21873	T.445,696	=	619,022
			Pls. Taels			
Hyson - -	,,	19986	9993 a 45	449,685		
Young Hyson -	,,	93056	63278 a 28	1771,784		
Hyson Skin -	,,	24557	12524 a 22	275,528		
Twankay -	,,	5211	3181 a 28	89,068		
Gunpowder -	,,	9373	7790 a 50	389,500		
Imperial - -	,,	8051	5722 a 47	268,934		
Green	,,	160234	Pls. 102488	3244,499	=	4,506,248
Total Chests.		197804	Pls. 124361	3690,195	=	5,125,270
PIECE GOODS.						
Crape Shawls - -		No.	38962	$2.	Each	77924
Do. Do. embrd.		,,	44017	5.		220085
Do. Do. damasked		,,	40150	2.	,,	80300
Levantine Do. -		,,	4360	3.	,,	13080
Crape Scarfs - -		,,	17549	2.	,,	35098
Damasked Do. - -		,,	7950	.90	,,	7155
Black Handkerchiefs		Pcs.	41629	4.75	Piece	197738
Pongee Do. - -		,,	36310	7.	,,	254170
Sarsnet Do. - -		,,	1791	5.50	,,	9850
Lutestring Do. - -		,,	100	10.	,,	1000
Levantine Do. - -		,,	48	10.	,,	480
Crapes - - -		,,	1282	8.	,,	10256
Senshaws - - -		,,	11814	10.25	,,	121093
Do. Black - -		,,	475	10.25	,,	4869
Sarsnets Do. - -		,,	8242	7.50	,,	61815
,, White -		,,	3014	16.	,,	48224
,, Common -		,,	3166	13.50	,,	42741
,, Colored -		,,	1719	12.	,,	20628
Levantines - -		,,	2332	9.	,,	20988
Satin -		,,	2572	14.	,,	36008
Satins - - -		,,	6582	15.	,,	98730
,, Colored -		,,	1250	18.50	,,	23125
,, Damasked -		,,	1031	20.	,,	20620
Camlets - - -		,,	1254	10.	,,	12540
Pongees White - -		,,	40154	11.	,,	441694
,, Szechuen -		,,	22267	4.50	,,	100202
Lutestrings - -		,,	1476	8.	,,	11808
Do. mixed -		,,	499	7.	,,	3493
Meenchow - -		,,	200	4.25	,,	850
						$2,501,184

Exports, continued.		Quantity.	Average Price.	Per	Tot. val. *Sp. Drs.*
					2,501,184
Concan	,,	225	9.	Piece	2025
Figured Silk	,,	290	20.	,,	5800
Silk Dresses	No.	100	15.	Each	1500
Taffeta	Pcs.	592	34.50	Piece	20424
Grass Cloth	,,	12330	8.	,,	98640
Co. Handkerchiefs	,,	1325	4.	,,	5300
Gauze	,,	2525	4.	,,	10100
Nankins, Blue	,,	44956	.65	,,	29221
,, Yellow	,,	4950	.70	,,	3465
Sewing Silk	Pls.	410	450.	Pecul	184500
Raw Silk	,,	125	400.	,,	50000
Miscellaneous.					
Alum	Pls.	10	2.50	,,	25
Anniseed	,,	20	10.	,,	200
Baskets	,,	—	—	Value	120
Camphor	,,	1980	35.	Pecul	69300
Cassia	,,	5800	10.50	,,	60900
Do. Buds	,,	30	14.	,,	420
China Ink	Catties	231	1.	Catty	231
,, Ware	,,			Value	32179
Crackers	Boxes	21700	1.	Box	21700
Dragon's Blood	Pls.	6	60.	Pecul	360
Fans & Fire Screens	No.	161143	.1½	Each	2417
Feather Fans	,,	2200	.40	,,	880
Galangal	Pls.	127	3.50	Pecul	445
Gamboge	,,	13	55.	,,	715
Ivory Ware	—	—	—	Value	5528
Lacquered Ware	—	—	—	,,	5929
Matting	Rolls	26342	4.	Each	105368
Mats, Bamboo	—			Value	33
M. o'Pearl Buttons	Gross	184300	.10	Gross	18430
Marble Slabs	—	—	—	Value	50
Paper	Pls.	10	20.	Pecul	200
Rattans, Split	,,	100	20.	,,	2000
Rhubarb	,,	95	40.	,,	3800
Spice Oils	,,	173	120.	,,	20760
Sugar	,,	15469	8.	,,	123752
Sugar Candy	,,	40	7.	,,	280
Sweetmeats	,,	2225	14.	,,	31150
Trunks	Sets	157	23.	Set	3611
Sundries	—	—	—	Value	2287
					8,025,869

Average disbursements.

11 Ships at Whampoa	6000 = 66.000		
63 do. do. with rice	1500 = 94.500		
22 do. Lintin	750 = 16.500		177,000
		Spanish Dollars.	8,202,869

ART. VI. *Missionary travels in China and Chinese Tartary, by the bishop of Corea. From the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. No. L.*

[Not having access to the original of these travels, we have borrowed the following article from the [London] Athenæum, for Feb. 25th, 1837. In the number for August, 1836 (vol. 5, p. 147), there is a notice of "the bishop of Corea, who left Penang on his mission to that country in 1832." It appears, consequently, that two bishops were at the same time, by different routes, on their way to Corea. We give the article from the Athenæum entire.]

THE late bishop of Capsa, M. Bruguiere, having been apppointed vicar apostolic and head of the Catholic mission in Corea, traversed the most important parts of the Chinese empire to reach his destination. The journals of his travels has just been published in the work before us—a periodical designed as a continuation of the celebrated 'Lettres Edifiantes.' Having recently noticed the voyages of a Protestant missionary to the Corean peninsula, we shall, without further preface, proceed to cull the additional information respecting China and its dependencies, supplied by the Catholic prelate. We must premise that M. Bruguiere's title was the only profit he derived from his bishopric; and that want of money compelled him to travel more like a mendicant than a vicar apostolic. Unable even to pay for the comforts of a European vessel, he was forced to become a passenger on board the Chinese junks; and he has given some curious details of the system of naviatgion practised on board these vessels. But we must first hear his report of Manila, the capital of the Philippine islands—a city once earnestly coveted by our countrymen, but whose name has now almost fallen into oblivion. * * * The bishop says, that the people of Manila are devotedly attached to Catholicism; and he attributes their adherence to Spain to the strength of their religious feelings; he confesses, however, that there are some partisans for innovation even in the Philippine islands. There are three millions of Catholic Indians in the island of Luzon; but paganism is still the religion of the mountain tribes, who are said to regard Christianity as a badge of servitude. The archbishop of Manila lent our missionary a sum sufficient to pay his passage to Macao. Soon after his arrival at this port he embarked on board of a Chinese junk for Fuhgan, the residence of the vicar apostolic for the province of Fuhkeën; and this voyage, of scarcely two hundred leagues in length, was more than two months in duration. The causes of this delay were the ignorance and timidity of the Chinese sailors. The bishop says,—

We remained at anchor from the 19th to the 26th (of December, 1832); and like delays happened frequently. The captain declared that the wind was contrary; they wanted a southerly wind, and the northeasterly monsoon had just commenced. The Chinese do not know how to beat up against a contrary wind: the clumsy build of their ships, and the fear that they have of

losing their reckoning, never allow them to take a bold offing; they always keep the land in sight; and this makes their navigation long and dangerous. They have a compass, it is true, but they make little use of it; I doubt if they are even acquainted with its variations. On the 26th we at length proceeded, but cast anchor after four hours' sailing, because the captain found the weather very cold, yet we had not passed the 22d degree of latitude. Similar reasons detained us two months and a half on our voyage. The wind, the rain, the tide, the fear of pirates, interrupted our navigation. Every night we sought shelter in some creek under the cannon of some fort, if such a name may be given to a ruinous building defended only by an old mandarin and his domestics. Under most of these forts an armed bark was stationed, to protect the junks from the assault of the pirates, who infest these seas in the eleventh and twelfth months. On the 28th several pirate barks, well armed, attacked us. They commenced by seizing two small junks which were a little in advance of our squadron. As the sailors made no resistance, the buccaneers only stripped them stark naked, offering no violence to their persons. . . . . Our turn came next; our captain hung out a signal of distress, and hailed the neighboring barks, six of them united and formed a line; the crews only supplied a contingent of one hundred and forty men without arms; the pirates were more than three hundred in number, well armed; for in China it is forbidden to have weapons on board merchant ships, under severe penalties; and pirates alone dispense with this law. God had pity on us, the pirates retired without venturing an attack.

Having escaped all the dangers from lubberly sailors and cowardly pirates, the bishop at length reached Fuhgar. He thus describes the surrounding country :—

The district of Fuhgan is a country covered with hills and mountains of moderate size, some of which are clothed with dwarf pines, and the tea shrub. This precious shrub is chiefly produced in the province of Fuhkeën. Generally speaking, the mountains of China, and great part of Tartary, are bare and sterile. It is only by great patience and labor that the inhabitants can render them productive in some places; they have generally a barren and melancholy aspect.

From Fuhgan the bishop proceeded to Nanking: he praises highly the fertility and beauty of the province of Keängnan, and incidentally informs us that the negligence of the Chinese fiscal authorities affords the greatest possible facilities to smugglers; but that Europeans are objects of hatred and suspicion, not only to the government, but to the people. The bishop assumed the disguise of a native, and he gives a melancholy account of the difficulties he had to encounter in accommodating himself to the Chinese usages, and the dangers of detection arising from the slightest deviation; even the native Christians, dreading that his presence might be made a pretext for prosecution, tried to force him to return. Though his health was broken, his money almost gone, and his guides dispirited, the bishop persevered, and pursued his route towards Tartary, sometimes in one of the rude vehicles of the country, but most frequently on foot. One of his adventures is characteristic of the social state of China. Disguised as a mandarin, he passed in a chariot the barriers of the province of Shanse.

We met some convicts, whom they were leading into exile, bound together by a long chain; when they saw us, the troops that conducted them sat

down upon the ground, one soldier alone holding the end of the chain. Immediately a dispute arose between the convicts and my followers. "We want money," shouted the malefactors. "You shall have none," replied my guides. "We will allow ourselves to be crushed by your chariot wheels," exclaimed the wretches, throwing themselves down in the middle of the road. "Clear the way," shouted the driver. "We will not—give us money, or we will die here." From words they came to blows; my people dragged them by the chain from under the chariot, not without receiving some smart blows. My guide gave a vigorous pull, and remained master of the field of battle. Unfortunately the convicts had their wives with them, and these ladies took their place and renewed the combat. In this country, to lay hands on a female, even in self-defence, is an affair of state. It was necessary, therefore, to have recourse to prayers and compliments. My interpreter, who was very polite, made them an eloquent harangue, but nothing could shake their purpose. They placed themselves under the feet of the horses, and declared they would not stir without money. We were forced to negociate, and purchase a free passage for about six francs. We might have had recourse to a mandarin, but the accusation would have exposed me to the imminent hazard of discovery. The soldiers looked as if they had no concern whatever in this singular combat; instead of checking the insolence of their prisoners, they remained tranquil spectators, doubtless expecting their share of the spoil. In some districts of China they rob openly, but rarely commit murder. Within thirty leagues of Peking, there has been for some years a society of robbers: they plunder publicly, and in the face of day. The magistrates who ought to watch over the public safety favor this disorder, and share in the spoil.

After wandering about for some months in continual fear of detection, the bishop was informed that he might obtain a safe asylum in Chinese Tartary, until the Coreans were prepared for his reception. The Great Wall of China is no longer an impassable barrier between Tartary and the Celestial Empire: smugglers pass openly through its crumbling breaches; and though the gates are still guarded, the warders are remarkable for anything rather than vigilance. The account which our author gives of this celebrated structure, corrects the extravagant descriptions of previous writers:—

On the 7th of October, 1834, we arrived at the Great Wall, so highly extolled by those who know nothing about it, and so emphatically described by those who have never seen it. This and other wonders of China should only be seen in pictures to maintain their reputation. The Great Wall has nothing remarkable, but its length, which is about fifteen hundred miles: its principal direction is from east to west; but a little to the north of Shanse it trends to the west south-west. This rampart, formerly covered with bricks which have tumbled down, forms the frontier of three or four provinces, each of which would, in Europe, be a considerable kingdom. In the plains and ravines it is a regular wall fenced with battlements, between thirty and forty feet high; on the mountains, I doubt if its height exceeds ten feet; indeed, on the heights, it is little more than a ridge of earth, flanked by numerous projections like redoubts, but there is no person to guard them. There are gates at regular intervals for the convenience of travelers and the levy of transit-duties . . . I passed through the gate called Chan Tchakú (Changkeä kow), it is that through which the Russians go on their road to Peking. No one paid the least attention to me; the guards turned their backs, as if to give courage to me and my followers. Were a more rigorous watch kept, it would be easy to cross the wall in the mountains, or through the breaches which time has made.

The bishop chose for his residence the village of Sivang (Sewang), in Tartary, which is chiefly inhabited by native Christians. Though the latitude is not more than 41° north, he found the climate more cold than that of Poland. On one occasion he states—

I celebrated mass in a little chapel crowded with people. There were two chafing-dishes beside the altar; the wine was kept in a vessel of warm water; but notwithstanding these precautions, it was with difficulty I kept the sacred elements from freezing.

The soil is poor, harvests frequently fail, and famines are common:—

Hemp is the plant which best repays the cultivator; it attains the height of seven or eight feet, and sometimes more. Within the last few years potatoes have been introduced from Russia; they thrive very well, and yield a good produce.

So that the roots which sir Walter Raleigh planted in his garden at Youghal, have nearly made the circuit of the globe. The influence of cultivation on climate is strongly marked at Sivang:—

The part of Tartary in which Sivang is placed, has only been cultivated within the last ninety years. Great as the cold is now, it is less than it formerly was; for they raise grain that would not have grown here thirty years ago. The effects of tillage in improving the climate, were observed by the Greeks in Thrace, and the Romans in Gaul; at Sivang they are within the experience of the present generation

We have had no good account of Tartary since Rubruquis was sent to make a treaty with the khan Sartash, by St. Louis, in the thirteenth century. The bishop hints that he meditated preparing a full description of this remote country; and on this account his notices of the customs and manners are unfortunately meagre and desultory:—

The two castes of Tartars (Mantchous and Mongols) profess Lamaism. The Mongols are a filthy race; they wipe their filthy hands dripping with grease in their cloaks, to show that they can afford to eat meat. When a Mongol Tartar wishes to compliment his host or guest, he takes a huge bone, and gnaws it all round, and then hands it to his friend, who gnaws it in turn. At the end of the repast, the Tartar first wipes his fingers in his host's robe, drawing a streak of grease from his head to heel: and politeness requires the host to reciprocate this delicate attention.

Lamaism is a variety of Budhism—perhaps the most prevalent creed in the world. The account given of it by the bishop of Capsa adds little to our previous information. The chief novelty he communicates is, that the monastic institutions of the Lamas, for both sexes, are more rigid in their rules of celibacy than those of the Chinese and Burmese. The similarity between the ecclesiastical discipline of Lamaism and the Papacy, gave rise to the belief in the Christian kingdom of Prester John, described in such extravagant terms by the writers of the middle ages. Our author, however, seems very reluctant to admit this simple explanation, and suggests that the Christians might have been extirpated by Genghis khan. But that conqueror was not a persecutor; he had several Nestorians in his service; and many

Nestorian Christians were found in Tartary by the embassadors of St. Louis.

While the bishop remained at Sivang, the viceroy, alarmed by the excesses of the Chinese sectaries called Pihleënkeaou, (worshipers of the flower of the Nymphæa,) ordered a severe inquisition of those suspected of professing Christianity, apparently believing that there was some connexion between the two religions. The poor bishop was exposed to great dangers, but was preserved by the friendship of some mandarins, who did not share the error of the superiors. As we have mentioned the name of the secret society, which will probably at no distant date change the constitution of the celestial empire, it will not be uninteresting to give some account of so formidable a body, supplying the defects of the bishop's description from other sources.

Since the conquest of China by the Mantchou Tartars, two centuries ago, a large party has existed, anxious to restore the ancient line of native sovereigns: the members, being closely watched by the imperial government, formed a secret society, similar to that of the freemasons, but ruled and organized like the Jesuits, from one of whom, indeed, it has been said that the plan of the institution was obtained. The society soon extended its ramifications into every part of the empire; and its members are supposed to amount to several millions; they are united by the most solemn oaths of secrecy and mutual assistance; they have signs and pass-words known only to themselves; they have a common purse to meet the exigencies of the order; and they are remarkable for their implicit obedience to the commands of their unknown superior. In the year 1794, they made a vigorous effort to overthrow the reigning dynasty, and their ravages were not suppressed until 1802. Occasional revolts have occured since; but the Pihleënkeaou have conducted their operations so cautiously, that all the efforts of the imperial ministers have failed to discover their leaders. The connection, real or supposed, between this secret society and the Jesuits, was the cause of the cruel persecution of the Chinese Christians, at the commencement of the present century.

Having escaped from the dangers of persecution, the bishop began his perilous journey to Corea; and he had nearly reached the frontiers of that country, when he fell a victim to famine and fatigue. The continuation of his journal, after his departure from Sivang, has not been received by his brethren, and there is no account given of his notes.

The general impression produced by the bishop's narrative is, that the Chinese have retrograded in civilization under the Tartars; and that the government is in a state of deplorable and increasing weakness. It is manifest that the people have ceased to respect laws which are openly contemned by pubic functionaries: the bishop was once mistaken for an English smuggler of opium; his interpreter being absent, he could not explain the error; but a bribe of a few pence was sufficient to put an end to all disquietude. Christianity, though proscribed, is openly professed; and persecutions occur only

when an avaricious governor wants a pretext to extort money. Piracy and smuggling are acknowledged trades, and the mandarins are quieted by a share of the profits. There is every reason to hope that the tea trade will not long be confined to Canton; the inhabitants of Fuhkeën, the province in which the shrub grows, are described by our author as the most enterprising smugglers and sailors in China; and in the present disorganized state of the government, they would not be deterred from a profitable traffic by mere fiscal regulations. Though the state of the Catholic Christians in China engaged a considerable share of the bishop's attention, we regret that his account of them is a tissue of vague generalities: he does not supply any data for estimating their number; and from his dwelling very minutely on a few instances of conversion, we are led to conclude that they are of rare occurrence.

ART. VII. *Memorial from the chief provincial authorities, desiring to limit the number of the hong merchants to thirteen. Dated Canton, September*, 1837.

A RESPECTFUL memorial, the sacred perusal of which is solicited, in relation to the merchants engaged in foreign trade, showing that they are now sufficiently numerous for the transaction of business, and requesting that the old regulations in regard to the appointment of such merchants be restored, with the view of clearly laying down a limit, and of arresting wide-spreading evils.

Our humble opinion is, that the port of Canton being open to a general commerce with foreigners, it is of the first importance, that the hong merchants, by whom the trade is conducted, should be proper men; in which case alone can the cherishing kindness of the throne be seconded. To enable the ship-traveled people to be, universally, recipients of joy and advantage, and to prevent smuggling and enrich the revenue, depend wholly upon them. Their relation to the affairs of the customs is not then at all trivial.

Formerly the hongs engaged in foreign trade were in all thirteen; but in length of days negligence having arisen, some among them became, in consequence, defaulters to the revenue, and fell into debt, on which account they absconded, or were subjected to punishment. Hence in the 11th year of Keäking (1806), the then superintendent of customs, Tihking, presented a memorial, wherein he requested that a senior merchant should be appointed to regulate all the affairs of the hongs: and that, in future, whenever a new merchant should be chosen, the senior and all the hong merchants should jointly bind themselves, by signing a security, for him. In answer to this memorial the following imperial edict was received:

"Tihking has presented a report of the result of his investigations of the state of the custom-house. The merchants engaged in foreign trade, in Canton, who enter into security for the payment of the duties, have hitherto been admitted to fill their places, upon the security of only one or two merchants being given for them. Then, when involved in distresses and reduced in circumstances, they have either become defaulters, or have fallen into debt and absconded; and thus, much evil and many illegalities have resulted. Let it be as the said superintendent of customs has requested. Let a careful selection be made, from among all the hong merchants, of one or two individuals, of wealthy and substantial connections, and of honest and sterling character, and let them be appointed to the general management of the affairs of the hongs engaged in foreign trade, to lead and direct all the other hong merchants and with equity and justice to amend what is wrong: and let the names of the senior merchants thus selected be recorded in the public offices, and reported to the Board. Whenever a new merchant is to be chosen to fill up a vacant place, let the whole body of the hong merchants, seniors and others, enter into a joint and general suretiship for him, and let the matter be communicated, in a distinct form, to the Board. If any one be expelled or retire, let it be reported, that whatever relates to him may be erased. And every year on the day, when the custom-house is closed, let a complete list of the hong merchants' names be made, and presented to the Board, for examination and re erence. Let the Board of Revenue be made acquainted with these directions. Respect this."

Afterwards, in the ninth year of Taoukwang (1829), the then superintendent of customs, Yenlung, finding that none would come forward as hong merchants, and fearing that the senior merchants, having the responsibility of the suretiship, purposely made hindrances and objections, recommended for establishment some new and altered regulations, which having been laid before the throne, the following imperial edict was received:

"Yenlung has laid before us a memorial, requesting a change in the regulations in reference to the bringing in of new merchants. In the province of Kwangtung, hongs are established for carrying on foreign trade. Formerly, a man was allowed to become a hong merchant, on obtaining the security of one or two of their number: but in the reign of Keäking, permission was given to appoint senior merchants to conduct the general affairs, and to require of any one, being chosen as a new merchant, that he should have the jointly-signed security of the senior and all the other merchants. These senior merchants have continually been in the practice of purposely making objections, so that the new merchants are too few to complete the regulated numbers; and it is difficult to get the vacant numbers filled up. Hence, for several years past, while the foreign ships have been daily increasing in number, the number of hongs has been constantly diminishing; so that it is difficult for them to give due attention to all things, and illegalities rapidly spring up. It is certainly right, taking these things into consideration, to make a change. Let it be as is requested. Hereafter, if a man in opulent circumstances and of good connections prefer a request to be made hong merchant, and the superintendent of customs find that what he states of himself is correct, let him be put on trial for one or two years; and if he then be found really correct and upright in his dealings, and possessing the confidence of the foreign merchants, and have paid up all the duties without defalcation, let him, according to the old regulations, obtain the security of one or two hong merchants, and on so doing receive his appointment. Let the rule, that the joint security of the senior and all the other merchants is to be procured, be forthwith annulled. Respect this."

These direction were respectfully recorded and obeyed; and from that time onwards, merchants have successively come forward to supply vacancies, so that the full number of thirteen hongs, formerly existing, is now again complete; and there is no cause for anxiety on the ground of there not being enough to pay due attention to business: among those, is Pwan Wanhae, of the new hong Jinho, who has been on trial seven years, and though frequently urged to it, has never yet obtained securities, nor in consequence been reported to the Board; also, Yeih Yuenchang of the new hong Footae, Lo Futae of the new hong Tungchang, with Yung Yewkwang of the new hong Anchang—not yet entered on the list presented to the Board, who have been on trial from upwards of one, to about two years. These persons we have commanded, in obedience to the last-established regulations, speedily to obtain the true and faithful securities of one or two merchants, that their names may be reported to the Board, and they be duly appointed, in order to give weight to the principle of responsibility; and for doing this, we have limited them to a period of one month. If the period pass over, without their obtaining a merchant to give securities for them, we will immediately communicate with each other, and erase their names, at the same time making inquiry if there are any transactions commenced by them during their period of trial, and yet unfinished, and in that case strictly urging the completion thereof, under governmental inspection.

In making regulations, however, the first and most important thing is, to ascertain what is most suitable; and in establishing laws, it is desirable to adopt such as may long continue unchanged. The new regulations, sanctioned on the representation of Yenlung, and now in force, we, your majesty's ministers, have found, after diligent and faithful examination, and joint discussion, to have been suited to the past, but to be unsuitable to the present state of things; and to have given rise to evils, which result in impeding their operation and rendering them ineffective. The full number of hongs engaged in foreign trade at Canton has, for a very long period, been thirteen: and even when the vessels have been numerous, and the amount of duties large, there has never been any anxiety in regard to their being unable to attend to all their concerns. But Yenlung, seeing that the hongs were weakened and reduced to half their number, and impelled by this temporary state of circumstances, effected the alteration—that any opulent person, applying of his own accord to become hong merchant, if his representations be found on inquiry to be true, should be permitted to enter on a course of trial. But what limit ought to be prescribed was not once made a subject of consideration. Thus the common people, striving together for gain, and snatching every opportunity—the appointments may go on gradually and endlessly increasing. Then the merchants being numerous, their characters must be various and often not free from alloy. In this way, it must indeed become difficult to pay due attention to all affairs.

During upwards of ten years past, silver bullion has been exported, and the poisonous opium has been spread throughout the

empire, giving rise to a crowd of illegalities—smuggling contraband articles, and evading the lawful duties. While in this we see scoundrels who are *without*, entering into compact to do evil, it would be difficult to ensure that the contamination does not actually commence *within*. Thus, in the third month of the present year, a criminal, Leäng Ake, was apprehended as a smuggler; and on his trial there appeared a letter, from the hong merchant Lo Futoe to an escaped criminal Ching Yungping, wherein allusion was made to Lo Heaoufung, naval captain in the department of Shaouking, as concerned in the establishment of that hong. I, your minister Tăng, in consequence, represented the circumstance against him to your majesty, and received your imperial pleasure to remove from Le Heaouping his rank, and to bring him to the capital, to be tried. Although the trial of the case has not yet terminated, yet it is already plain that the said merchant, not being affluent, has connected himself with lawless people. If now, when investigation of this subject is being made with the utmost strictness and closest attention, the spread of the evil be not quickly arrested, it is truly to be feared that these illegalities will increase to a very great degree.

Moreover, the plan of placing men on a course of trial was adopted as an important means of selecting good merchants. But how unfathomable is the human mind! How shall it be ascertained, that men are not, during the one or two years of trial, artfully patching up, to save appearances, in order that, after their appointment as merchants, they may pursue their law-subverting plans? Then, when the time has elapsed, and the necessary securities have been obtained, the leak in the patched kettle is when too late, discovered; though the law pursue such a person, yet how is the loss already suffered to be made up? Hence it is perfectly clear, and beyond a doubt, that the plan of passing through a course of trial is not in the least to be depended on. But the old regulation, sanctioned at the desire of Tihking, that the securities given for a merchant shall consist of a joint bond entered into by all, being agreeable to the common and general sense of justice, how solid and substantial is the security it gives! By the framers of the new regulation, it was found fault with, as giving scope to make objections and present hindrances; and hence they altered it, deciding hastily to sanction an appointment on the surety of one or two merchants. They did not call to mind, that the result of such objections and hindrances—delay—is but the lesser evil: for these one or two merchants, if not his immediate relatives or intimates, are probably induced to secure him by presents; and when suddenly his affairs are upset, the injury that is thereby caused is indeed great.

Furthermore, in all cases of prosecution of these merchants, the property sequestered not sufficing to pay all demands, the whole body of the merchants has been directed to pay them by instalments. This practice has now by long usage become a rule; and whether standing surety for the defaulter or not, none can in the least degree evade it. But when they have to pay for one whom they did not secure, the payers must indeed find it difficult quietly to submit. Is it not much bet-

ter, that they for whom they pay should be secured by them, by which a remedy will be obtained for careless security, in the caution which each will observe?

Our feeble and obscure views, we, your ministers, would humbly represent to be these:—That, as the number of the hong merchants has been filled up, and there is no deficiency, but the number is sufficient for conducting affairs, a limitation should at once be plainly prescribed: That it is our duty to request, that hereafter, when any of the thirteen hong merchants fails, or is for any caused expelled, or retires, then as each vacancy occurs, permission be given to supply it; but that, except in such case, it be not permitted, without sufficient cause, to add a single merchant to the number: That it is unnecessary to prescribe a period for going through a course of trial, vainly adopting a nominal, but unreal, check; but that, at the time of appointing a merchant, the old rule should be reestablished, of giving a general security; the whole body of merchants, seniors and others, being required jointly and carefully to select an opulent, honorable, and upright man, and to sign their names together to a bond of security for him,—the whole to be laid in a separate form before the Board of Revenue, that the man may be fully appointed: That not the slightest evasion and hindrance be suffered, so that every monopolizing purpose may be disappointed: That, lastly, in all other respects the former regulations be retained as the rule according to which all affairs are to be safely conducted. Thus a fixed limit will be laid down; and, it is hoped, the numbers will be properly circumscribed, and not in excess; those who become merchants will bring with them large property, so that there will be something on which the responsibility can rest; and those who secure them will, as a matter of necessity, seek for really and substantially good persons. It may be expected also to be not wanting in advantage, as enriching the revenue, and as tending utterly to put an end to all compacts in wrong-doing. We present our views before the throne, with the desire of reforming the affairs of the custom-house, and unite together in a joint memorial, respectfully awaiting the imperial decision as to their propriety or impropriety; and to this end we humbly solicit our sovereign to cast on them a glance, and to vouchsafe instructions. A respectful memorial.

ART. VIII. *Imperial edict, communicated to the hong merchants from the hoppo, requiring certain foreigners to leave Canton.*

Wăn, superintendent of maritime customs in Canton, &c., to the hong merchants, Howqua and others, for their full information. On the 22d of October, I received from the governor and lieut-governor the annexed communication.

"We received, on the 19th of October, by an express of the Board of War, a dispatch from the Council of state, addressed 'to Tăng, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Ke, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, to be enjoined also on Wan superintendent of customs,'—and containing, under date the 29th September, 1837, the following.

"Imperial edict. 'A report has been laid before us, representing that, in the province of Kwangtung, remissness and illegalities increase daily: enumerating six particulars; and earnestly requesting that orders may be given for amendment thereof. The memorialist states, that of the multitudinous cases of plundering which occur in that province, the majority are attributable to associated banditti, bearing such names as the Teënte Brotherhood, the Triad Society, &c.; that these club together in bands and fraternities, and are ever and anon injuring and troubling the people; and that every instance of complaint affords occasion for varied and numerous extortions. Again, he states, that the magistrates of districts in that province, when levying the tribute of grain, have sometimes, as is said, reduced it into money at the extravagant rate of six or seven tacls for a *sheih* [about eight or nine dollars for 130 catties]; that they are very lax towards their writers and police, receiving bribes to screen and shelter them. The report then points out that the storing up of grain is a convenience to the people; and that there is nothing better than to establish free granaries, and to hold the grain, furnished to fill them by the people themselves, as a provision for the occasional wants of years of dearth,—a measure alike advantageous to the officers and the people. In regard to governmental cruising vessels, the objects of their establishment are the apprehension of thieves, and the prevention of smuggling: but of late, the report states, the only thing aimed at by them is, to receive from the whole face of the country petty and unlicensed fees; they do not at all apprehend smugglers; and all the stations and posts of the maritime police have gradually come to be mere names, without any effective reality. In the salt department of that province, it is needful to put a stop to all clandestine encroachment; and it is essential, from time to time, to examine thoroughly, and adopt measures for making a full end thereof. With regard to all that relates to tolls and duties, it is still more needful to remove and cut away every evil and illegality. The depraved foreigners residing in Canton, ——— and others, and the receiving ships already at Lintin, should all be forcibly expelled. Let Tăng and his colleagues make faithful examination in regard to each of these six subjects spoken of in the memorial, and if there be such illegalities as are named, they must feel it imperative on them to lay aside every consideration of pleasing others, and proceed with truth and fidelity to correct what is wrong. It is our sincere hope that the civil administration, and the military defenses, may all be really and practically useful. In that case all will be right and proper. Let a copy of the original address be sent, and these commands be made known, to Tăng, and Ke, and by them enjoined on Wan. Respect this.'

"The council of state having, in obedience to the imperial pleasure, forwarded the above, we the governor and lieut-governor have received the same. We will proceed accordingly, in distinct documents, to direct inquiry on the several points alluded to in the five clauses, beginning "in the affairs of the police, there must not be any remissness or procrastination allowed:" also, on the subjects of the remaining clause, "that, in relation to tolls and duties, all illegalities should be removed, and correctness restored,"—we will forward a communication to the naval commander-in-chief, expressing our hope, that he will immediately drive away and send back to their country the receiving ships anchored in the seas about Lintin and Lantao,—and that he will, after careful consideration, write in answer, and inform us of the line of action adopted by him, to enable us to reply to the throne: we will still further instruct the judicial commissioner, to proceed immediately, in concert with the financial and territorial commissioner, to act in accordance with the instructions contained in our separate dispatches; and, on the several points noticed in the original memorial and in the imperial edict now received, to issue directions that the imperial pleasure may be respectfully obeyed and acted on; at the same time, also, to detail consecutively the measures adopted in reference to each clause, and report the same for our examination, so as to enable us to make our reply to the throne.

"Besides all this, it is our duty to forward to you [the hoppo] this communication, for your examination. We trust you will immediately command the hong merchants to expel with severity those depraved foreigners, ——— and others, residing in Canton; also, that you will examine and discover if any of your attendant officers have indeed sold to depraved natives the information of warrants being out against them, thus enabling them to procure others to take their place, and so giving rise to gross illegalities; furthermore, whether the number of officers deputed to act in the custom-houses of Canton and Macao should or should not be reduced. We hope that you will grant us a reply, that we may perform what is required of us; and that, as regards the other particulars of the memorial and imperial edict, you will act with respectful obedience, and enforce what is required. Annexed is a copy of the original memorial."

The above communication having reached me the hoppo, I, on the receipt of it, proceed to issue this order, to give information. When the order reaches the said merchants, let them immediately pay obedience to it, by instituting inquiry concerning each of the foreigners unlawfully residing in Canton, namely ———, ———, ———, and ———, and by speedily, and with severity, expelling them. They must not allow them to linger for an instant. Let them also with the almost speed report the period of the said foreigners' departure for Macao, to enable a reply to be made to the throne. This is an affair in which the imperial pleasure has been received, requiring examination. The said merchants must, therefore, by all means, act in obedience to it. If they dare to connive and screen the foreigners, they themselves shall be held solely responsible. Let each, then, trembling-ly obey. Oppose not. A special order. October 25th, 1837.

ART. IX. *Plan proposed for importing Chinese mechanics and laborers from Singapore to New South Wales.* By G. F. Davidson.

THE plan proposed by the undersigned for the importation of Chinese laborers and mechanics, having met with very considerable success, he is now induced to publish it in full, for the information of those distant settlers, who may not have had an opportunity of perusing it at either of the Sydney banks. My plan is to write to Singapore, in the early part of August, for four or five hundred Chinese, to be hired from the annual supply by the junks from various ports in China, which arrive there in December and January in large numbers, and may be hired for this or any other country with very little trouble. With my order to hire the men, I mean to send a ship from hence to bring them to Sydney: or if a vessel cannot be had here on fair terms, my agent in Singapore shall have the necessary orders on that subject. From each subscriber I will require an advance of £5 for every Chinaman to be brought to him. This sum is to be expended in paying ten dollars (that being the amount due to the junk by each emigrant on board) for passage money from China, in food and clothing for the voyage to this port, and other contingent charges at Singapore. On the arrival of the men in Sydney, I would deliver each subscriber, his number, and require from him immediate payment of whatever balance might be due me over and above the advance of £5 per man already mentioned. For the satisfaction of subscribers, I would, on the arrival of the vessel in Sydney, make out an account of the whole expenses of the undertaking, such account to be deposited in some public office for the perusal of those concerned.

From a calculation I have made, I feel convinced I can land the men in Sydney at £10 a head, say £11, and add £1 for commission to my Singapore agent; for this the men would serve twelve months after their arrival in the colony, getting fed of course, and they would serve a second year for £1 per month and rations; after the second year they would expect wages something nearly equal to what free Europeans get here. I would not begin with fewer than four hundred men, as it would require that number to fill a ship, and make it worth while. As many more as I can get subscribers for, will be obtained, and I have no objections to contract for an annual supply. From my long experience amongst Chinese, I have no hesitation in recommending strongly to the settlers of New South Wales, the importation of them into this country; as carpenters, cabinet-makers, wheelwrights, millers, blacksmiths, bricklayers and brickmakers, gardeners, cooks, growers of maize, sugar, and tobacco, and general laborers, I can with perfect safety recommend them. As shepherds, I doubt whether they would answer.

For several years past, I have not seen less than six or eight thousand Chinese brought to Singapore in the months of December and

January, and have invariably seen them willing to go anywhere with those who paid their debt to the junk they came in; they leave their country so very poor, that a fair prospect of plenty to eat, will induce them to go anywhere. From what I have seen on board the junks, I should say that 20 per cent. of the men brought here will be mechanics, perhaps more, but I cannot bind myself on that head. It will, of course, be my duty to bring the number of each trade required, as near as I can, and in the event of a deficiency in any particular trade, I would recommend the drawing of lots for a priority of choice. As to the distribution of the laborers, I must let them go in parties; were I to allow drawing of lots for them, a son might be separated from a father, a brother from a brother, and so on, which would tend very much to render the men discontented. Supposing 20 per cent. of the men prove to be mechanics, a subscriber for ten will have a claim for two tradesmen, for five men one tradesman, and so on, any number under five will not give a claim to a tradesman, unless more than twenty in the hundred should prove such. In case of loss by shipwreck, I propose taking out a policy of insurance, to cover the sum advanced by the subscribers, previous to my dispatches leaving this. Any subscriber failing to make the necessary advance will, of course, forfeit his men.

Rice being the principal article of a Chinaman's food, I would recommend the importation of fifteen hundred or two thousand bags in the ship, the men came in; it might be landed here at three halfpence per pound, and would go as far as flour in rationing the men.

It seems to be a prevailing opinion that the Chinese will not remain with their masters after their arrival here, of this I have very little fear. After the expiration of two or three years, numbers of them will, no doubt, wish to return to China, which I consider will tend to induce many more to come here the following year, particularly if those who go carry accounts of good treatment, &c., with them. Chinese emigrants never bring their wives and families from their native country; but this does not prevent their remaining many years in those countries where they find constant and profitable employment. If they get £15 a year and rations, it will be double what they earn in and about Singapore, and, in my opinion, will be sufficient to keep up a constant supply of Chinese laborers in this market. On the subject of ill-treatment, I would caution the settlers of New South Wales; a Chinese will not put up with it, and will spread such reports about it, as will tend to prevent future supplies reaching this part of the world.

(Signed) G. F. Davidson.

Sydney, June 15th, 1837.

[*Note.* The foregoing appears as an advertisement in the Sydney Herald of June 19th, 1837. In a postscript, Mr. Davidson gives a list of the subscribers which he had already obtained, amounting to fifty-seven, requiring 335 Chinese. Mr Davidson says, the advance of £5 per annum, is to be paid in to the commercial bank, Sydney, on or before the first of August next (1837), in order to give time for the men to be there by March, 1838.]

ART. X. *Correspondence between the Committee of the East India and China Association and the government of Great Britain.*

By late arrivals from England, we are glad to learn that China and its inhabitants, and the interests of foreigners here, are not forgotten. In a speech before one of the public assemblies held last May, in London, the Rev. Mr. Medhurst announced that medical missionaries for the Chinese would accompany him on his return to the East. Mr. Medhurst expects also to bring out with him a steam-press. The British parliament was again directing its attention to China. A bill, authorizing the establishment of a court or courts, with criminal and admiralty and civil jurisdiction, was brought before parliament in June, by lord Palmerston. On this subject, and respecting the appointment of consuls and an embassy, his lordship had previously (on the 22d June, 1836) been addressed by the committee of the East India and China Association. The following is a part of the address:

"For the purpose of obtaining these objects the association submit to your lordship the expediency of his majesty's government sending a commercial agent or consul to Canton, with municipal and judicial functions to protect the rights and properties of British subjects, and by timely notice or otherwise to prevent, as far as may be practicable, the infraction of the Chinese laws by British subjects, such consul not to have any political authority. At the same time they would recommend that all the former servants of the East India Company should be withdrawn from China, as their presence only tends to distract the Chinese authorities in their understanding of the true relations in which the intercourse with that country is now governed, and any duties which the Company's servants might be called upon to perform should be done by the consul. Upon the best consideration the association have been able to give to the subject, they would not recommend an embassy to be sent to Canton; but as a further measure, they think that an embassy might be tried to Peking, landing at the nearest convenient port; but, as the success of the embassy would very materially depend upon the secrecy with which preparations are made in this country, it is recommended that the arrangement of such mission may not be known by the Canton authorities previously to its arrival in China. It would be important also that the negotiator should not be precluded from performing the ceremonies required at the court of Peking, and that he should be attended by such a force, and with such a retinue, as would give dignity and strength to the mission, and be accompanied by an interpreter, capable of speaking and writing the language fluently, that by possessing the means of communicating readily with the supreme government at Peking, without a chance of being misunderstood in conveying to the court, that the objects sought for are altogether pacific and of a commercial nature. Upon the embassy being received by the Peking government, and when called upon to state its objects, the following demands it is thought should be made. * * *

These are seven, and are expressed in nearly the same terms as were used by the Glasgow association in a memorial, noticed in our last volume: see page 335. In reply to the address it is stated—

"That his majesty's government are well aware of the great importance of the trade between this country and China; and that they have for that reason cautiously abstained from adopting prematurely, and without the fullest consideration, any measures by which that commerce might incur the hazard of interruption. They concur with the committee in considering the privileges enumerated in the letter of the association of 22d June, 1836, to be such as it would be exceedingly desirable to secure for the interests of British subjects trading to China, but those privileges can be obtained only by a negotiation with the supreme government of China, and his majesty's government are of opinion that it is not at present advisable to send an embassy to Peking with a view to such negotiation." *Canton Press Oct. 28th*, 1837.

We are glad the British government are going to move 'cautiously;' and, we trust, they will be sure they are right before they decree, that *the negotiator shall not be precluded from performing the ceremonies required at the court of Peking.* If those ceremonies are mere tokens of respect, such as is due to a great monarch, let them be performed; but if they are to be considered as marks of divine homage, or of vassalage, or of inferiority on the part of the embassador's sovereign, woe to the man who performs them.

ART. XI. *Estimate of the annual consumption of Indian Opium in China, with a table showing the progressive increase in the number of smokers in eighteen years.*

MUCH has been said, by our correspondents and others, respecting the amount of opium consumed in China, and the number of those who use the drug. With reference to both these topics, the tables on the opposite page contain valuable data; and, in connection with papers already published, will enable those who desire to investigate the subject, to draw tolerably accurate conclusions. The tables, (as far down as 1833,) have been kindly sent to us by one who, though now retired from his business in this country, was for many years extensively engaged in the traffic. On account of the manner in which the government treats the traffickers and smokers of the drug, it is quite impossible for us to gain that minute information, which the importance of the subject seems to require. Some fifty or sixty native traffickers and smugglers, it is said, have been seized within a few months. In the tables, the estimated amount of the drug and the given number of consumers, are too low; besides, the Turkey opium, and the native produce, are not brought into the account. The tables, therefore, must be regarded as only an approximation to the truth. The quantity daily used varies exceedingly in different cases: some consuming only one candareen or less; some three; some ten; some twenty or more. Whether three candareens per day, as assumed in the table, is a fair average, we are not prepared to say.

Estimate of the annual consumption of Indian opium and of the stock remaining on hand at the close of each year, from 1828–29 to 1836–37.

Years.	Patna			Benares.			Malwa.			Total.		Rmaining Stock on the 31st of March each year, including Macao					
	Chests.	Price.	Value.	Chests.	Price.	Value.	Chests.	Price.	Value.	Chests.	Value.	O. P.	N. P.	O. B.	N. B.	O. M.	N. M.
1828–29	4831	947	4,574,650	1130	911	1,029,585	7.171	966	6,928.880	13,132	12,533,115	428	—	170	—	704	1302
1829–30	5564	866	4,820,448	1579	842	1,329,129	6,857	861	5,907.580	14,000	12.057,157	239	781	65	41	1586	.....
1830–31	5085	876	4,453,984	1575	848	1,335,810	12,100	588	7,110,237	18,760	12,900,031	552	1083	92	261	2117	4060
1831–32	4442	953	4.234,815	1518	954	1,448,195	8,265	704	5,818,574	14,225	11 601,584	1265	921	137	272	2983	5578
1832–33	6410	798	5,115,126	1880	774	1,455,600	15,402	570	8,781,700	23,693	15.352,429	555	1304	202	129	973	3163
1833–34	7893	631	5,023,175	1642	653	1,066,459	11,715	676	7.916.971	21,250	14,006,6 5	205	685	84	192	961	2127
1834–35	7558	600	4,368,245	2509	582	1,427,604	9,982	599	5,962,930	30.089	11,758,779	217	584	94	138	2658	3691
1835–36	9011	750	6,713,195	2005	702	1,407,510	15,002	599	8,986 198	26,018	17,106,903	271	1211	185	342	1864	3873
1836–37	5286	749	3,957,339	2795	711	1,989,370	13,430	633	8,506,984	21 505	14,354,193	519	2986	318	318	997	4189

Table showing the progressive increase in the number of smokers of Indian opium in China for eighteen years, estimating the consumption of each man at three candareens, equal to $17\frac{40}{100}$ grains per day.

Average of three years ending on the 31st of March.	Chests of Patna and Benares.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at 50 touch.	Chests of Malwa.	Weight in catties.	Candareens of pure extract at 75 touch.	Total chests consumed.	Total candareens of pure extract.	Number of smokers at 3 candareens or 17.40grs. per day.	Value in Spanish Dollars.
31st of March, 1820,	2850	285,000	228,000,000	1,437	143,7 0	172,440,000	4,287	400,440,000	365.699	$4,548,000
31st of March, 1823.	2594	295,400	207,520,000	2,479	247,900	297,480,000	5,073	505,000,000	461,187	8 234,773
31st of March, 1826,	3002	300,200	240,160,000	5,450	545,000	654,000,000	8,452	894 160,000	816 584	7,913,310
31st of March, 1829,	4920	492,000	393,600,000	6,160	616,000	739,200,000	11,080	1,132,800,000	1,034,520	10,856,058
31st of March, 1832,	6588	658,800	527,040,000	9,074	907,400	1,088,880,000	15,662	1,615,920,000	1,475,726	12,154,334
31st of March, 1835,	9311	931,100	744,880,000	12,366	1,236,600	1,488,920,000	21,677	2,233,800,000	2,039,999	19,766,111

ART. XII. *Journal of Occurrences. Commercial business; the hoppo's chest; the Hingtae hong; Peking Gazettes; literary and military examinations; new Tartar general; public executions; &c.*

COMMERCIAL business here, for six months past, has been nearly *in statu quo*, very few goods having been bought or sold. Vessels have arrived late, and few in number,—there being only 24 now at Whampoa, and about as many more at Lintin. The period of their departure, it is expected, will also be late. Rice, here the staff of life, is both plentiful and cheap—the foreign article varying from $1.20 to 1.50 per picul. The trade at Lintin, or at least a considerable number of the vessels in which it was formerly carried on there, have moved northward, there being twelve or fifteen now on the east coast. Consequently 'the coming in of the vile drug,' and 'the oozing out of the precious metal,' through the Tiger's Mouth have greatly diminished.

The hoppo's chest, under all these circumstances, is suffering greatly,—its receipts being less by tens of thousands than they were last year. Even the poor tidewaiters, it is said, cannot get single dollars now, whilst a few months ago tens and hundreds were the monthly income.

The debts of the Hingtae hong, it is now confidently and generally believed, will be paid; but *how* and *when* are questions, important ones, yet to be determined. The sum due to foreigners is something more than two millions of Spanish dollars.

The Peking Gazettes, received during the last month, contain nothing of importance. We observe the illness of the first minister, Changling, who has requested permission to resign. His request is not allowed, but others have been appointed to the acting care of his various duties, and unlimited leave of absence from his duties has been granted. The chief subjects of the Gazettes are, complaints of the venality and carelessness of officers in various parts of the empire, and representations regarding the high price of silver. One memorialist states, that the annual export of silver is, from Kwangtung thirty millions,—Fuhkeën, Chekeäng, and Keängsoo, ten millions,—and from Teëntsin in Cheihle, twenty millions of taels. There must evidently be an error in the copying of this memorial; and probably three, one, and two, in place of thirty, ten, and twenty, millions, would be the correct reading.

The literary examinations of candidates for the rank of keujin, or 'promoted men,' commenced on the 7th of September; and during the night of the 6th of this month the names of the seventy-two successful individuals were proclaimed throughout this city. One of these, it has since been discovered, attained his degree by proxy, having engaged a man, whom advanced years and poverty withheld from efforts on his own account, to enter the lists in his name, and write the necessary essays for him. the reward, amounting (it is said) to $1500, being payable only in case of success. Some difference afterwards arose about payment of the money, and several of the other candidates having been offended by the person in whose name success had been obtained, they complained to the lieut.-governor of what had taken place. The lieut.-governor, unwilling to subject himself and his fellow-officers to the punishment to which they will be liable, endeavored to hush up the matter. The scholars, however, pressed attention to it and a day was appointed for inquiry; when it appeared, that he who had engaged the proxy was unable to write even an ordinary essay. His first degree had been purchased, as is very often done; but the degree of keujin, unless by the express pleasure of the emperor, is conferred only on talent The literary examiners left Canton, to return to Peking, on the 23d; and on the same day the governor proceeded, on a tour of millitary inspection, to the eastern departments of the province. The military examinations of candidates for the second degree began on the 25th.

A newly appointed tseängkeun, or general of the Tartar garrison of Canton, arrived on the 29th. He is comparatively young, short, and without any martial air or, what supplies its place in China, an austere and rough deportment.

On the 18th, four criminals, three of them newly apprehended, the other an escaped prisoner recaught, being brought before the governor, were tried in his presence and that of the lieut.-governor and all the principal civil authorities, and, being condemned, were immediately taken out and executed.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VI.—NOVEMBER, 1837.—NO. 7.

ART. I. *Notices of the moral and social condition of several places in the Indian Archipelago, collected in the voyage of the Himmaleh, in* 1836. By G. TRADESCANT LAY.

IN laying before the readers of the Repository a short account of the interesting matters that fell under our notice, in the voyage of the Himmaleh to the Indian Archipelago, I cannot better consult unity of narration, than by treating each subject with a distinct and separate reference, without attempting to follow the events and incidents in the order in which they occurred. I may remark, by way of prelude, that during our absence from Singapore, which occupied nearly five months, we visited Macassar, Bonthain, Ternate, Zamboanga, and Borneo Proper; and that, in my judgment, the outline of the expedition did as much honor to the understanding as to the heart of the individual by whom it was framed. The object of the voyage was to attempt something towards spreading the religion of Jesus; and if commerce and natural science were to have a share in it, it was that these, in their turn, might be made instrumental in promoting the same good cause. I take a lively interest in whatever tends to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge, but my delight is not a little enhanced by reflecting, that, among other second causes, wisdom derived from studying the laws of nature can be made to serve as the handmaid of the gospel. While therefore my first object is to distribute the Holy Scriptures, and to ascertain by what means they may have a wider circulation, I endeavor to note and describe what is curious in the works of nature, so far as health, leisure, and mental ease, can enable me. After I have made a few observations on the success, or rather the intimations of future success, I met with in seeking to advance the views of the British and Foreign Bible Society, I will mention a few subjects which seem to stand before others as engaging or instructive.

At Macassar our books, which we gave freely to all who would read them, were accepted with great thankfulness by the natives as well as by the Chinese. Our first distribution took place in the custom-house, in and about which place is always a great multitude of those who, having but little to do, are ready to gaze at whatever may be new or surprising. A motley packet of books, in the Chinese, Malay, and Bugis, languages, formed an exhibition of no ordinary kind, especially when the vigilance of the inspectors had spread them in great confusion upon the floor. But though a great many pressed forward to look on, when they saw that some were made happy by our liberality, they neither plied us with importunities, nor gave offense to the officers of the establishment by their misconduct. The latter found some Malay Testaments in Roman character, which, as it happened, were the very thing they had been wishing for, for they were familiar with the oral sounds of that language, but not with the Arabic letters in which it is usually written. I shall long retain a lively recollection of this scene, as our good intentions were appreciated by the people that we were seeking to benefit, and all spake in the highest terms of such unexampled liberality. We found that many could read, but often with difficulty and hesitation for the want of those helps to improvement which we were bestowing upon them. In giving away books, you promote the education of the people (apart from all the spiritual benefit they may derive from them), by placing means in their hands which they cannot obtain from other quarters. Printed books are not to be had, and the copying of manuscripts is a rare and consequently an expensive work. Some Bugis tracts prepared at Singapore met with a reception that was truly delightful, and gave us encouragement to think, that it would not be difficult for one versed in their language to do great good among them. My inference is not drawn from what I saw in a crowd, where a general excitement may be supposed to create a great influence, but from many experiments made in small groups and neighborhoods, where everything around us was soft and tranquil, and the people had leisure to understand their own wishes. It was my practice to put a few of these little books in my pocket and walk out every evening in quest of information, for I was desirous not merely to give them away, but to learn how far they were acceptable, and what seeming likelihood there was that they would be read with attention and profit. Habit has long accustomed me to look a little below the surface of things ; I am not content therefore with dispensing so many pages of printed paper, but strive to come at the mind of the natives, and learn, as far as I am able, the current and bent of their feelings.

At Macassar many little circumstances constrained me to think that success of a missionary kind would be immediate as well as permanent among the people, while a contribution to their little stock of literature, by translating the Scriptures, would give a man a real ascendency over them, and lead all, whether believers or unbelivers, to look up to him as their friend and benefactor. The Bugis and Macassar alphabets were taken from the Sanscrit, and are identical, except that

the former has twenty-three, while the latter has only nineteen characters. It is a very neat kind of writing, and so much admired by the inhabitants of the Celebes that even those who cannot read, regarded our books as pictures, and many times offered to purchase, promised to get a teacher, and used intreaties to obtain them. Complaints were made respecting the deficiency of the alphabet, as many words, differing widely in sense and sound, were represented in writing by the same characters. This the zealous missionary would rectify, while he would furnish them with the instruments of natural logic, by a set of abstracts, borrowed from some harmonious dialect. That he would lay the foundation for everything that is refined in knowledge or lovely in practice, while sowing the seeds of holiness by which a soul is meetened for heaven. Our attempts to do good were approved by the resident, and most thankfully received by the natives; and could an individual obtain permission of the Dutch government to reside there, I see no reason to think that his labors would not be attended with the happiest effects.

At Ternate we did but little, as the Chinese have but an imperfect acquaintence with their own characters, the natives are so reduced that they evince no curiosity, and our stay being short and transient did not allow us to cultivate much intimacy with the people. A Dutch missionary, who had labored five years among the inhabitants of Moova with small success, performed the duties of pastor to the settlement. But it seems that he is so limited in the nature and extent of his operations, that he cannot stir a hair's breadth to the right or to the left, without infringing upon some regulation, and thus incurring a warning from the resident, whose official duty it is to see that the good man does not do too much among the natives. The chapel on the Lord's day presents a most pleasing appearance, and is attended by a congregatin that embraces several varieties of the human family, blended in many intermediate shades of the feature and complexion, all alike in neatness of attire and decency of behavior. The chapel is a small well-built edifice, and has been put in repair and beautified by the resident, who has shown himself no enemy to the observancè of the Sabbath, nor to the public worship of the Almighty.

At Zamboanga, in the island of Mindanao, upon the Straits of Basilan, we found about forty Chinese, very poor, and much neglected. The Catholics will not allow them to have any schools, so that their ignorance of their own literature, which is very great now, will be still greater in the next generation. Mr. Dickinson, who kindly took the trouble to look after them, promised some books if they would come on board, but so little value was set upon the offer that none made their appearance. The Spanish language is spoken by the natives in tolerable purity, and many learn to read, but among the Roman Catholics we know the Bible is a proscribed book; or at least, it cannot be studied without the license and permission of the priest; hence it could not be expected that we should succeed to a very great extent, where Romanism is in free vigor. The evil, however, was that I had no Scriptures in the Spanish language with me, which I regret

exceedingly, for several opportunities occurred when they might have been bestowed with advantage. In fact, we were exceedingly delighted with this people, as we wandered from house to house to make ourselves familiar with their habits and moral condition. The priest was a man of good family, and of a liberal way of thinking, so far as liberality can be cultivated under the dominance of a religion made up of enbargos and disabilities. The books would therefore have been read in secret, without much danger from an inquisitorial search, and I think we met with some so independent in their way of thinking, that the books would have been read at any rate.

At Zamboanga, as well as at Macassar, there seemed to be no reason to infer that the people would not at once receive a missionary with kindness, and listen to his instructions with gratitude and attention. The power of the ruler has thrust itself between the appulse of the gospel and the ear of the poor heathen. As light and the sentiments of liberty spread, this obstruction will be lessened. Political philosophy leads us to such a conclusion, but we have a much higher assurance in the promise of the Almighty, that in the seed of Abraham shall all the families of the earth be blessed. At Ternate, the people must be lifted out of the dust, and receive the nature bestowed upon little children, for they are sunk so low through oppression, that though the Dutch have permitted them to cultivate the spices, they seem to be wholly unconscious of the advantages, and just till the soil enough to furnish them with the means of a poor and slender diet. If a missionary were to go and live among them, I dare say that, at first, he would have some trouble to convince them that he came on purpose to seek their welfare, but he would find them humble and respectful without the kris or Malay side-arms, and without any of that personal importance which is always associated with it.

At Borneo, for reasons which it is not necessary to state here, I did not attempt to circulate the Scriptures till I had thoroughly ascertained that the sultan, priests, and prime minister, did not consider it unlawful, that is, incompatible with their character as Mohammedans to read a book containing the religion of Jesus Christ. Copies of the sacred volume were in possesion of some of the chiefs; one brougth me the sleek quarto edition printed at Calcutta as a proof that he had one. When I inquired if he read it, he said, very often, and showed me that he did not tell a falsehood by reading some passages with great ease. This they cannot do without a good deal of practice, for the biblical style is different from the colloquial and epistolary. and the stiff sharp pointed character is so unlike the graceful and flowing hand of the copyist, that I have often seen a man obliged to spell the words like a child before he could make them out, though he would instantly write the same words in a smooth and easy character. Finding that he gave me so good an answer to my first question, I asked if he believed the Bible: he replied by saying, how should I not believe it? it is all very true. In one of our walks, an old counselor and favorite of the sultan showed me a part of the New Testament, as a gift from some person, whom he was proud to

call his friend. He was a zealous Mohammedan, if one may judge from the eagerness he manifested to hold an argument with me about the unity of the Godhead, but a chief interposed and would not let him repeat his challenge.

We lived in the midst of the people nearly a month, and were ever and anon reminded of our promise, that when we returned to the ship we would send them some Bibles. Among the applicants was the sultan himself, who, while the high priest and I were sitting before him, told me that I must be as good as my word. Upon this the priest, instead of cautioning the sultan against reading any book beside the Koran, evinced his anxiety to show that the Bible was no stranger to him, by telling us that the Jews divided the Old Testament into three parts, the psalms, the law, and the prophets, which, with, the gospel, made the sacred volume consist of four principal divisions. This man sent his respects to Mr. Tracy, with thanks for the books that he had given to his countrymen. And, after much investigation, I am warranted in affirming, that no man there ever thought it wrong to read any book, whether he was bound to believe it or not. Most of them, and perhaps all, are abandoned lovers of pleasure, and are little disposed to exercise any part of that self-denial inculcated in the Bible; but a few relics of the moral sense are left, and these find their appropriate pleasure in the melody of righteous admonition. There is something essentially charming and delightful in the precepts of holiness, and the mind is so much led away by the sound of them, that in a sort of trance the heart forgets her own wickedness, though the will remains as corrupt as it was before, and returns again to its old purposes as a sow to her bathing in the mire. Reading is confined to persons of quality, so that until the missionary begins his labors among them, they only can receive immediate benefit by the distribution of books. All merit is limited to them, and none who are not pangerans, or the descendants of feudal lords, practice any arts of skill, or attempt to lay up any knowledge among them. A chief is the head, and his train of dependants the hands; he thinks and they not; he lays the plan, his brothers and near relatives execute the finer parts, while the retainers and vassals perform the drudgery. If you put the head in motion, the whole body will move with it; if, therefore, the chief should think it right to read the Bible, all his followers would be devoutly of the same opinion; and, should he make up his mind to forget the religion of the prophet and adopt that of Jesus, those who had looked up to him as the exemplar of action and virtue, would follow without a murmur, and perhaps without a single impression of surprise. A foreigner, with a little insight into medicine and sincere love for the Bible, may dispense relief for disease and scatter the word of God, as we were invited to; if he did not carry any insidious enemies with him, his person would be safe, though his patience at first might be severely tried, as the people are wholly given up to vice, very conceited, great cowards, and immeasureably selfish.

If a man were to tell them that he came to Borneo with the express design of overthrowing Mohammedanism and planting the religion of

Jesus Christ in its place, he would not perhaps obtain leave to reside there on such terms; but if he stated tha the would practice physic and do them all the good in his power, the sultan would give him a house and food to eat. Several times the sultan repeated his invitation, 'stop here,' said he, addressing the writer, 'and I will give you a house, and send to Europe for your wife.' His succor would be sought with the most implicit reliance, his reproofs would be borne, and his instructions listened to with the deepest interest, by many. When the chiefs used to come to me and complain of their pains and aches, I pointed out their vices as the cause of their sufferings, but they never took the reproof amiss, or made any other defense, save this, that they could not help it. Some were very eager to know the rules of government in other countries, inquiring what were considered offenses, and what punishments were awarded to them; and on one occasion, after I had been answering many such questions, a chief said, if you did but know more of our language, how many curious and instructive things could you tell us. I said, I have spoken Malay but a short time, and the language itself is deficient, so that there is a twofold hindrance in the way of free and pleasant communication. I recited some sentences out of a Malay book one evening, to their very great delight, as it was thought a rare and extraordinary thing, to hear a white man read. One of the minister's brothers often solicited poison, that he might carry it about him as an asylum in the day of battle. When I said, a brave man would fight while he was able, and when he could no longer wield his weapon he would submit to his fate with resignation,—he still clung to his favorite resource, and many times renewed his request, till wearied with his importunities, I told him, God had forbidden self-murder. These words he repeated in a tone of perfect acquiescence, without asking whether the precept came from the Bible or the Koran.

These things are of very little importance when taken by themselves, but I mention them as intimations that the labors of a medical missionary would not be lost upon them, even at the very outset of his career. In my view of them, their character is compounded of those vices which mankind have always deemed most hateful and most unworthy of rational beings, and therefore I am not disposed to dazzle his eyes with the golden hopes of magnificent success. I and my fellow-laborer learnt to judge of the Borneo people, not by hearing, nor by seeing, but by feeling, and little was wanted to complete our opinion. All I assert is, that a man might use the means, and if he did it with faith and patience, the blessing of God would be sure to follow, an inference which we draw from the consummate veracity of God. When we cannot use the means, then we cannot look for the blessing. There is one circumstance which would have a growing operation in his favor, which is, that the character of missionaries is better understood by the natives of this part of the world—they begin to find out, that they were mistaken, when they confounded with them the tyrants and money hunters that have for centuries oppressed, cheated, and impoverished them. They are fast hastening to the conclusion, that

they belong to a distinct order of men, whose sole business and aim are to promote works of benevolence. We met with an instance of this kind at Borneo, at a time when we were in great want of pleasing considerations. A Chinaman had come as interpreter and mercantile agent in a trading vessel, during our stay, and was in all points a Chinaman, that is, a man of trade. One evening as he was sitting in a large circle, and answering a variety of questions respecting Singapore, we went and sat down a short distance from them. Among other questions he was asked, what kind of persons the missionaries were, when he gave them such a neat and faithful account of their conduct and character, that we could not have desired, that a single addition should have been made to it. There was no religion about this man, he understood business and spoke the Malay language exceedingly well, and being a man who understood the world, he gave to his hearers an accurate account of the missionaries just as he would of the governor or any other person there.

At Macassar every thing is flat and dull, there is no motive for industry, no stimulus to enterprise. The spirit of monopoly on the part of the Dutch, and the insecurity of property, from the grasping and unchecked avarice of the native rájás, take from the subject every inducement he might feel to be useful either to himself or to others. The idleness and nonchalance that we see under every aspect and modification, should excite our compassion, but never provoke our resentment, for it would be marvellous indeed if we discovered anything beyond a regard for present ease and present gratification. Nor are there any extraneous circumstances that can awaken curiosity in a native, or stir up his energies: no well furnished stores to win his attention and make him desire better clothing, or any of the more showy implements of luxury. There is a long street within the walls of Macassar that runs parallel to the beach, and is called the bazar, and I many times walked from one end to the other with a determination to buy something as a memorial of Macassar, but not a single article that was either pretty or ingenious could be found. A few common edibles, a small assortment of dying stuffs, a remnant or two of Chinese crockery, with a looking-glass and an ugly comb, made up the average inventory of all their merchandise.

The Macassar differs from the Bugis in having larger and more open features, as well as in the peculiar ruddiness that is mixed with the brown tincture of his skin. The hair is suffered to fall down and float loosely upon the shoulders, and has a red tinge oftentimes, by way of correspondence with the rest of the person. I have seen the truth of this circumstance questioned, because red hair and a dark complexion were thought incompatible with each other, an opinion that is not affected by this instance, for here the hair is not yellow nor orange, but its ends have a deep red hue, while the rest is black. The little boys and girls that you see running about in troops are often very handsome, while the lineaments of the latter are sometimes not only faultless in design, but they have withal a shade of thoughtfulness and melancholy, which is rightly esteemed to be the last touch

and finishing stroke of personal beauty. These promises of future loveliness vanish before maturity, for the want, I suppose, of education, which, while it bestows unfading charms upon the mind, tends to model and perpetuate all the perfections of the body. I do not pretend to have a profound acquaintance with those branches of knowledge that teach us to judge of the jewel by the shape of the casket; yet I cannot help thinking that the indications which I read upon the head and countenance of a Macassar, so often at variance with his present condition in the scale of morals and intellect, will hereafter unfold and explain themselves in a very delightful manner, when liberty and religion shall have cast their smiles upon him. That he is not deficient in head-piece, is evinced by some productions of skill in the manufacture of gloves and baskets, where the workmanship for delicacy and fineness cannot be surpassed. We found them much in love with their own written character, which is the same as the Bugis, if we except the small deficiency of three or four letters. Many can read, and all would learn, if they had books to afford them the means of doing it. We observed, though many seemed to value themselves as being of a more ancient and noble stock than the Bugis, they esteem it creditable to understand that language, so that a translation of the Scriptures in this admired and far-famed dialect would serve for almost the whole of the humanised portion of Celebes. It is said that Dr. Leyden translated a gospel into the Bugis; if the manuscript could be obtained, an edition would be acceptable to many in that beautiful but neglected island. Their persons are exempt from those unsightly scabs and blemishes that we see in many other places, and this I impute to their cleanly habits. Wells are plentiful, scarcely a yard without one: hither, males and females come to wash their clothes and bathe their skin, pouring many a bucket full upon their heads. It forms a part of the daily duty and amusement of old and young, and seems to be one of the principal cares of a mother. The person of a Chinaman at Macassar is exactly the reverse; it is every way unwholesome, for, instead of an anxious rubbing and a copious affusion, the application of a filthy dishclout drawn over the neck and face once or twice completes the whole business of washing. The Chinese at the places visited by us were generally poor and often despised, since a native junk seldom or never comes to replenish their stores, to render them respectable, or to find them employment.

At Bonthain we stayed only two days, and, as it rained during one of them, we had but little time for research. The town is seated near the nook of a far-withdrawn indentation in the coast, where the land from each point climbs by an easy but varied ascent into a magnificent amphitheatre of mountains. The cascada a few miles from the residency is an object of much curiosity; a stream of water about three fathoms in breadth falls over an escarpment, which we guessed to be about 150 feet in height. To the eye it seems perpendicular, and the vertical plane is only interrupted here and there by a ledge that makes only a small divergence in certain parts of the stream. The cold within reach of the spray was very great, but what the real depression

of temperature was I cannot tell, as I was so unfortunate as to forget my thermometer. Water when in the state of mist or steam seems to have a great affinity for caloric; hence the reasons why we feel a strong sensation of cold when a mass of cloudy vapor is moving towards us in the atmosphere.

The natives here are said to speak a language different from the Macassar, but I apprehend the dissimilarity is neither great nor radical. The only matter of interest among the natives is a market, held at the head of the bay, every fifth day. Towards this point all are seen hastening, soon after daybreak, with their various items of merchandise. Rice, and the sirih, with accompaniments, a few sorts of bark for dyeing, some India goods, and Javanese copper-wares, are brought for sale. I supposed, at first, that the productions on one side of the harbor were different from those on the other, but I was mistaken, for I saw large pink-colored bamboo shoots, and other vegetables, returning by the same way they had come. So, for any thing I know to the contrary, a man might carry a bundle of such things three or four miles merely to sell them to his next neighbor. But there is nothing laughable in this, for nature has implanted in us a fondness of *cœtus et celebrationes*, as Tully remarks in his Offices; so that a man does not scruple to trudge a few weary miles, that he may behold and converse with a company of his fellow-creatures, and in such a celebratio or assembly sell his goods to the highest bidder, though he might have disposed of them at as high a price by walking only a few yards from his own door. In speaking of vegetables, I might just mention, that the potatoes, *Solanum tuberosum*, not the *Convolvulus batatas*, or sweet potatoes, cultivated at Bonthain, may be compared to any in the world for their excellence. A loose pulverulent soil, such as Trappean rocks generally afford, and a sunny exposure on the side of a mountain, are circumstances highly favorable to the growth of this useful article of diet.

The soil of Ternate is perhaps, in all respects, the best that can be found in any part of the world, and there is something in its dark crumbling texture that impresses the mind with the highest ideas of its fertility, while the vegetable creation around you bespeaks, in the strongest and most lively terms, the extreme happiness of all its members. The sultry parts of the day are often fanned by a breeze, and the nights are very cool, the thermometer having been known to descend as low as 56°. Though this may be rare, yet the sheet or coverlet is seldom unwelcome. All stress is therefore taken off the system during the night, and nature so far recruits her powers and repairs the wastes of the day, that in point of salubrity there seems to be no place like Ternate within the tropics. The assertion is not intended to be made absolutely, or as if there is no exception in favor of any other region; for, though I have traveled much, I have not examined the meteoric phenomena of every quarter within the tropics. But still the hand of God seems to have poured out blessings upon the Moluccas in a stream of overflowing plenteousness: from 'the beginning to the end of the year,' health, beauty, and softness, move

in one unbroken circle. If the beneficence of the Deity puts on an air of peculiar loveliness in these places, the malice of man has been no less conspicuous in thrusting forth itself in all its hateful deformity, as if it had been the proper business and function of a human creature to be the very inverse of his Maker, and to resemble as much as possible the evil one, who is emphatically styled in Scripture, both in Greek and Hebrew, the destroyer. The Dutch, not content with the devastation they could make by themselves among the spice trees, at last, resolved to hire the native rájás to assist them in the execution of their diabolical purposes. The trees have in consequence of this proceeding been nearly extirpated; the few that remain probably escaped the notice of the destroyers, while the natives, robbed of what was their glory, have lost all feelings of independence and personal right, and live and look like the sons and daughters of oppression. Their subsistence is derived from the tillage of the soil, or the tendance of the durian, mangosteen, and other fruit trees. And I dare say that those philanthropists who think it is enough for a poor man, that he feeds and sleeps with as little intellectual disturbance as possible would find much to admire in the condition of these people. The gentleman mentioned above and myself took our seat in the carriage of the resident, and were received by the sultan with much ceremony and military display; Malay forms of etiquette and a field officer's uniform are not altogether at variance with each other, while the address and venerable appearance of the individual must have inspired sentiments of respect, could one forget that he received a pension to act the foe instead of being the friend and patron of his subjects. When I speak of the Dutch, I mean the Dutch government, without reference to individuals, for it is only the part of common courtesy to acknowledge, that the governor of Macassar showed me every mark of respect and attention, and the farewell of the resident of Ternate was accompanied by a charge to return as soon as possible, and with him explore all the beauties of the Moluccas.

Zamboanga has a neat appearance when viewed from the Straits of Basilan, but possesses no buildings of any beauty or magnificence. A church is in process of being erected, which will have a very good effect from the sea. The inhabitants wear a very pleasing aspect, the intermixture of Spanish blood having contributed to beautify and polish their features. The Spanish language is uniformly spoken, and very few know much about the mother-tongue of their forefathers. Many are taught to read and write, with some of the more familiar rudiments of the Catholic religion; but the characteristic of this people is a happy exemption from care, disease, and labor, since all the necessaries of life may be obtained by the smallest exertions of industry. When we entered their dwellings they talked to us with the most perfect good nature, and seemed in no way restrained by our presence. When wet, hungry, and tired in travel, they gave us a share of the best hospitality their houses could afford; and out of compliment to their guest, descanted upon the happiness and prosperity that would arise to the settlement, had they but English instead of

Spanish masters. A few miles' walk from the town brings you to a country delightfully varied with the interchange of mountain and plain. These plains are smooth, with only here and there a shrub or perhaps a little copse. I confess there is something in a wide campaign that is inexpressibly engaging, especially when we meet with it amidst a range of hills, where the eye, after expatiating a while in the liberty of the expanse before it, can rest by turns upon the green pinnacles, which, shifting behind each other in perpetual succession, sweep around the spectator, and form an amphitheatre of elevation.

The exercise of authority at Zamboanga is not severe, and if the Spaniards do not take alively and efficient interest in promoting the welfare of the people, they certainly do not grudge their happiness. The officers of the military establishment who treated us with kindness and consideration, not uncommon among the better sort of their nation, often spoke in praise of their inoffensiveness, and the comparative purity with which they spoke the Spanish language. The governor remarked, on one occasion, that a man could by working two hours in the day earn a real, one eighth of a Spanish dollar, which was sufficient to maintain himself and family, and that in consequence of this, they were not disposed to labor. This is the amount of censure cast upon them by their rulers, which, under existing circumstances is no censure at all, for why should a man toil when there is no object set before him to stimulate his exertions?

Sunday morning presented a gay spectacle at Zamboanga, as many repair betimes to the public service, the officers of the naval and military departments in uniform, the soldiers in a neat and easy costume, and many of the inhabitants in their best attire. After the service, the governor and all official persons wait upon the padre as a matter of compliment, and those who dare not presume to mix themselves with such folks, find another opportunity of paying their respects, for his 'reverence' walks out, when many are seen advancing to make an act of obeisance, while some still more devout run up to him and kiss his hand. There was something above the ordinary standard in the character and bearing of this man, and his look was full of benevolence, so that such ceremonies of respect did not seem altogether out of place. But such is the nature of the Catholic religion, that though regard to one professedly a minister of Jesus Christ may appear becoming, yet if these people knew their own situation, they would deem him one of their greatest enemies, inasmuch as a fundamental article in his creed is the duty of keeping them far from the noble privilege of thinking and choosing for themselves. Hence, though things appear easy and tranquil, there are no symptoms of improvement, no aspirations of thought or enterprise, no efforts after anything better. There is contentment, if one may judge from externals, but contentment of a very questionable sort, for it leaves a man stranger to every acquirement that can fit him for acting a worthy part here, and in utter indifference about his final destinies.

At Zamboanga, we buried the missionary Samuel Wolfe, who had been gradually approaching the borders of the grave for many months

prior to his death. The officers of the settlement put on their black coats and attended the funeral. He was buried by the permission of the padre in an old Campo Santo, on the west side of the town. An imaginary line, drawn from the sun, as it rises on the 28th of April, and passing through the mango trees, and produced 12 feet from their foot, will point out the place of his interment, should any of his friends ever visit that region. Wolfe, in memory and discrimination, seemed to have been fitted in a peculiar manner for the acquisition of eastern languages.

I see by referring to a memorandum of a statement made to me by the commandant, a very well informed man, that the whole commerce of Mindanao does not amount to more than 2000 dollars, while that of the Sooloo islands is not less than 150,000. In connection with this, we see all the viendas or shops at Zamboanga meanly furnished; a pitiful assortment of plantains, and a few pines are generally all the seller has to dispose of, if we except the palm-wine, which is kept in a wooden vessel that occupies the centre and most conspicuous part of his stall. I have entered shops where all the fruit had been sold, the wine cask emptied, and nothing remained but the keeper, who sat in the middle of the room as if waiting for customers. There is therefore nothing to be had for money, consequently few think it worth their while to earn it. A life of ease and tranquillity is the supreme good at Zamboanga; and, if we reckon by the ordinary standard of the world, a life of comparative innocence. It is a slender happiness, however, and a morality that is poor indeed, being devoid of all those principles that give a right character to one, or form the basis of the other. But they are to be pitied, for their spiritual guides will not allow a stranger to go and give them an opportunity of choosing better things. It is a matter of daily supplication with me, that places decked in such a beauteous dress by the hand of Providence, and a people so easily wrought into a better form, may not always remain in their present situation, but that the dayspring may take hold on these ends of the earth, that the wicked may be shaken out of it. Job. 38, 13.

The city of Bruni consists of two ranges of houses, standing upon the water at the bend of the river, and contains about twenty thousand inhabitants. The straight stems of the Nibong serve for piers, the walls are formed of bamboo, and the roof is covered with the Nipa, the most elegant of the palmy group. The feudal system prevails here in all its integrity; the whole population is divided into the *kawan* or vassals of each respective *pangeran* or chieftain. Their duty is to attend upon their lord when called for, and to provide all the substantial things of life for his enjoyment. 'All work and no pay' is the character of their servitude: but acts of cruelty are not common; indeed, a man cannot be punished for any capital offense, without a trial and a hearing before the principal chieftains: the sultan is elective, though the limit of choice does not extend beyond the royal family. All the affairs of state are administered by the pamangku or mangku-bumi, or prime minister. The respective share that each

one of these personages takes in the affairs of government, was briefly summed up in four words by a brother of the sultan: ***Sultan bilang, Hassim kirja;*** 'the Sultan speaks, Hassim acts.' Hassim is a man of great endowments, and therefore not only manages the executive department with talent and resolution, but exerts such a check upon the sultan, that his antics and baby pranks are mostly confined within the limits of the Astana. Selfishness, pride, and cowardice, which are apt to mix themselves with everything that is human, stand forth in the highest relief in the whole composition of the character of the inhabitants of this country. In all the details of daily intercourse these qualities meet you at every turn, and seem to pervade every action and every thought.

At Bruni every chieftain exhibits at his house, especially if he be a man of enterprise, the miniature of a general manufactory. Canoes prahus, with their armaments, implements of husbandry, and household utensils, are constructed upon the premises, under his own superintendence. For the mechanical and industrial resources of a man bear some constant ratio to his work, as also to the skill of the workmen that he employs. Near the residence of the prime minister is a dock, where a fine little vessel was in process of building, while the different parts of the platform, whereon the edifice is reared, are filled with artisans and laborers of various kinds. The hall, or long room in which he receives his guests, comes in for a full share of the bustle; and in a sort of portico in front if one may designate any parts of architecture so humble with such a high sounding name, the unfortunate culprits were busily employed in meshing jars with rattan to answer the purpose of water casks at sea. In the large apartment, just referred to, was a strewment of carved works which a chief was preparing for the vessel. Thus every thing has an air of business and activity, and if you go into a dwelling where no such stir meets you at the entrance, it is because the owner is not a man of high rank, or is very deficient in talent. The carver I mentioned had a gift for delineation, and must have studied the works of nature, so that there was neither a straight line nor a hard edge, nor any attempt at unnatural uniformity. There was a freedom and a taste in whatever he set his hand to. I have some hasty sketches which he made with black chalk upon rough Chinese paper, that indicate the man of thought and fancy. In all Malay countries, nay in all the islands and many of the shores of eastern Asia, the prince and the great men have the sole monopoly of trade, but even in this sphere a commercial spirit makes no small difference. The sultan adjusts the price to be given for the goods, but in the quantity of business transacted he came far behind many of the chiefs. He is not without natural endowments, and he has withal a remarkable memory, for whenever the rest were in doubt about the name of a plant, the sultan's answer settled the matter; but self-conceit and the love of flattery led him to choose a dream instead of reality, so that he would be listening to the adulation of his courtiers, when it was his interest to be looking after his agents, and to be laying plans for commercial advantage. The welfare

of the subjects, of course, can never expect to find a place in a heart so much in love with itself.

The chief is not only superintendent of all the works, but he is head-store-keeper also, and the keys are carried by some faithful attendant or steward, who does not open without a specific order from his master. The females that throng the harems are all fed in this way; not one aspires to the duty of house-keeper, not even the favorite queen, however great her ascendancy may be. An old woman of the sultan's palace, who, I suppose, acted the part of caterer or proveditor for the rest, came one day, as I was sitting by his highness, and after falling at his feet told him that the provisions of a certain kind were exhausted; upon this, the sultan, with a great deal of histrionic effect, recited the solicitations that were made every day to him from the same quarter. This occurrence, trifling in itself, impressed upon my mind the degraded condition of women where polygamy is fashionable. It was melancholy to reflect upon the situation of a female, who, though her father might be a prince of the highest rank, was obliged to submit to the humiliation of sending an old woman to dun her lord for the neccssaries of life. The effects of such a system upon the mind of the softer sex can easily be guessed, but the pernicious tendency which it exerts upon the sons of such mothers cannot be estimated. If therefore we weigh the matter impartially, we cease to wonder at the vices of men, initiated in the first principles of living under such inauspicious circumstances, and are ready to conclude, when we discover talent or any symptoms of moral virtue, that it must be in a particular manner by the gift of heaven.

Bruni is advantageously situated for holding intercourse with the interior, by means of a noble and beautiful river, running, we know not how far, into the country, and thus affording an easy route for the different tribes that people the neighborhood. Of these tribes, some are savage and are very much dreaded by the Brunese, as the *Muruts* for example; others are reputed very harmless, as the *Kadaian*. They all appear to use distinct languages, but many must have learnt Malay, as they are often seen in canoes in the floating market, buying or selling as the case may be. The sultan is known to a great distance, and has a nominal sway over very distant tribes, who make a tacit acknowledgement of his authority, sometimes by submitting questions of territorial right to his decision. A Malay prahu of embassadors came with a case of this sort, while we were staying at the palace, which speaks well for them, since they prefer reputed wisdom and justice to the uncertain and bloody issue of arms. If the market were supplied with a well chosen assortment of goods, and commercial dealings conducted upon rules of fairness and equality, many from the higher part of the country would resort thither, and be stirred up to investigate the resources of their native cantonments. This would promote the study of the Malay language, and, of course, bestow a mighty facility upon mutual intercourse. This acquaintance with that smooth and mellifluous medium of speech would be greatly accelerated, by opening schools for the instruction of youth at Bruni, which will be practica-

ble as soon as the minister shall discover that it would ensure his authority and tend to fill his coffers. In this way it might become the centre and focus of religious light and civilization, which would be gradually diffused from hand to hand among the people of remote districts, till a stranger might travel among them without the fear of a poisoned arrow sent by some hunting foe, whose courage lies only in the hope of concealment. It would not be easy to wander over the country in quest of objects to do good upon, but they would easily find out Bruni, and would come when they understood there was any thing to be had there worth going for. And, depend upon it, they will cast off their wild and savage habits whenever they find that the exchange would be for their good; and when they have learnt by experience that the strangers seek their welfare, they will respect their character and account their persons secure. The inhabitants of Bruni are fond of novelty; they find out the superiority of Europeans, and are determined to imitate them; they would not like to part with Mohammedanism at once, because it humors their favorite sins; but they would be willing to graft any thing upon it, that seemed to render them more like the models they pattern after. They are fond of annexing some parts of our costume as a supplement to their own, because they discern their superiority in the adaptation to the human form, and though they are obliged to appear in ritual habiliments before the sultan, they take care to wear something European at other times whenever they can obtain it. They would do the same by our religion and our sentiments of liberality, till by a close encounter old things should pass away, and all things should become new.

ART. II. *Christianity in Burmah; brief notices of the mission; its extent, divisions, laborers converts, books, schools, &c.* By the Rev. H. MALCOM.

[To those who desire to extend Christianity, notices of its progress are always interesting. In the present age, when Christians, looking over the whole wide world, begin to see how much there is for them to do, careful surveys are, we think, in the highest degree desirable. As Christians, our duty is to teach all nations and to preach the gospel to every creature, without delay. In a work so vast—and yet scarcely begun—union of purpose and division of labor are essential. The enterprise calls for wisdom, prudence, and economy, of the highest kind: and every part of it should be often and carefully inspected. In this view of the case, missions like those of Mr. Lay, and Mr. Malcom, become of great importance; and every step they take, every measure they recommend, every report they give, requires no ordinary attention. From the former gentleman, who intends, we believe, to continue his stay in the east a year or two longer, we expect frequent communications. The Rev. Mr. Malcom's researches will be published in America, on his return there, from which place he has been absent 26 months. While on his tour,

he has visited Calcutta, Madras, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Chittagong, Arracan, Rangoon, A'vá, Maulmein, Tavoy, Mergui, Malacca, Singapore, Bankok, and many other places in their vicinity; and, having spent a month in China, embarked for the United States on the 21st instant. His object has been, not merely to visit these places, and gain information, but to transact business, in behalf of the Board by which he was commissioned, which could not well be done by correspondence. Respecting Burmah, he has kindly furnished us with the following notices. Our request not having been made till the eve of his departure, when his papers were already shipped, the statements are made from memory; and are, therefore, in some cases, only given in round numbers. The same Board has missions among twelve of the tribes of the north American Indians, in Hayti, West Africa, France, Germany, Greece, A'sam, the Laos (Shans), Siam, and Telingana (Madras presidency), and has also several missionaries studying the Chinese language.]

THE Burman mission may be regarded as consisting of three departments: Burmah Proper; the Tenasserim provinces; and the Karens. The whole population of these three divisions, including Shans, and many other tribes, subject to Burmah, is perhaps not far from seven millions.

The proper Burmese are those under the emperor. Among them are two stations, Rangoon and Ava; and at each two missionaries, and some native assistants. At Ava are about thirty native converts; at Rangoon there were formerly sixty, but nearly all these are now scattered by persecution. From the commencement of the mission to this country, persecution has not ceased, though sometimes intermitted for a season. Every species of annoyance has been inflicted on the missionaries, and some of the converts have been made literally to 'suffer the loss of all things.' Natives who remained unshaken in the belief and practice of idolatry have been whipped, and heavily fined for so much as giving suck a few days to a missionary's child, or attending to render other services. Still the missionaries 'count not their lives dear unto them,' and are purposed to remain till force shall take place of threats, and their removal be constrained. The missionaries at Ava, are Messrs. Kincaid and Simons; and at Rangoon, Messrs. Webb and Howard.

The Tennasserim provinces are Arracan, Martaban, Tavoy, Yea, and Mergui; portions of country which were added to Burmah by the great Alompra, founder of the present dynasty, and which were wrested from the monarch lately deceased, by the English East India Company.

Arracan contains about 200,000 inhabitants and has three missionaries. Mr. Fink at Akyab, and Messrs. Comstock and Ingles, at Kyouk Phyoo, and several native preachers. Mr. Fink has been engaged in the mission many years, supported from Serampore, and has a considerable church of natives.

Martaban has two stations, Maulmein and Amherst. At Maulmein are Messrs. Judson, Bennett, Hancock, and Osgood, a church of one hundred and twenty natives, and a church of converted soldiers. Here is the head quarters of translation, printing, casting type, binding, &c. The printing office is very large, having five or six presses, with

every facility, and employing daily about twenty-five natives. The consumption of paper is about three thousand reams per annum. In 1835, more than eight millions of octavo pages were printed. The whole Bible is translated and printed, making four octavo volumes, and is given liberally both in whole and in parts. There are twenty-two tracts printed, of which thirteen consist wholly of Scripture extracts. Several of them are large, such as the Life of Christ, Digest of Doctrines, &c., and form in the whole 659 octavo pages of reading matter. The remaining nine tracts contain about 200 pages of reading matter. There is also a spelling book of 32 pages. All these have been many times revised, and are found to be as intelligible to the natives as their own books, saving the difficulty of the subjects, and the newness of many works. The distribution of tracts and Scriptures has been immense, as may be inferred from the amount of paper annually consumed. At Amherst, is Mr. Haswell, who labors among the Peguans. Yea has only had native ministers, and has few inhabitants.

At Tavoy, Messrs. Wade and Mason have completely acquired the Karen language, and are devoted to that people, residing in the city of Tavoy only during the rainy season, when the jungle is uninhabitable to foreigners. Mergui has no missionary at present.

The mission to the Karens has perhaps been more blessed then any other of modern times. The missionaries are Messrs. Wade, Mason, Vinton, and Abbott, with their wives, and Miss Macomber. These Karens are scattered through the whole of Burmah, on all the hilly country, and amount, perhaps, to 40 or 50 thousand souls, or perhaps more. There are churches founded at Meta, Toung, Byouk, Pyee-kya, Kapa, Tsarawa, Tamla, Newville, Boota, and Chetthing. The number of Karens who have been converted to God, and baptized, amounts to about 800. Not an individual has been baptized but on satisfactory evidence of conversion to God.

There are in the mission about thirty valuable native preachers, for whom, and others apparently called to this work, a seminary has lately been instituted, where they may acquire Biblical knowledge, and, if young enough, the English language.

ART. III. *Siamese History: notices continued from the Siamese era, 927 to 944 (or from* A. D. 1566* to 1583). By a Correspondent.

SIAMESE ERA 927, A. D 1566. While Náret, the governor of Pitsanulók, was absent on his expedition to Pegu, directions were given to Nantasu and rájá Songkhrám to remove the Thaiyaí from Kam-

* In the last number, by some inadvertence, there was an error in the dates, which stand here correct.

pengpet to Pitsanulók. Their refusal involved them in a quarrel with Náret, in consequence of which they attempted to flee and deliver themselves up to the Peguans. Náret, aware of their intentions, dispatched a military force in pursuit of them. They encountered at a place called Méraká. Nantasu and Songkhrám escaped, but the Thaiyaí were taken, to the number of more than 20,000, with horses and elephants in abundance, and conducted to Pitsanulók. While this expedition was carrying forward, news reached Náret that the governor of Phichai and of Sawankhalok were leagued in rebellion against him at Sawankhalok. He immediately collected his forces and marched against them. On his approach, he sent them a message, that, if they would come forth and pay their respects, he would pass by their offense. Instead of this, they fortified themselves to their utmost; but Náret assailed them with so much vigor, that they were forced to flight, but soon overtaken, bound, carried round the victor's camp as a spectacle, and then executed. The inhabitants of Sawankhalók were then swept up, and conveyed to Pitsanulók. At this period it would appear that Náret was in a great measure independent in the government of all the northern parts of the kingdom, for a deputation arrived at Ayuthiyá from Kamboja, bearing a communication from the sovereign of that country, addressed to Náret and his father as joint kings, and this deputation was sent forward to Pitsanulók to obtain an expression of the pleasure of Náret. The purport of this letter was, that, though the Kambojan prince had formerly been alienated, he now begged forgiveness, and promised to be on the most friendly terms in future. Náret on his part, returned a friendly and complimentary answer, wishing perpetual prosperity to Kamboja.

928. Náret sent all the Thaiyaí who had sought refuge with him, down to Ayuthiyá, where his father, after showing them much kindness, had them located in a neighboring settlement. In the 8th month, Náret dispatched an army to Chiangmai, to ascertain the state of affairs in Pegu. In the 9th month, orders from his father reached Náret to gather all the inhabitants of the northern provinces and conduct them to the capital. Hence the people of Phichaí, Sawankhalók, Sukhótai, Kampéngpet, and Phichit, were embarked in boats and rafts, with a body of soldiers on each bank of the river, to protect them, and prevent them from running away. In the 11th month, Náret reached Ayuthiyá, and the king ordered every effort to be made to put the country in a state of defense, the city walls, forts, and fortresses to be repaired, and the trench about the city widened and deepende, so that the city became an island, having water of equal depth on all sides. The king of Pegu, from the time that he heard of Náret's escape from his country, and especially when he heard the fate of Nantasu and rájá Songkhrám, was very wrathful, and determined he would conquer Siam at all hazards.

The king of Pegu gave orders to the governor of Chiangmai to levy troops, horses, and elephants, to the amount of 100,000, and proceed to Kampéngpet. He also directed his uncle the governor of Bassein

to proceed with 30,000 men to Kanchantaburi. When intelligence of these matters reached the king of Siam, Náret and his brother were dispatched to meet the enemy. On their march, a wonder happened; a mare had a foal with one head, two bodies, and eight feet! Náret and his brother proceeded, attacked and routed the governor of Bassein, and took many of the Burmese and Peguans prisoners, with many horses and elephants. The governor of Chiangmai, ignorant of the discomfiture of his ally, the governor of Bassein, proceeded into the Siamese territories, and advanced as far as Chainát. Part of his forces was dispersed in foraging parties. A body of Siamese was disposed in the surrounding jungles, and whenever the foraging parties proceeded on their expeditions, the Siamese rushed forth from their coverts, assailed them with vigor, and pursued them even to their camp. In this way, many horses and elephants were taken, and many lives lost on the part of the enemy, and a considerable number were taken prisoners. At length, the governor of Chiangmai, having learned the fate of the governor of Bassein, and perceiving that the Siamese had entered the contest with vigor, concluded it was best to withdraw, and wait further orders from the monarch of Pegu. This year another embassy was received from Kamboja, the only object of which was, by some superstitious ceremonies, to established more firmly the existing alliance between the two countries. When the Peguan king heard the fate of his expedition, he was greatly displeased, and cast all the blame of his failure on the governor of Chiangmai.

930. This year he sent three of his own officers to direct the forces of Chiangmai. In this campaign, the governor of Chiangsén furnished 15,000 men, 150 elephants, and 1000 horses; the governor of Chiangmai furnished 100,000 men, 300 harnessed elephants, 3000 horses, and a thousand boats. When news of the approach of this army reached Siam, the king made every arrangement for meeting it that was practicable. He gave directions to certain officers to go and join the various clans of banditti that infested the fastnesses of the country, and to secure their assistance, to cut off the enemy in all their foraging expeditions, and by no means let them advance to the capital. The Kambojans also came to their assistance with 10,000 men, 100 elephants, and 300 horses. Nothing of consequence, however, was effected that year.

931. The next year, just before the commencement of the rains, the king of Pegu gave orders to his son, the premier, to march with 50,000 men to Kampéngpet, and cultivate rice, as provisions for his army, sending word at the same time to the governor of Chiangmai to defend them in their cultivation, and not to allow the Siamese to cultivate anything, and that, at the close of the rains, he would join them in person with the royal army, to proceed and make sure work in reducing Siam. The Siamese, however, made occasional sallies upon them, killed some, and took a number of prisoners, from whom they learned the plans of the enemy. Náret and his brother fearlessly promised to defend the country, and march to the attack of the 100,000 men from Chiangmai, before they should be joined by the army from

Pegu. After one or two severe engagements with advance parties, they met the main army, and with some artifice and much fierceness assailed them so vigorously, that the governor of Chiangmai was forced to flee, and the Siamese secured several nobles as prisoners, with Laos, Burman, Peguan, and Thaiyaí, to the amount of 10,000 men, 20 elephants, and more than 500 horses, of war-boats and provision boats more than 400, with warlike implements in abundance. The governor of Chiangmai fled to Kampéngpet, and told the premier of all that had happened. The premier dispatched intelligence of the state of affairs to Pegu: but used his efforts to collect the fragments of the Laos army from various places whither they had fled to Kampéngpet. His labors of cultivation were also continued, and the Laos were employed in constructing boats. To assist the Siamese in this contest, the king of Kamboja had sent his brother, with an army, which was proceeding up the country, when Náret returned flushed with his success. Instead of showing the Kamboja prince the respect due to a friendly ally, Naret grossly insulted him by cutting off the head of some Laos captives, and ordering them to be set up on poles before his ally's quarters. This was a provocation which could not be forgiven. The prince returned to Kamboja, and related the indignites which had been shown him, and the two countries became alienated. When the king of Pegu received the intelligence of the repeated defeat of the governor of Chiangmai, he was very angry, and called him a jungle-calf, &c., but sent word to Kampéngpet to have him return to his own country, and provide stores for 300,000 men, on penalty of his severe displeasure. The governor of Chiangmai, in awe of such a requirement, exerted his best efforts to meet it. At the close of the rainy season, he met the Peguan king at Kampéngpet, with 200,000 men, 1000 harnessed elephants, 7000 horses, and 1000 boats of provisions. Besides this, there were the 50,000 men under the premier, and the royal army of Pegu. [The detail of the operations which followed is very tedious. All manner of stratagems were employed and cruelties practised, by the Siamese. Nothing seemed to gratify the Siamese soldiery more than to be in ambush, and, when they found any opportunity, to rush forth, cut off the heads of the enemy, and bring them in as an offering to their commanders. Náret, by protracting the contest, sometimes gaining, sometimes losing, until the rains were troublesome, secured his object of inducing the Peguan king to withdraw.]

The Kambojans, on hearing that the Peguans had marched into Siam, were much gratified, and immediately raised 10,000 men to assail the Siamese from the east. They advanced and took possession of Prachím. When this was known at the capital, the king was at a loss to understand the cause of it. Náret, though he knew, was unwilling to reveal it, but urged his father to send an army and drive the Kambojans from the country; his father yielded, and success attended the enterprise. On the part of the monarch of Pegu, though he had withdrawn for a season, he had not given up the contest. On reaching home, he collected great stores of ammunition, and raised

an army of half a million, with 3000 elephants, and 10,000 horses: he brought all the forces of the governors of Pronie and of Chiangmai into his service, and in the close of the year 932, commenced his march, crossed the Salwen at Martaban, and proceeded by Kampéngpet towards the Siamese capital. Náret made a few desperate struggles with the enemy; and, as the rains had already commenced, the Peguans returned home.

940. Mahá Thamma rájá was visited with severe illness in the 8th month, and deceased in the 12th, at the age of 76, after a reign of twenty-two, and Náret ascended the throne at the age of thirty-five. One of the first acts of his reign was an attempt to wreak his vengeance on the Kambojans, for their assault of Prachím. Against them he sent an army of 100,000 men. The Peguans were also watching another opportunity for an assault, and made preparations for a second campaign.

941. The premier of Pegu and the governor of Chiangmai raised an army of 500,000 men, 700 elephants, and 3000 horses, and passing Martaban proceeded to a place called the three Pagodas. Náret was preparing to start in person for Kamboja, and gave directions to one of his nobles to guard the country securely, for though he did not think the Peguans would venture to come again, still it was proper to be on his guard, as they might be mad enough to make another effort. On the evening of the same day, a message came that the Peguans had already advanced far into the Siamese territories. Náret affected to care but little about the matter, and coldly remarked, 'Well I was going to visit Kamboja, but I must go and have a little sport with these Peguans first.' [Here the history goes into a long and tedious detail of marches and manœuvres, on both sides, the height of their elephants in cubits and inches, with all their magnificent names, the disposition of their forces, and their armor, the dress and rank of the officers, their dreams and interpretations, the various omens, &c. The result was that Náret killed the Peguan premier in a personal contest, and took 20,000 prisoners, with a large number of horses and elephants.] While the conflict between the two armies was going on, such clouds of dust were raised, that they could not see each other. Náret cried out to the Thewadás, 'My object is the advancement of our religion; why do not you dissipate these clouds of dust? While he was yet speaking, there sprung up a breeze which swept all the dust away, and hence his success! On his return, Náret dispatched an army to conquer Tenasserim, and Tavoy. The king of Pegu, when he was apprized of the death of his son the premier, and the rout of his army, was both grieved and angry. Apprehending that the next move of Náret would be to march into his territories, but supposing that an attack would probably be first made on Tenasserim, Tavoy, and Mergui, he dispatched thither a body of troops for their defense. The governor of Chiangmai, supposing that, as a matter of course, Náret would march against Pegu, and that nothing could resist his might, concluded it would be the preferable course to tender his submission to Náret at once. This was proffered, and accepted

by Náret with much joy. Soon after, a disturbance arising between one of the provinces of Chiangmai and Lánchâng or South Laos, application was made to Na'ret for assistance in quelling it. He sent a small body of troops. On their arrival at the scene, the forces of Lánchaʻng were struck with such awe and dread of Na'ret, that they quietly withdrew. The forces sent to take Tenasserim and Tavoy went in two detachments, that to Tenasserim, under the command of Phyáchakri, and that to Tavoy, under the prakhlang. The former having subdued Tenasserim, hired a European sloop, and two mussulman vessels, and sent them, with 150 war boats and 10,000 men, by way of sea to Tavoy, to aid, if there were any occasion, in the subjugation of that place, but it had been taken before their arrival, and before the arrival of the forces from Pegu for its defense. Those forces also were encountered and routed. Temporary governors, &c., were appointed, and the troops returned to the capital, with many captives and considerable plunder. [Here close the events of the year 942 of the Siamese era, A. D. 1581.

943. Na'ret remarked, 'Tenasserim, Mergui, Tavoy, and Chiangmai, are already mine; there is then no present prospect of a war with Pegu: I must therefore proceed to take vengeance on Kamboja.' Hence he collected an army of 100,000 men, 800 elephants, and 1,500 horses, and proceeded by land to Phichit. The king of Kamboja raised 100,000 men and stationed them at Phóthisat, and 15,000 at Batabong. Na'ret made a conquest of both encampments, and proceeded to the Kambojan capital [which at the time, as well as the whole country, was called Lawēk]. Here, after an unsuccessful siege of three months, his provision failed, and he was obliged to return home, disappointed of his object, but with fixed determination to try another campaign the ensuing year.

944. But before the accomplishment of his purpose, he was called to a fresh trial of his prowess against the Peguans. The king of Pegu had expected an attack to be made by the Siamese the previous year, but, as his fears were disappointed, he felt anxious to know the posture of affairs, and dispatched the governor of Prome with a body of troops to reconnoiter the frontiers, and ascertain whether Na'ret was still at the head of the government. If so, he had a strict charge not to injure so much as a blade of grass. The governor, supposing he could perform some extraordinary feats which would more than counterbalance his disobedience, passed into the Siamese territories and began to fortify himself. Information was speedily transmitted to Na'ret, who started as a lion from his lair, and soon drove him back to Pegu, with only half of his army. The Peguan king was angry, and ordered him to be put to death, which sentence, by the urgent request of many, was commuted to a privation of all his dignities.

ART. IV. *First annual Report of the General Committee of the Canton Chamber of Commerce, to which are subjoined the decisions of the committee, approved at a public meeting of the Chamber on Saturday, November 4th,* 1837.

THE Committee of the General Chamber of Commerce, previously to the cessation of their functions, have the pleasure of submitting to the members the opinions they have arrived at, on various points of general interest, which have from time to time been referred to them, and which, unless otherwise determined at the general meeting, to be held on Saturday, the 4th November, they propose shall be considered as constituting the established usage of the port. The committee have not sought officiously to advance opinions, unless applied to, under an impression that it is inexpedient to raise discussion on points regarding which no doubt is expressed, and that a general code of regulations for the business of the port can be best laid down, from the slow growth of practice, as developed in the decisions of the Chamber, on such questions as may be from time to time submitted. The committee have, in like manner abstained from attempting to redress grievances, in cases where their aid has not been especially requested, from a conviction that, under the peculiar circumstances in which foreigners are placed in this country, much evil is apt to ensue from such attempts, when unattended with success, and the greatest caution is necessary to avoid diminishing, by a display of failure, the influence (however inconsiderable) which they possess.

The compilation of the year's trade statements will, probably, be considered as the most useful of the committee's labors, and these they regret will be found more imperfect than could be desired, owing to the Chamber having been formed at so late a period, that most of the ships of the season had taken their departure before the secretary entered on the functions of his office, from which cause the difficulties of the task were greatly increased. But, from the total want of official sources, the work must, under any circumstances, be one of difficulty and uncertainty, requiring not only the greatest forbearance, but the cordial coöperation of all classes of the commercial community; and, on this head, the committee have pleasure in recording their grateful sense of the willing and able assistance which the secretary has uniformly received. The committee hope they are not too sanguine in anticipating greater accuracy, as well as promptness, in the publication of these reports in future years.

The obtaining of additional factory room was one of the earliest subjects recommended to the committee's consideration, but, having ascertained that not the smallest chance existed of its being granted at present, it was deemed best a little longer to forbear making application to government.

The committee's representation of the unsightly state of the space in front of the factories was well received by the senior hong merchant, who stated that scavengers were constantly employed by the cohong in keeping the square clean, and that two boats were always in attendance for the removal of dirt. The committee believe, that the vigilant attention of the foreign inhabitants, in noticing any neglect of duty that may occur on the part of those scavengers and of their own coolies, is all that is now necessary to prevent recurring nuisances. The cohong made an effort to remove the idle natives who occasionally crowd and obstruct this space, but were compelled to desist in consequence of a popular tumult, which had resulted from their interference, nearly attended with loss of life—the Chinese populace conceiving they have as good a right as foreigners to frequent the spot.

In consequence of a general wish that Canton should not be without a public time-keeper, and the only one it contained having belonged to the East India company, by whom it was lately ordered to be sold, the committee was requested by the foreign community to arrange for its purchase, which was effected for the sum of a thousand dollars, on the authority of a professional valuation. The clock-tower, however, having been in such a state of decay as to require renewal, and the space it occupied being required by the new tenants of the premises, it became necessary to erect it elsewhere, which required the expenditure of about a thousand dollars more, and both sums have yet to be recovered from the subscribers. The committee regret it was not in their power to obtain a more exposed site, or to give the tower a greater elevation, which the nature of the ground would not, but with very doubtful safety, have admitted of, besides, being fearful the work might have been interfered with and stopped from the superstitious prejudices of the Chinese, had it been exposed to their observation.

Various causes have prevented the completion of satisfactory arrangements for the establishing of a post-office. The committee have given unremitted attention to the subject, and are now in hopes that the arrangements and negotiations in progress will shortly enable captain Elliot, who has undertaken its management, to carry the wishes of the community into the fullest effect, while the same measures will restore to the Macao passage boats that regularity, of which the want has been lately so inconveniently felt.

The committee have placed themselves in correspondence with the Chambers of Commerce established at Bombay, Bengal, and Singapore, from each of which they have received the most friendly assurances of coöperation. At the request of the Bombay Chamber, inquiry has been instituted, as to the best mode of obviating the great inconvenience and losses those engaged in the Malwa opium trade sustain, from, as they seem to suppose, a different general appreciation of the quality of the drug here by the Chinese from that of the inspectors at Bombay. The report has hitherto been delayed, from the great attention the importance of the subject required, but in the

meantime musters have been prepared, and it is hoped, that these, and the information and suggestions to accompany them, cannot but prove of material advantage. In the inquiry, the committee have to acknowledge much valuable assistance from the practical experience of captains Macondray and Parry, which they most ably detailed.

The following are the opinions of the committee on the various subjects to which they refer, submitted and approved at the general meeting.

[*Note.* The preceding report was circulated in Canton, previous to the general meeting of the Chamber, on the 4th instant. An account of the origin of this institution will be found in the present volume, on page 44; its labors and success, so far as we are able to judge, are quite equal to the anticipations of its members and friends. In settling the usages of this port, and improving the condition of the foreign trade here, there is work enough yet to be done. We trust the Chamber will persevere in its labors, and be encouraged by increasing success. The subjoined document contains the decisions of the Chamber, since its organization.]

Detention of vessels at Lintin. The committee of the Canton General Chamber of Commerce, having been applied to for their opinion as to the period for which inward-bound vessels may be justified in remaining at Lintin, to tranship cargo, where no provision has been made for such an occurrence: the following is the result of their deliberations.

1st. That all vessels bound for Whampoa, may remain fifteen days outside of the Bocca Tigris, for the purpose of receiving or delivering cargo, when there is no stipulation to the contrary, but any delay in proceeding to Whampoa, after that period has expired, should subject the vessel to all penalties, to which she would be liable elsewhere, for undue detention of goods.

2d. That vessels bound to Lintin, under agreement to unload there, may be required to retain their cargoes on board or pay for their being kept in a Lintin receiving vessel, for fifteen days after the consignees' letters reach Canton; at the end of which period, it should be incumbent on the consignees to receive them from on board.

Respecting the settlement of duties. In consequence of numerous complaints lately brought under the notice of the Chamber of Commerce, of the vexatious detention of ships in not obtaining the grand chop, caused by the non-payment of duties on goods imported in them, the committee has resolved earnestly to recommend to the general body of foreign merchants of Canton to ascertain on, or shortly after, the landing of goods to their consignment, the rate of duty that is to be levied thereon. And for the purpose of preventing, as far as may be practicable, the levying of an excessive or extortionate duty, the committee would further recommend that, an efficient person from each consignee should always be present at the examination and measurement of goods by the mandarins, as well as, that the attendance of the hong merchant's purser should be procured. And finally, if notwithstanding these precautions, the mandarins should, nevertheless, persist in demanding an unreasonable rate of duty, the com-

mittee recommend, that complaint thereof should be forthwith sent to them, and they will use their endeavors to obtain redress in such manner as shall appear to them best calculated to obtain that end, it being distinctly understood that the object sought to be attained by such interference of the committee, between foreign merchants and the Chinese government, is that of preventing, as far as possible, the detention of vessels when ready for sea, for want of the grand chop.

Liability of ship-masters to discharge or receive cargo on Sunday. In reply to an inquiry, whether commanders of ships were bound to deliver or receive cargo on Sunday, the committee were unanimously of opinion, that they would be justified in refusing to do so.

Respecting homicide. An inquiry having been made as to whether it is the duty of commanders of vessels at Whampoa to detain in custody any of their crews, who may unfortunately become implicated in a case of Chinese homicide, a conversation ensued in which it appeared to be the sense of the committee, that it belongs exclusively to the Chinese government to vindicate the authority of its own laws, by apprehending those who may be accused of violating them, and without undeniable proof of willful murder, justly involving the extreme penalty of the law, it would be inexpedient for the commander of a vessel to detain the accused party; since it would be affording facilities to the Chinese, to enforce their barbarous and unjust demand of life for life, however much palliating circumstances may have occurred to modify the nature of the crime.

Payment of port charges by chartered vessels. The opinion of the committee was requested, "in the case of a chartered ship, where the owners are bound to victual and man the same, but the charterers to pay all port charges, to which party should the Whampoa compradore's cumshaw be charged?" The committee were unanimously of opinion, that the compradore's fee is at all times a charge to be borne by the ship, as a port charge.

Payment of freight. In answer to an appeal respecting payment of freight, for which no time has been specified in the bill of lading, the committee unanimously agreed, that freight is payable on delivery of the goods, when no agreement exists to the contrary: that, when not otherwise expressed, the freight of weighable goods is payable on the net weight delivered.

Question of insurance. An agreement had been made to insure 'merchandise' on Spanish vessels from Macao to Manila. Are the insurers entitled to refuse the risk on its being declared to be on wheat? The majority were of opinion, that an agreement to insure 'merchandise' would not, under the circumstances of this case, include wheat.

Charges on rice-laden vessels. After discussing the subject of charges on rice-laden vessels which are discharged at Whampoa, and comparing the separate statements, the sub-committee came to the conclusion, that it would be just and expedient to consider the sum paid to the hoppo, the accuracy of which in amount was satis-

factorily ascertained, as a charge on the vessel, and not on the rice. $939.50

And, in addition thereto, the sum paid on each vessel to the linguist for procuring the grand chop, and satisfying the mandarins at Whampoa, the sub-committee are of opinion, should also be charged to the ship. 250.00

Making a total of Spanish dollars 1189.50

And that all other charges should fall on the rice.

Report of the sub-committee appointed March 4th, to take into consideration the period for which sellers of Malwa opium should be liable for loss of weight, damage, or inferiority.

Your sub-committee were of opinion that three weeks to a month would be sufficient time to enable the holder of an order for opium to inspect it as to quality and weight, but being desirous that any alteration proposed should not injure the present negotiability of opium orders in the hands of the Chinese, one of the brokers was called in (being the only one procurable), and consulted on the subject; he entered into, and seemed fully to comprehend, the views of your committee and thought that one month would satisfy the brokers, but he wished to consult with his principal and other brokers. Your committee, would express, as their opinion, that one month from the date of an opium order should be allowed to the purchaser for ascertaining its weight and quality, after which all responsibility on the part of the grantor should cease, and that a clause to this effect should be inserted in all delivery orders, in addition to the present clause of 'risk, expense, and responsibility.'

Questions respecting opium. When an allowance is made for inferiority of Malwa opium and a further allowance for short weight, whether the latter to be in proportion to the reduced, or the original price? The opinion was unanimous, that the allowance for short weight is to be computed from the value of the chest, after the deduction for inferiority has been made.

An opium order had been purchased from a Chinese, and the opium was transferred to the purchaser on board the receiving ship. Some months afterwards it was discovered that one of the chests was six balls short; upon whom should such deficiency fall? The committee was of opinion, that the delivery having been completed without objection made, no responsibility can attach to the grantors of the order.

To the question whether the drawer of an opium order is liable only to the Chinese broker to whom he sells, or to the holder, whoever he may be, the committee answered: the drawer of an opium order is answerable to the holder whoever he may be.

An opium order had been purchased from a Chinese, and was retained upwards of six weeks in the possession of the buyer. On presentation at the receiving ship, the contents were not fully delivered, but next day opium of similar quality was tendered to complete the order. The holder of the order requests to know, if he can be compelled to

accept other opium, or is he entitled to a compensation in money. It was the opinion of the committee, that if the order had been sent on board the ship for the transfer of the opium in reasonable time, the opium would have been forthcoming, and that unless proof was adduced of its not having been on board for a reasonable time after the date of the order, the holder cannot claim any compensation beyond similar opium as tendered.

Respecting interest. The opinion of the committee was requested, as to whether it is the mercantile custom to allow interest in account to parties consigning to this port, the returns for which are to be partly in produce under hypothecation to the hon. East India Company, and partly in bills of exchange? The committee replied, that it is not the mercantile custom of Canton to allow interest on balances, or to keep an interest account with absent constituents, except under special arrangements.

In answer to a question on the subject, the committee came to the conclusion, that interest in accounts and otherwise, should be calculated at the rate of 365 and not 360 days per annum.

Damage, &c., on tea. Report of the sub-committee appointed to take into consideration the most expedient and equitable mode of settling with the Chinese for claims from abroad, for country damage and plunder of teas, and for inferiority to muster evidently fraudulent. It appears from the information of Mr. Lindsay, a member of the sub-committee and formerly of the East India Company's factory, that this body was in the habit of adopting three different modes of settlement, varying according to the nature of the loss for which compensation was to be recovered. In case of tea being entirely false packed, it was formerly the usage, as well in the East India Company's as in the American trade, to require, as compensation from the Chinese, two chests of tea for each one so found. But of late, it has been the more general practice among the Americans in all cases of damage or fraud, to regulate the amount of compensation by the loss actually sustained; estimating the claim at what the tea would have sold for if good, with the addition of interest at the rate of one per cent. per month to the date of recovery; or, calculating the exchange without interest at the current rate of bills drawn on Canton at the place of settlement. This course, it appears to the sub-committee, is the best for general adoption; and they recommend that, when practicable, in order to obviate the difficulty presented by a difference in the denomination of the currency in the two countries, the sum to be received be fixed by drawing a bill at the current rate of exchange, rather than by a charge of interest.

Report of the sub-committee appointed to consider and report upon the questions respecting insolvency. The inquiry on the subject having been read, it was agreed, that insolvency in Canton is constituted, as elsewhere, by the dishonor of an acceptance, &c.; that, in case of insolvency, and the bankrupt refusing to deliver his property for the benefit of his creditors, it is recommended, that publicity be resorted to, that his conduct may be exposed to deserved reprobation,

and the public put on its guard against granting him further credit. As no compulsory measures can be adopted in Canton, it is recommended, that merchants be mutually accommodating, and in all cases voluntarily and promptly pursue that course to which they could be compelled in countries where law prevails.

Arbitration regulations. 1. Each arbitration committee shall, in its award, fix such fee as it shall deem proper for the particular case, but sixteen dollars shall be considered the minimum, and one hundred dollars the maximum, of such charge.

2. The arbitration fee shall be payable by the losing party, but the committee have power to alter this rule, when they see occasion.

3. In respect to reference, the general committee may charge or remit fees, but if fees shoud be charged, forty dollars shall be the maximum, and five dollars the minimum, of each case.

4. As references to the committee of arbitration may, in some instances, involve private matters, and it may be desirable that the names of parties, documents, and evidence, should be considered confidential, while the decision of the committee with the leading point are on the records for general information; a full report of the grounds of the decisions of the committee shall be entered in an arbitration book, to be kept for that purpose, and to this book access shall be had by members of the Chamber, on a requisition of six members to the general committee, two thirds of whom must concur.

As a branch or member of a public body, the arbitration committee is to be considered a public committee, but, in practice, when so required by either party submitting a question to its decision (with the knowledge of the other), it is in the strictest sense a private committee, in which case the members are pledged to honorable secrecy, and the safe-keeping of the papers.

P. S. At a general meeting held on the 22d, and since the first part of this article was in type, two changes were made in the regulations of the Chamber. For the 8th regulation, as it stands on page 45 in the present volume, the following was substituted.

Reg. 8. The annual general meeting, for the purpose of electing the committee, shall be held on the first Monday in November; when *the members then in office shall go out, but with the following exceptions, shall be liable to serve again if reëlected.* The exceptions are, one English member, one American member, one Parsee member—whose period of consecutive service has been the longest, or, if more than one have served an equal period, to be determined by lot at the meeting of the committee, immediately preceding the election—one, the member representing any nation, making four members who shall not be reëligible. Nor, after being on the committee for two years, in succession, and giving notice to the secretary, one day before the election, of his unwillingness to serve longer, shall it be compulsory on any out-going member, to take office for a third year."

Reg. 19th was altered by substituting the word 'lot' for the word 'ballot,' in the second line.

ART. V. *The Third Annual Report of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China. Read at the general meeting held in Canton, Nov. 20th, 1837.*

The third annual meeting of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China, was held in the American Hong, No. 2, on Monday, the 20th of November, 1837, at 11 A. M. The meeting having been opened, and the chair taken, by the president, W. Jardine, esq., the following report was then read by the secretary.

THREE years have already elapsed since this Society commenced its career: and still, your committee have to advert to the inadequacy of the means, for extending, among the Chinese, an acquaintance with the principles and phenomena of nature, and their applicabilities to the improvement of many useful arts; or for imparting the knowledge of the past and present state of the many countries into which the world is divided, the majority of which are at present hardly known to them even by name. Did any desire for such knowledge exist, the want of means for imparting it would indeed be a source of regret, far deeper than is now felt. Until, however, such a desire is excited, one work, calculated to arouse interest, is of much greater value than scores of works, unacceptable either from the style of writing, from the subjects treated of, or from the mode adopted in treating them. Some measure of unacceptableness on account of style must, for the present, attend all the publications of the Society, they being necessarily tainted with foreign idioms, and adapted to foreign modes of thought and expression. Nor, if it is called to mind, that upon only three individuals has hitherto devolved the task of preparing works for publication, will it appear surprising, that, amid the vast assemblage of subjects claiming attention, some should be selected that are not the most congenial to a Chinese mind; or that, where the subjects to be treated of are so various, some should be handled in a manner not the most lucid or attractive. These considerations must, of necessity, induce those on whom it rests to give effect to the wishes of the Society, to pause and carefully to ascertain their powers, ere they undertake to write on any subject; and to offer their writings for publication with no slight degree of hesitation.

While they make these remarks, with the view of accounting for the smallness of the work that has yet been accomplished, your committee at the same time see no cause for discouragement. So long as they behold the efforts made by various institutions for extending the benefits of education among the rising generation of the Chinese, and, especially, while they witness the judiciously devised and well directed labors of the Morrison Education Society, they feel assured that no long period will elapse, before native coadjutors will rally

around them, who will be not alone thoroughly grounded in the knowledge now possessed only in the west; but will, at the same time, by intimate acquaintance with their own language, and the modes of thought of their own countrymen, be fully capacitated to diffuse that knowledge among all the sons of Han. In the meanwhile, it devolves upon us to stand in the gap, and to maintain possession of the field of labor on which we desire that they should hereafter enter. But your committee would suggest the inquiry whether we cannot do more than this; whether we may not materially second the labors of the various educational institutions, by the preparation of elementary treatises, in a simple and easy style, for the use of those who are passing through a course of instruction. Assuredly, a child will make advancements in knowledge more speedily through the medium of his own, than through that of a foreign language. When that foreign language is already acquired, and is no longer a subject of study, doubtless he should be referred to works in it for extending his information; but until then, we cannot view the foreign medium of communicating knowledge in any other light than as an impediment in the way of the desired acquisition.

More clearly to ascertain what is the knowledge of which the Chinese stand in need, it will not be amiss to glean a few facts respecting the measure of knowledge which is already in their possession. At the first step, it must evidently appear, that in all that regards history and geography, other than their own, a people so exclusive must, necessarily, have but very confused and inaccurate conceptions. And, though making every allowance for the advantages arising from the wide extent and varying characteristics of the several regions which the empire includes, it may yet be fairly presumed, that great deficiency is to be found in all that relates to those branches of knowledge most open to improvement by the intercommunion of nations.

The best means of obtaining a general view of existing Chinese literature will probably, be, to run over the catalogue of works contained in the imperial library at Peking. We may hereafter find occasion to pay more particular attention to the several departments of Chinese literature, while at present we confine ourselves to a cursory inspection of the whole circle of it. Adopting the Chinese arrangement, the grand departments of literature are four: namely, classical writings, comprising chiefly morals and education; history, including geography; professional writings; and belles-lettres.

In the department of classical writings, the works are ranged under nine sections. One section is devoted to each of the Five Classics, and to works illustrating and commenting upon the same. The subjects of these five are,—general philosophy, as supposed to have been taught by Fuh-he, the reputed founder of the Chinese empire; political philosophy, as taught by the sage monarchs Yaou and Shun; political morals, as taught by the popular voice in national songs and ballads; the proprieties of conduct, deportment, and manner, in the varied intercourse of social life; and annals compiled by Confucius, of his own native state. A sixth section of classical literature is devoted to

works illustrating an ancient treatise on filial piety. A seventh comprises all works illustrating the five classics, *as a whole.* The remaining sections comprise—works bearing on the Four Books in which the instructions of Confucius and Mencius are recorded; works on the subject of music and its harmonizing influences; and works on early education. Several of the classical works which, form the foundation of this first department of Chinese literature, have already, by means of translations, been placed within the reach of the European public. From these we are enabled to perceive to how low an elevation in philosophy the most esteemed sages of China have attained. Some of the writers classed as *professional* give also their systems of philosophy; but these are not in the present age very extensively read.

Under the second department, that of historical works, we have,—the national histories, those compiled from the public records of the ruling and paramount state; annals and histories drawn from these by private individuals; accounts of distinct events and proceedings, disconnected from the general course of history; histories of subject states, as distinct from the records of the ruling dynasty; mixed histories; collections of official documents; memoirs of individuals; histories, extracted from the national records but moulded into a different form; histories of states not dependencies of the ruling Chinese dynasty (not extending beyond Cochinchina and Corea); treatises in reference to times and seasons; geographical and topographical works; memoirs of various portions of the administration, with lists of successive office-bearers; treatises on the constitution and machinery of government; books of reference, comprising works explanatory of particular customs and observances, antiquities, inscriptions, &c.; and, lastly, critical investigations of history. The whole number of these sections is fifteen. Among these, if we except a very few historical works relating to states really tributary, such as Corea and Cochinchina, the only works bearing on foreign countries are to be found under the section of geographical and topographical writings.

Occasionally, foreign countries are made the subject of a few concluding sections in a large topographical compilation, as in the General Topography of the Empire of the Mantchous, the General Topography of the province of Kwangtung, and some similar works. In this manner, information regarding bordering tribes is given in the topographical publications of frontier provinces, or, where those provinces are maritime, as Kwangtung and Fuhkeën, a few facts are to be met with in regard to nations frequenting the commercial marts. The best general account of foreign countries, limited however by the boundaries of Asia, is that contained in the concluding chapters of Ma Twanlin's Universal Investigations. The information given is, however, so scanty, that even by the help of the descriptions, many of the names applied to the smaller Asiatic states, cannot be at all recognised. A few works have been written by the Chinese referring solely to other countries than their own. These are—an Account of

the nation of Budha, by a traveled Budhist; an Account of the western regions under the Tang dynasty; Plates and narrative, by an envoy to Corea; Account of foreigners, published under the Ming dynasty, by a person residing in one of the commercial cities of Fuhkeën; Laughable stories of the Wooke savage; Memoir on the customs and the country of Kamboja, published by an envoy to that country about the time of Marco Polo; brief Account of the barbarous island regions, by a traveler under the Mongol dynasty; an Eulogy of Corea; Savings of the seas, a compilation of hearsay accounts derived from merchants who had traveled over the Indian Archipelago; Researches in the eastern and western oceans, an enlargement of the 'Accounts of foreigners;' Memoirs of countries beyond the imperial rule, by a European; Ungarnished beauties; Account of Corea; Maps and explanatory accounts of the whole world, by a European, characterized by the Chinese as not free from embellishment, yet not wholly false; Records of foreign regions, by an envoy to the Tourgouth Tartars in the early part of the last century, giving an interesting account of the Russian territories through which the envoy traveled; Record of things heard and seen in the nations of the seas, by a naval officer, who, when a boy, had been abroad.—Of the works which we have thus enumerated, two have been translated, the 'Memoir respecting Kamboja' by the late M. Rémusat, and the 'Records of foreign regions' by sir George Staunton: these two are among the best of the works on foreign countries. On a review of the pretensions of the major part of the abovenamed works, it is plain, that the Chinese are wholly dependent on hearsay accounts for information regarding foreign lands, with the sole exception of those in their own immediate neighborhood. The two works by Europeans are antiquated, nor are they readily to be met with. Three only of the works above enumerated comprise more than two or three of the very thin volumes into which Chinese books are divided.

The professional writings, which form the third department of Chinese literature, are arranged into fourteen sections. The first comprises the writings of the literati, or philosophers of the Confucian sect, with all their minor varieties of doctrine. The subjects, as in the department of classical literature, are, philosophy in general, but chiefly moral philosophy as applied to political and social relations—and education. Some of the philosophical speculations of the followers of Confucius are probably such as would be preferred by foreigners to those of the great master himself; but to show fully the degree of value to be attached to these writings would require extensive research, and no very brief treatises. The philosophical principles, or the theogony and cosmogony, of the Budhists, and of the followers of Laoukeun, are placed in the two last sections of this department of literature, and several other works on general philosophy are ranged under the tenth section, among miscellaneous professional writings. The intermediate sections, between the Confucianist writings and these last, are occupied by works on military, legal, agricultural, medical, astronomical and mathematical, and astrological subjects, on

the fine arts, and on 'collections' or 'classifications.' In the section of agricultural works are included treatises on the culture of the mulberry, the rearing of the silk-worm, and the manufacture of silk and other fabrics. The section of collections is subdivided into two parts, collections of manufactured things, and of natural productions; the former comprising, chiefly, coins, inks, and a few other objects of antiquarian research; the latter comprehending several divisions of natural history, minerals, metals, ornaments of stone, and drawings of flowers, blended with some information respecting the preparation of teas, wines, &c. On natural history, however, the best work is found in the section of medical writings, being compiled rather as a materia medica than as a work on natural history. The tenth section, as already mentioned, comprises miscellaneous professional, chiefly philosophical, writings. The eleventh section comprehends various encyclopædiacal works. The twelfth includes the drama, novel, and romance. The thirteenth and fourteenth are devoted to Budhistic writings, and writings of the followers of Laoukeun, or disciples of the sect of Taou.

The last department of Chinese works is chiefly confined to elegant literature. It is divided into five sections: 1. The poetry of Tsoo, the classic poetry of the Chinese; 2. Individual collections of essays, epistles, inscriptions, poetry, &c., among which are included many very valuable essays and narratives relating to a great variety of subjects; 3. General collections of the literary writings of various individuals; 4. Writings on the art of poetical composition; and 5. Poetical writings, odes, songs, &c.

From this cursory review which we have taken of Chinese literature, we are enabled to perceive what is the range of existing knowledge in this country. A philosophy, which, leaving alone all speculations concerning the origin and future state of man, confines itself almost wholly to the relations between man and man in this life, occupies one fourth portion. A history and a geography almost exclusively national occupy another fourth portion; while the existence of other nations, and the practical lessons to be learned from the rest of mankind, are almost wholly forgotten. With the exception of agriculture and weaving, the useful arts of life find hardly any place in Chinese literature. Mechanic and chemical sciences are scarcely thought of. Medicine we know to consist, for the most part, of mere quackery. Astronomical and mathematical sciences are chiefly derived from Europeans, and the knowledge of them is confined to a very few persons; while the vagaries of astrology and divination find a place not only in their literature, but also in the arrangements of government. Natural history is regarded only as an adjunct to medical science, if the practice of medicine among the Chinese can be dignified with the name of science. Seeing that so many are the defects of Chinese literature, it becomes our imperative duty to exert our utmost energies to supply their lack of knowledge.

In their last report, your committee presented a plan of operations, sketching the outlines of what was regarded as most demanding

attention in the performance of this duty. Progress has been made towards filling up this outline. The view of universal history is still in the press; but will it is hoped, be very shortly published. The history of the United States of America is in part completed, and will probably be sent to press in the course of January or February next. A history of England, the wooden blocks for printing which are already engraved, has been presented by the president, and, after careful revision, will be published. A history of the Jews, similar in some respects to Milman's, is in preparation. In the preparation of works on other subjects but little progress has yet been made. Each department of knowledge has been in some degree noticed in the monthly magazine; but no complete work has yet been undertaken, with the exception of the introduction to universal geography. A small work on general geography, in the form of a traveler's narrative of what he had seen,—as also a short treatise on the being of a God, adopting the principal arguments used by Paley,—both by the late Rev. Dr. Morrison, have been presented by the English secretary. These works will, after thorough revision, be sent to press.

A small work in Japanese has been presented by Mr. Gutzlaff, drawn up by himself, in concert with some Japanese living under his care. The subject of the work is international intercourse; and the arrangement is into three chapters,—the first showing the principles of intercourse between men and nations, as being all the work of the same God, and descended from one common ancestor,—the second chapter giving a general view of the sovereignties into which the world is divided,—and the third treating of international commerce. While the plan of the work was approved by your committee, it was thought doubtful whether, not being written in the Chinese language, it could come within the scope of the Society's labors. The subject is therefore now brought forward, to afford the Society an opportunity of declaring its views as to works designed for countries, the languages of which are cognate to, though not the same as that of China.

The subject of metallic movable types has on two former occasions been brought before the Society, with reference to the labors of Mr. Dyer at Malacca, and of M. Pauthier at Paris. Those gentlemen continue successfully to prosecute their labors in that department. Your committee have also had under consideration, the propriety of making an application for the movable types prepared by the East India Company for printing Dr. Morrison's Chinese dictionary, which types remain still in this country. Your committee have lately resolved to make an application to the honorable the Court of Directors to grant these types to the Society, upon the Society engaging, on its part, to undertake the printing of any works, combining the English and Chinese languages, which the Court of Directors may hereafter desire to have published, printing the same free of all other than the necessary charges for labor and materials.

Only one subject remains to be brought by your committee to the notice of the present meeting. This is, an inquiry as to the measures that should be adopted regarding the circulation of the Society's pub-

lications in this country. Liable, as they are, on account of the marks which they must bear of foreign hands, to be discountenanced by this government, natives will seldom be found willing to sell them on behalf of the Society. Your committee would, therefore, request this meeting to give to the subject its most careful consideration, that their successors for the ensuing year may be furnished with instructions how to act in reference to this important subject.

The treasurer's account for the past year shows but a small expenditure; there have been however some bills drawn against him which have not yet become payable; there are also several works in part completed, the costs of which have not yet been charged to the Soiety. The funds now in the hands of the treasurer amount to $1558.23.

In conclusion, your committee may be permitted to allude to the encouragement it has derived, from the fact of a professorship of the Chinese language having lately been established in London. The first appointment has been given, it is believed, to the Society's corresponding member, the Rev. Samuel Kidd. As a taste for the study of the ancient and unique language of this country is spread among the people of western nations, we may be encouraged to look forward to the formation of a larger band of coädjutors in the work of supplying the deficiencies of Chinese literature.

The report having been read, it was moved by J. Matheson, esq., seconded by E. Moller, esq., and unanimously resolved—

That the Report just read be accepted.

The meeting next proceeded to take into consideration the question, whether Mr. Gutzlaff's treatise in the Japanese language, on international intercourse, could, consistently with the constitution of the Society, be considered within the scope of its labors; when it was moved by the Rev. P. Parker, seconded by J. Matheson, esq., and unanimously resoved—

That, whilst this meeting is happy to hear of the existence of such a work in the Japanese language, it regrets that it does not come within the specific object of the Society, as stated in its second regulation, to publish it, the work being in the language of another nation.

In reference to the circulation of the Society's publications, it was moved by the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, seconded by J Matheson, esq., and unanimously resolved—

That the committee be directed to take efficient measures to circulate the publications of the Society, and, if necessary, to circulate them gratuitously.

On the motion of the Rev. P. Parker, seconded by E. Moller, esq., it was unanimously resolved—

That the officers for the ensuing year be as follows, the secretaries being requested to continue their services as heretofore:

R. Turner, esq, president; J. Matheson, esq., treasurer; J. C. Green, esq, R. H Cox. esq., and John Slade. esq., members of the committee; Rev. E C. Bridgman, and Rev. C Gutzlaff, Chinese secretaries; J. R. Morrison, esq, English secretary.

A vote of thanks having been made to the officers of the past year for their services, the meeting was then dissolved.

ART. VI. *Edicts of the Chinese government directed against the illicit trade in opium, at Lintin, and on the coast.*

[We insert the following translations of edicts directed against the opium trade, in continuance of those which have already appeared in the Repository. The first is the substance of a representation from the government of Fuhkeën to that of Canton; the second and third are from the naval commander-in-chief in Fuhkeën to the commanders of foreign vessels there; the fourth and fifth are from the government of Canton, calling on the British superintendent, captain Elliot, to expel the receiving ships.]

No. 1.

Communication from Chung, the governor of Fuhkeën and Chekeäng, and Wei, the lieut.-governor of Fuhkeën, addressed to the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse.

We formerly discovered, that certain depraved individuals, people of the district Tsinkeäng, by name She How, &c., had formed combinations with foreigners engaged in the sale of the filthy opium, supplying them with rice and other provisions, and, as there was great reason to fear, joining also in other unlawful acts. We felt that we could not neglect to adopt measures for apprehending and punishing such parties. We in consequence caused She How and other depraved people to be apprehended, and brought to the capital for trial; and we appended to our memorial to the throne a report respecting them. All this is on record.

The several offenders have now been successively apprehended, and, on examination of them, it appears, that She How and other depraved natives of the province of Fuhkeën, in concert with Wang Ma-cheih and other depraved natives of the province of Kwangtung, were associated with foreigners, for the purpose of acquiring gain by the sale of the drug. The scoundrels of the province Kwangtung get on board the foreign vessels to conceal themselves. These vessels, while for years past military operations have been going on against the sale of the drug, have been constantly cruising through the seas of Fuhkeën, disposing of the drug on the wide and open sea. On shore, there are mat houses erected, as secret places for storing up the opium. This combination existing, they have continued to go and come, and have never been entirely cut off.

The acting prefect of Tseuenchow foo (Chinchew), Chin Jeohan, with his colleagues, has now destroyed all the mat sheds, formerly erected by these criminal parties, and has successively apprehended those persons who, in this province, have been guilty of combining to effect the sale of the drug, to the number of forty-two, by name She Shaekwang, &c., all of whom have been tried and investigated with the utmost severity. There have also been seized vessels, with money, in taels and in foreign dollars, and weapons. Thus the village-dwelling people, all over the country, have learned to take warning and to stand in fear.

But the scoundrels of Kwangtung, being with the foreign scoundrels on board the ships, are no sooner seen than they again disappear. On the accompanying chart of the seas, all beyond the red line is the wide and open sea, unmarked by particular localities, where, consequently, it is difficult to follow in pursuit; and whither it is inexpedient, on every slight occasion, to put the naval forces at the trouble of pursuing. But these depraved foreigners, having now carried on the sale of the drug for a long period, must have obtained very considerable profits, which it will be impossible that they should in one day abandon. They will take every occasion of cruising about; and, waiting to observe the progress of circumstances, they will linge out their stay. It is imperatively necessary then to watch carefully, and diligently to search and apprehend, in order that the coast-guard may impress men with fear, and that, by this means, other calamities may be averted.

The admiral of Fuhkeën, Chin, has authority in all these seas, and his head-quarters, too, are not far from the cruising grounds of the opium ships. I, the governor, have therefore requested him to make it the particular duty of the vice-admirals and commanders of squadrons under him, from time to time to institute special investigations, in order to conduct this affair to a happy conclusion, and also himself to set them the example of so doing,—with the confident hope, that thus the depraved natives may be apprehended, and the foreign ships be deprived of all resting place. We fear, however, that the foreigners—a crafty and impracticable race—if they be not made previously to have a full knowledge thereof, will, when the military come to search and apprehend, venture to offer resistance, and when wounded, will not be without some pretext for complaint. This combination for the sale of opium, being in opposition to the laws and prohibitions of the celestial empire, must also be such an act as the foreign nations can with difficulty suffer. Now Macao, in the province of Kwangtung, is a place where are many officers and chief supercargoes of the various countries, conducting commercial operations; and it is right immediately to enjoin commands on them in reference hereto. It is therefore incumbent on us to address you [the governor of Kwangtung, &c.], that you may give commands to all such chief supercargoes, requiring that they trace out every existing combination for the sale of the drug, and that they immediately command the foreigners so combining speedily to sail away, so that they may be dealt with according to the laws of their own nation; by which means any undistinguishing apprehension and punishment of depraved foreigners may be avoided. And henceforth, on the arrival of foreign vessels at Macao, as well as at their departure, it is of the first importance that the aforesaid supercargoes should make very rigorous examination, and should not permit any one clandestinely to pass over the bounds, or, by combining with natives for the sale of the drug, to give rise to troublesome affairs.

The depraved natives of the province Kwangtung, whose names have been ascertained, Wang Ma-cheih and others, are ever and anon

coming and going. We have drawn out a list of their names and surnames, and their places of residence, requesting that your excellency will strictly direct the naval and civil officers of your province, diligently and with secrecy to search for and apprehend them. Our hope is, that they will assuredly be apprehended and committed for trial and punishment. The civil and naval officers of the province of Fuhkeën, though they have already apprehended many offenders, shall yet again be strictly commanded to continue the search with the utmost energy and vigor; and shall not be permitted in the least degree to relax their exertions. We further trust that you will favor us with information of the orders issued by you, and of the resulting apprehensions and trials, that the full measure of public advantage may be supplied. For this we stand impatiently waiting and looking forward. (Received on the 3d of September.)

No. 2.

CHIN, commander-in-chief of the naval forces in Fuhkeën and of the troops of Formosa, and TOW, commanding in Kinmun and other places,—again issue their plain commands.

By the statutes of the celestial empire, you of the foreign ships are permitted only to trade in Kwangtung, and are not allowed to pass over into other provinces. The established laws thus restrict you. But you foreigners are disobedient to these restraints, and are continually coming to cruise about in the seas of Fuhkeën; and as soon as you leave one place, you appear in some other, keeping in no fixed place. Thus do you indeed transgress the laws. Moreover, you are dealers in opium, thus rendering yourselves still further obnoxious to the prohibitory regulations. Now, the great man, our governor, has reported respecting you to the great emperor, and has also written to the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, to command your chief supercargoes to compel you to return to Canton, and no longer to permit you to pass the bounds. He has at the same time directed us to come hither and drive you away.

I, the admiral, cannot bear to cut you off without warning; and did therefore lately issue special orders to you, hastening your speedy departure, that all may be quiet and free from trouble. But, for several weeks that I, the admiral have been at sea observing your courses, I have found you now sailing up, now down, the coast; but always refusing to return southward as far as to Kwangtung. When you have been pursued by my naval vessels, you have indeed got under weigh: but as soon as you have drawn them into the outer seas, you have again approched the coast. Though you have assumed the outward appearance of dutiful respect; yet you have shown your purposes really deceitful and false. Would it be difficult for me, the admiral, to direct my whole fleet to surround and cut you off, and thus by one effort to secure eternal quiet? But I consider that you are yet ignorant, and therefore again issue orders for your infomation. All your foreign vessels must speedily return southward, in obedience to the laws, and proceed to Kwangtung to trade. Not a vessel must be allowed

to linger behind. If you dare again to oppose, and longingly hang on, delaying to depart—if when driven away on the upper part you escape to the lower part of the coast,—or if on your departure from one place you proceed to another,—I, the admiral, can then do no otherwise than call together my fleet, and open a fire on you from my guns. Say not that you were not told beforehand Tremble hereat! A special order.

Taoukwang, 17th year, 8th month, 2d day (1st September, 1837).

No. 3.

CHIN, commander-in-chief of the naval forces of Fuhkeën, and of the troops of Formosa, and Tow, commanding in Kinmun and other places again issue their orders to the commanders of foreign vessels, requiring them to be fully acquainted therewith.

I, the commander-in-chief of the navy treat men with liberality and indulgence, and it is my aim to be kind and compassionate. I lately sent you special order, speedily to return southward to Canton, that all necessity for having recourse to weapons might be removed. I could not bear to cut you off, unwarned; but I did this, with the conviction, that first should come polite treatment, and afterwards martial force. Yet you, foreigners, persist in unvarying folly, and presume to seek for mutual intercourse between the vessels of barbarians and of the Chinese; saying, that such intercourse has been of common occurrence,—that with your cargoes of woolens you wish to trade, and are willing to pay duty thereon,—and that you *must* have harmonious intercourse granted in answer to your requests. It is hence manifest that you obey not my admonitions, but are disposed to resist.

Ask, now, yourselves, in regard to your expectations that traitorous natives will afford you supplies, who—while I, the naval commander-in-chief, am anchored here, with a whole fleet of vessels of war—will dare to have intercourse with you, or will venture to take small boats alongside? Here is one point of view, in which, though you remain at anchor, looking around and cherishing hopes, yet it is plain you will, after all, be unable to carry on your cunning and would-be clever practices.

Moreover, the admitted laws of our celestial empire permit your vessels to trade only at Canton, and allow you not to pass over the bounds into other provinces. Though you say, that your cargoes consist of woolens, yet you cannot be suffered to dispose of them among the people. At the end of the summer of this present year, the great man, our governor, sent a memorial to the great emperor, saying that he had resolved to command you to return to Canton, and not to permit you, after the manner of past years, to come and go at your own pleasure. He also took the depraved natives of the families of Shay and She (who, on examination, confessed their intercourse with foreigners), and executed the laws upon all of them; so that no depraved native, who has the least regard for himself or his family, will for a moment dare again to have intercourse or to traffic with you.

Besides which, all along the coast, the civil and naval officers are at present numerous as the stars, and orderly arranged as pieces on a chess-board, so that in every spot they are at hand to search and apprehend. Here, again, it is plain, that your looking about and cherishing hopes will be but labor in vain, and that you will find no relief.

I, the commander-in-chief, have received a communication from the great man, our governor, desiring that I should myself put to sea, and at the head of the naval fleet drive you away. Obey, and you shall be treated with kindness: resist, and you shall be overwhelmed with terrors. I, the commander-in-chief, have not made a display of terrors, omitting to manifest goodness. I began with giving orders for your general information. Yet, you presumed to reply in the language of resistance. But, while you use absurd and contumacious language, and indulge foolish expectations, I cannot allow you to indulge in illegal conduct and foolish actions. So long as your ships defer their return, even so long will I delay my departure. I will then call together the fleets of Kinmun and Heämun (Quemoy and Amoy), and will try with you our relative positions, and enable you to compare the respective results of obedience and contumacy. I fear that, with only two ships, and in a distant province, and your powder, your water, and your grain no longer flowing in to renew your supplies, repentance will come to you when it is too late.

We, therefore, again give you our special commands. Can you be induced to obey the laws of the celestial empire, and to follow the wishes of the officers appointed by the court? These officers have rules—rules are laws—which it is indeed a hard matter in the least degree to transgress. Return, then, immediately southward to Canton; and you will do well. If you will not, you can no longer be thus indulgently treated; but must immediately be attacked and fired on. We will lead on our vessels, and will command the whole squadron forthwith to discharge their guns and attack you. Say not that this nation has no tenderness towards foreigners, no gracious intentions. It is for yourselves to choose between honor and disgrace. After these our commands, if there be any further folly and stupidity shown, and you do not reform, we cannot again stop to give you orders. Tremble with fear! These are our special orders.

No. 4.

Tang, the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Ke, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, issue these commands to the senior hong-merchants for their full information.

On the 3d of August, we received, from the grand council of state, copy of an imperial edict, dated 14th July, of the following tenor:

'Owing to the exportation of silver carried on from all the ports along the coast, and in consideration of the important bearing of this upon the national resources and the livelihood of the people, we have already, in repeated instances, declared our pleasure, requiring all the governors and lieut.-governors of the provinces faithfully to make examination and to act in this matter.

'To-day, again, the sub-censor Le Pankow has laid before us a memorial to this effect, that there are above ten English warehousing vessels, which, first in the year 1821, entered the anchorage of Kapshuy Moon, and thence, in 1833, removed their anchorage to Kumsing Moon; that the importation of opium, and the exportation of silver, depend wholly on these warehousing vessels, which form also a general refuge for absconders; that a set of worthless fellows, in boats called 'fast-crabs,' going and coming from morn to night, find means to make their way stealthily into every creek and inlet; that there are depraved dealers who prepare the drug for use, buying and selling by wholesale; and also that the native retail dealers in foreign commodities, under the open pretext of selling articles of commerce, make secret smuggling their business, and in nowise differ from the larger preparers of the drug

'There surely must be a fixed place of anchorage for the vessels of the foreigners: how then is it, that, while, previous to the year 1821, the clandestine establishment of warehousing vessels was never heard of, these vessels have of late been suffered to remain for whole years at anchor on the high seas, thus leading to unlawful combination between them and natives, and to unrestrained smuggling? Let it be the responsible duty of the governor of Kwangtung and his colleagues, to give strict orders to the hong-merchants, to be enjoined on the resident foreigners of the said nation, requiring them to compel the warehousing vessels now anchored there, one and all, to return home, and not to permit them under any pretext to linger about. Let them also ascertain where are the dens and hiding-places of the opium-dealers, and inflict punishment on each individual, without the slightest indulgence. Thus the sources of the evil may be closed up, and the spirit of contumacy be suppressed. Let a copy of the memorial, together with these commands, be transmitted to Tăng and Ke, and by them let the commands be enjoined on Wăn. Respect this.'

This having been, with respectful obedience, transmitted to us the governor and lieut.-governor, and we having received the same, our commands were forthwith issued to the hong-merchants, requiring them earnestly and zealously to enjoin the same on the said English superintendent, Elliot, and directing, that he should pay immediate obedience to the declared imperial pleasure, that he should send away home every one of the receiving vessels now anchored in the various offings, and that he should no longer suffer them to linger about as heretofore; also, that hereafter, merchantmen should not be allowed to bring over the wide ocean any contraband goods such as the filthy opium, but should be required to confine themselves to a lawful trade in dutyable commodities. Thus we hoped to be enabled to stop the source of evil, and to hold up the laws to honor. This is on record.

After thus doing, we successively received reports from the military commander at Tapáng, from the sub-prefect at Macao, and from the civil and naval authorities of Heängshan, to the effect that there were twenty-five receiving vessels anchored off the Motaou

islands [in Kapshuy Moon], as also in the offing of the Nine Islands and Cabreta Point, and in the anchorage of the Typa; from which places they successively moved, on the 29th and 30th days of August, and on the 2d and 3d of September, nineteen of the said receiving ships proceeding from the Motaou islands to Tseën-sha-tsuy offing [Hongkong], and two from the Nine Islands, and one from off Cabreta Point, to the same place: further, that, on the 8th of September, two vessels moved from Tseën-sha-tsuy to the Typa, and on the 9th, one from the same place to Cabreta Point; while only a Dutch ship, which had in the year 1834 anchored off the Nine Islands, and had at this time removed to Tseën-sha-tsuy, weighed anchor on the 7th, and proceeded to sea, beyond the Great Ladrone island. We also received a communication from the naval commander-in-chief to the same effect, adding that Tseën-sha-tsuy is to the eastward of Motaou; and suggesting the great necessity for driving off the numerous vessels which have now taken up their anchorage there.

Now these receiving ships come from the southwestward, and must needs return in a southwest direction; how is it then that they have on the contrary removed eastward! And why do they not remain in one place! It is manifest herefrom, that they wish to cruise about unchecked, and to linger in the neighborhood, to watch the progress of circumstances.

The goodness of the celestial empire and its cherishing kindness are extreme. Since it first granted to all nations a general market, where the commodities of all might be bartered, a space of 200 years has elapsed, as though it had been but a single day. Such profound benevolence, favors so substantial, are well fitted to penetrate the entire body, even to the very marrow of the bones. Could it then be supposed, that depraved foreigners would twist away the laws, and, to serve merely their private ends, would assume the pretence of traffic! Most lucid and clear are the sacred commands! Can any yet dare to be, as the habitual beholder, unobservant,—and still continue to linger about? And are the seas of the Central Flowery land to be made a common sewer for the reception of this filthy opium! Or shall we, entrusted with the defense and government of the frontier, be thought unable to follow such conduct with the rigor of the law? Consider, if, within the territory of any of these countries, the vessels of another country were contumaciously to infringe the prohibitions and to remain there for a long period, refusing to leave, whether the king of that nation would not regard it necessary to punish such offenders with rigor, denying them the least indulgence? How much more then the celestial empire! How can it suffer barbarians to remain in its waters, disobeying the laws, and, without restraint, throwing contempt thereon!

The king of the said nation has been heretofore dutiful and respectful, and his prohibitions have been rigorous and clearly enacted. Also, being apprehensive lest merchants or seamen of vessels coming hither should infringe prohibitions, or trangress the laws, and so should bring shame upon their country, he specially deputed the

superintendent, Elliot, to keep them under control and restraint. But these receiving ships have now remained for a very long time at anchor; and though a month has elapsed since the said superintendent has received our commands, he has not yet sent the ships away to their country. We fear he is unequal to the duties of superintendent. If he can willingly subject himself to scandal on account of these receiving vessels, how will he answer it to his king? Or how to us the governor and lieutenant-governor? Let him in the stillness of night reflect hereon, and if he do so, we think that he will be unable to find rest upon his bed.

We proceed once more to issue our strict and plain commands. The senior hong-merchants are immediately on the receipt thereof, to enjoin them on the superintendent Elliot; and he is, in obedience thereto, immediately to make known to the receiving vessels the imperial goodness, and also the imperial terrors,—to set before them the choice of weal or woe,—and to urge their speedy and entire departure for their country. There must be no contumacious opposition. The said superintendent is also to convey it to his king, that henceforth such receiving vessels are to be prohibited ever again coming hither, that the precious gems and worthless pebbles may not be confounded. Thus from above will be realized the extensively advantageous and boundless favors of the great emperor, and thus also will be retained to all good foreigners an open path of commerce, for endless generations.

We, the governor and lieut.-governor, hold a great power in our hands, and that which we determine to do we do. What difficulty is it to us to drive these ships away with the utmost rigor? Yet we refuse not to repeat our admonitions again and again, fearing lest there should be any want of prefect faithfulness, and any consequent obstruction to the display of universally impartial benevolence. If, after this time of issuing our commands, the receiving vessels again collect, as though our words fell upon deaf ears, and continue still to remain looking around them, it will be plain that they are irrecoverably blind, stupid, and devoid of intelligence, and that further words will avail nothing.

Whether it be that the said superintendent, with folded arms, looks on, regardless,—or whether it be that those of the receiving ships have in their hearts no place for repentance, let the said senior merchants immediately and truly report to us, that we may act as the facts require. It is important that the said senior merchants should know, that on them, by the imperial pleasure, has devolved the duty of conducting out this affair. Their responsibility is incalculably weighty. Let them be careful then, not to forget their families, or their own lives; nor let them, by continuing this unconcerned and contemptuous line of conduct, draw down upon themselves disgrace and heavy criminality. Reflect on this; with trembling anxiety consider it! Oppose not. These are our special orders.

Note. The above is in the main, a translation of an edict, dated 18th September: there are a few interpolations from similar edicts, of which that of 18th September was the third.

No. 5.

From the governor and lieut.-governor, allowing a period of one month for the departure of the opium-receiving ships.

Tang, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and Ke, lt.-governor of Kwangtung, issue their orders to the senior hong merchants, for their full information.

Having before received a dispatch from the council of state, communicating an imperial edict, which had been respectfully received, on the subject of driving away the opium-receiving ships,—we, the governor and lieutenant-governor, have already given particular orders on this subject. We prescribed a period, and commanded the said merchants to enjoin it earnestly and impressively on the superintendent Elliot, that he should require the receiving ships to take their departure. So long a time as two months have now elapsed, and those receiving ships remain still at anchor, as before. And, the said superintendent having plainly represented to us, that the commands so enjoined could not be brought by him to the knowledge of his king, we also directed the civil and military authorities of the department of Kwangchow to make a copy of our joint commands, and to enjoin the same on the said superintendent, that in obedience thereto, he might with speed send away the receiving ships, and require every one of them to depart and return to their country; also, that he might make it known to his king, in order that their return may for the future be interdicted. This is on record.

Now, it appears, from the several successive reports and examinations of the commander of the Tapăng squadron, the naval and civil authorities of the district of Heängshan, and the sub-prefect residing at Macao, that the various receiving ships have not yet taken their departure. This is a gross act of contumacy and contempt.

We have now again received the following imperial edict.

"Tăng and his colleagues have presented a memorial, in reference to measures taken for driving away the receiving ships, and to regulations determined on for apprehending and punishing the brokers and smugglers of opium. It appears from this memorial, that the receiving ships and cargo-laden ships of the English and other nations have, of late years, under pretext of taking shelter from the weather, been in the practice of entering the inner seas. Commands have now been issued to the hong-merchants, to be by them enjoined on the superintendent of affairs of the said nation, requiring that all the receiving ships, anchored off Lintin and other places, be sent away and ordered by him to return to their country; and that they be not allowed as before to remain lingering at anchor. The senior hong merchants have also been commanded, as soon as the receiving ships start to return to their country, immediately to report the circumstance, that it may be authentically ascertained by examination. The class of 'fast-crab boats' has been completely swept away; but there are yet many smuggling boats under various other designations. These, as well as the depraved gang of brokers, it is indeed impossible to suffer to continue their unrestrained courses. The military officers

of the circuits and departments, and all the vice-admirals and commanders of squadrons, have therefore been directed to set an example to all their subordinates, and to keep up a constant and unbroken guard, for the purpose of discovering and apprehending the guilty.

"The anchorage of foreign ships in the inner seas, and their combining with natives to introduce what is contraband, are the most aggravated evils now existing in the province of Kwangtung. The governor and his colleagues, aforesaid, must faithfully and strictly make examination, and clearly ascertain, whether, since they have issued those orders, the said foreign superintendent has or has not paid obedience to them, and whether the receiving ships have or have not taken their departure: they must require the ships one and all to return to their country, and must not suffer them to linger for a moment. If they dare to suffer gradual encroachment and to let the matter rest, at a future day, when I the emperor on inquiry hear of it, or am by any one informed thereof, the said governor and his colleagues alone will I hold responsible. In regard to the various classes of smuggling vessels, it is still more important that measures should be adopted with strictness to make seizure of them, with the hope that they may be utterly destroyed and rooted up. Nor must they, when perchance they have made a few seizures, forthwith declare that they have entirely succeeded in removing them, and so still occasion a continuance of the evil. Respect this."

It is our duty immediately to pay respectful obedience to this, and to issue orders commanding the obedience of others. We, therefore, forthwith issue these commands. When they reach the said hong merchants, let them immediately enjoin them upon the said superintendent, Elliot, that he likewise may obey the same. He must, within the space of one month, pay respectful obedience to the declared imperial pleasure, by sending off the various receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, requiring them one and all to return to their country; and he must report their departure for our official investigation, that we may report the same to the throne. If they dare again, in any measure, to linger, then, the kindness and tenderness of the celestial empire having been carried to the utmost, and there being no room left for additional favor, it will remain only to display the celestial terrors, and to make apparent the glory of the established laws. We shall have to report plainly to the great emperor, that the merchant ships may be denied permission to open their holds, and that, grasping the laws, we may pursue with them the receiving ships. And further, seeing that the said superintendent, in the discharge of his official duties, sits hand-bound, idly looking on at the unrestrained and illegal practices of depraved foreigners, even kicking against our commands, and resisting the imperial pleasure, we shall find it difficult to believe that he is not guilty of the offense of sheltering and giving license to these illegalities. We will assuredly proceed to expel him, and drive him back to his country.

We, the governor and lieut.-governor, will, in the maintenance of the laws, stand firm as the hills, and of a surety will show no indul-

gence. The said senior merchants are men to whom the imperial pleasure has alloted the duty of conducting forth this matter. If then, they cannot, within the stated period, guide and instruct these foreigners in the path of duty, and if the rvaious receiving ships continue to look around them to view the course of events, and still remove far off the day of their departure, in that case they shall also be degraded, and their offenses shall be visited with severity. Tremble at this—intensely—intensely. A special order.

Taoukwang, 17th year, 10th month, 22d day. (20th Nov., 1837.)

ART. VII. *Statements of imports and exports to and from China under the Dutch colors, from 1st of January to 31st of December*, 1836.

IMPORTS.

Rice	Peculs 102,392	Pepper	Peculs 2,100
Rattans	7,481	Skins	Pieces 3,400
Tin	1,322	Gin	Cases 130
Sandalwood	2,736	Cotton	Bales 699
Iron	1,500	Opium	Chests 10
Birds' Nests	26½	Camlets	Pieces 3,000
Gold and Silver Thread	4	Sundries, valued at	$50,000

EXPORTS TO HOLLAND AND JAVA.

Bohea & Congo	Chests 2,200	Nankeens	Pieces 12,584
Campoy	1,454	Empty Bags	180,000
Souchong	3,012	China Umbrellas	28,050
Pekoe	203	Silk Piece Goods	815
Hyson	705	Tiles (for floors)	14,000
Hungmuey	¼ Chests 1,188	Tea for Java	Chests 4,359
Twankay	884	Lackered Ware	Boxes 1,000
Hyson Skin	90	Sweetmeats	2,651
Imperial & Gunpowder	300	Crackers	270
Raw Silk	Peculs 54	Joss sticks	36
Cassia ‖	1,552	Opium	72
Joss Paper	110	Paint	Tubs 440
Hartall	250	China Ware	Bundles 4,000
China Root & Galangal	3,607	Trunks	Sets 300
Anniseed	530	Chinese Medicines and Sundries, valued at	$75,000
Writing Paper	711		
Cassia Oil	12		

This statement of the imports and exports has been kindly sent to us by the Dutch consul; it came to hand too late to find a place in our last number.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences. Stoppage of foreign commerce threatened; fires in Canton; return of the governor; literary examinations; communications between the local government and the superintendent of British trade suspended.*

THE STOPPAGE of the foreign trade, our readers will perceive by a perusal of a preceding article, is at length, threatened, as a dernier resort for arresting the traffic in opium. Thus, the *ne plus ultra* of paper-warfare—mere words—farce, has come. What will be the actual results, it remains to be seen. But, since the local authorities have failed to dislodge individuals from the provincial city, it is not very probable they will succeed in driving fifteen or twenty ships from the high seas. By recent arrivals from Calcutta and Bombay, it appears, that there has been no decrease in the produce of the Indian drug during the current year—it being estimated, that 19,000 chests will come into the market at Calcutta; and that 25,000 chests of Malwa will be furnished at Bombay and Damaun: this will give 9,000 above the produce of last year, which was 35,000 chests. Nor does there seem to be any very permanent check in the rate of deliveries, or of the comsumption of the drug. Hundreds of chests, it is said, have been brought within the Bogue, and even to Whampoa, during the month. It is *possible* the regular legal trade of the port may be suspended; though there is, we apprehend, little probability of such a measure being adopted, as things now are.

A *fire* broke out about a hundred rods north of the foreign factories, at 10 P. M., on the 2d instant. The fire originated, according to the report given us at the time, with smoking opium A lady, having taken her usual number of pipes, fell asleep, and her servant girl retired to rest. Shortly after by some accident, the fire from the lamp was comunicated to the curtains of the lady's bed. Fortunately she escaped, and the flames were extinguished—not, however, before the house was reduced to ashes. The poor servant girl perished in the ruins.

The governor returned on the 15th, from reviewing military defenses eastward, A nephew of the Emperor arrived here on the 6th, as one of the lieut.-generals of the Tartar garrison.

The literary examiners in Keängse having, during the recent examinations, disposed of some of the degrees for money, instead of according to the merit of the essays written, and the circumstance having become public, one of them has, in consequence, destroyed himself, and the other is under close custody, waiting intelligence of the imperial pleasure respecting him.

An interruption of communications between the governor of Canton and captain Elliot, chief superintendent of British trade in China, has been announced in the following letter, addressed "to the British subjects resident in Canton."

Gentlemen,—I have recently had the honor to receive instructions from her majesty's government, directing me to make a communication to the governor of these provinces, concerning the manner of my intercourse with his excellency.

The governor has declined to accede to the conditions involved in these instructions; and whilst these difficulties subsist, all communication between us has necessarily ceased. In this posture of circumstances, I can only assure you, gentlemen, of my sincere disposition to afford you any public assistance in my power, either in the form of counsel, or in any other way which may be consistent with my situation.

Neither can I conclude this letter, without respectfully and earnestly suggesting to you, the expediency of taking this occasion to draw from the provincial government a definite explanation of its intentions with relation to your claims against the Hingtae hong; claims, it will be remembered, which have been examined and certified, in strict conformity with arrangements, required and sanctioned by this government.

It seems to me to be an object of considerable importance to the general interests of the trade, that my report to her majesty's government, detailing the interruption of the public communications, should be accompanied by a statement of your own position in respect to these particular claims.

I will only detain you, gentlemen, to offer you the expression of my best thanks for the courtesy and consideration which I have always received at your hands.

I have the honor to be, &c.

Canton, November 29th, 1837. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VI.—DECEMBER, 1837.—No. 8.

ART. I. *Narrative of a voyage of the ship Morrison, captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan, in the months of July and August,* 1837. By S. WELLS WILLIAMS. *(Concluded from p. 229.)*

JULY 16TH. During the last night we passed around the southern point of Lewchew, and at daybreak were at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles from its eastern shore. Favored with a light wind, we sailed along the coast in a northeasterly direction—the scenery presenting nothing peculiar, Mount Onnodake being the only conspicuous object. A few fishing canoes came alongside, each containing three or four natives, with whom our Japanese entered into conversation, and who eagerly received some ship's provisions. These fishermen were almost destitute of the tackle necessary for capturing their food; and for squalidness and poverty appeared to be worse than any seen on the other side of the island.—In conversation, to-day, Mr. Gutzlaff mentioned having enjoyed a very pleasant visit on shore at Napa, where he went early yesterday morning, for the purpose of hastening the supplies for the Raleigh. He went into the city, (which from his description is in most respects lik Pootsung, though much longer,) attended by several of the officers; and was, together with his companions, furnished with a breakfast. In his walks through the streets, he met a number of horses of a diminutive size, coming down from Shoody, laden with panniers of sugar, but otherwise remarked no domestic animals. The officers who waited on him were inquisitive to know more about the destination of the Morrison, her character and nation, and how the Japanese were wrecked; extending their inquiries to many topics which they before could not find opportunity to touch upon, and which his fluency of speech enabled him to answer without having recourse to the pencil; evincing, in their remarks, an intelligent curiosity. He said, a few, among whom was

Anyah, remembered his visit in the Lord Amherst in 1831; but the stay, both in the previous and present, visits, was too transient to allow of renewing or making many acquaintances.

July 28th. For the last ten or twelve days we have slowly approached the coast of Japan, aided most of the way by a powerful current. After leaving the Lewchew group, on the 17th, we passed, in longitude 128° 49′ east, a small but high island, supposed to be Wukido, although by our chronometers its position, as laid down on the charts, was twenty-six miles too far east. The next day, another small conical island was seen, not marked in the charts, which may prove a discovery, but is more probably a new position for Bungalow island, one of the chain that stretches from Kiusiu to Lewchew. The passage, after leaving this island, was remarkable for the oppressive heat—a heat whose sultriness was not measured by the thermometer, but which deprived one of all energy both mental and physical. This state of weather was in direct opposition to the united testimony of all our authors, from Mendez Pinto to Krusenstern inclusive; and had we had an augurer on board, we should no doubt have drawn a presage of a favorable, if not warm, reception from the imperial court, whither we were bound.

July 29th. This morning, the early light revealed to us the southern point of the principality Toötomi, called Chana-saki, a bluff headland, made still more conspicuous by the low line of contiguous coast which diverges to the northward. It was immediately and joyfully recognized by Iwakitchi, who, as well as his companions, had been on the lookout for one or two days to catch a glimpse of their native land. The current, aided by a light breeze, carried us rapidly past this headland, and by 9 o'clock we raised the high point of Iro-saki, the southern extremity of the principality of Izu. Soon after, the chain of islands that extend off from the southeast corner of Nipon appeared in sight, which, with Iro-saki, form the waymarks of our passage up the bay of Yédo.

Some of this chain are large islands, supporting a sparse population; others of them are small uninhabited islets, between which are many insulated rocks. One of the southerly and best known of the group is Fachisio or Fatsisio, the Botany Bay of the Japanese, where the seogun banishes all the obnoxious nobility and men of troublesome talent, and where they are employed in various trades and elegant arts, chiefly, it is said, in furnishing the imperial family with silken garments. Kæmpfer tells us, that the banks of the island are so steep, that whenever any provision or person is to be landed, the boat and all its cargo must be hoisted up by powerful cranes, lest the boat be dashed in pieces by the surf. It lies about 160 miles directly south of Yédo, and 110 south-southeast from Iro-saki, in latitude 33° north, and longitude 140° east, and is encompassed by several small islands, all of which, from their description, are of volcanic origin. The largest of the islands, between Fachisio and the mainland, are Oö-sima (or I. Vries,) and I. du Volcan, on both of which there are volcanoes, some of whose eruptions have been very destructive of life

and property: in consequence of one that happened many years since in Oö-sima, the inhabitants fled from the island to the principality of Izu, and since that catastrophe there has been no fixed population. The waters around these islands teem with fish, and an extensive fishery is carried on by small craft from the contiguous coasts. From our position the lowermost islands were not discernible, but Oö-sima and others which could be seen were partially wooded, and showed traces of cultivation.

The coast of Nipon opposite to us presented a magnificent gallery of mountains, rising from the abrupt and indented shore in an irregular gradation into lofty and still loftier peaks, until the summit of Mount Fusi, at the estimated height of 14,000 feet, ended the series. This mountain is very famous in Japanese story, being, as Kæmpfer says, so renowned, that "poets cannot find words, nor painters skill and colors, sufficient to represent it as they think it deserves." It was about forty miles from us, and the top resembled the roof of a house, (whence its name Fusi,) with the gable end pointing towards the sea, and the smooth, barren sides, for many hundred feet, gradually sloping downwards. The peak is represented as being almost inaccessible by reason of a broad barrier of fine sand on its acclivity; and is, moreover, the reputed residence of Eolus, and the entrance to the hades of Budhistic mythology, inasmuch, as the summit is rarely clear of mist or clouds, and there are the traces of an immense crater near the top. The priests of Yamabus often refer to this mountain in their incantations, and use the name Fusi-yama, as a kind of watchword. In the ravines near the top, large masses of snow still rested, and we were told that it remained in greater or less quantities during the whole year. The clouds that enveloped the peak would now and then roll off to the northward, giving us a glimpse of it in all its solitary loftiness and grandeur; and sometimes the sublimity of the view was increased, when the summit peered above the belt of clouds which encircled the sides, while its own outline rested in bold relief upon the clear sky.

The southern extremity of the principality of Izu, which, in its oblong, peninsular form, greatly resembles Yucatan in Gautimala, is a bold promontory, whose shores are skirted with sharp conical peaks or *aiguilles* of naked granite. Numerous coves in the coast afford the fishing craft secure retreats from the tempest, and the bay of Simoda was pointed out to us as a large and commodious harbor. The country, a short distance from the shore, was exceedingly uneven, and apparently but little cultivated; the ravines and those hills whose contour was rounded were in some places thickly wooded, but the general aspect of the scenery was that of remediless sterility. This opinion, drawn as it was from our position, would no doubt be greatly modified on a closer examination, for there were extensive tracts of intermediate levels entirely hid from view; yet our Japanese said the country was poor and thinly settled, and that many parts in the mountainous districts were infested with wolves, bears, and other wild animals. The southern cape is remarkable for a white bluff,

off which lies a large rock. About two miles from this cape, in a southerly direction, is a small naked rock not laid down in the chart, forming a serious danger in the navigation up the bay of Yédo.

As the ship approached the land, the number of junks and boats in sight increased; at one time we counted between forty and fifty, most of them bound westward, right before the wind. Iwakitchi, who was pretty good authority in such matters, having been at Yédo upwards of twenty times, according to his own account, said that the fleet had probably been windbound and prevented coming out of the bay — not an unusual occurrence. There were boats and junks of many sizes, from a fishing smack up to a junk of 200 or 300 tons, all in their general form and rigging resembling those at Napa keäng. The single mast was supported by a large forestay, and by several backstays, passing to the sides of the vessel. Off the wind, they sailed with a rolling motion; and when close hauled, made much lee way, being like the Chinese vessels without keels. They neither avoided nor sought us, though their proximity to the shore prevented our speaking or approaching any of them. Towards evening their number decreased, and by nightfall, whatever may have been the reason, there was not one to be seen, except a few at anchor in an inlet. Giusabaru, who appears to be well informed in naval affairs, says that the names of vessels are usually three Chinese characters, the last one of which is always *fan* (all), applied in this case to mean a vessel.

During the day, though opposed by a northeasterly wind, we gradually advanced into the bay of Yédo, still aided by the powerful current that had hitherto befriended us. The feelings of the Japanese were highly excited at the sight of their native hills, and the prospect of again meeting their families and friends; and as we passed along, the three Owári men pointed out headlands and objects familiar to them. Oö-sima is a conspicuous object at the entrance of the bay, its conical summit being almost constantly covered with clouds, which were at times so dense and peculiar that we thought the volcano on the island was in action. The small bay of Sagami, which lies east of the peninsula of Izu, opened upon us as we passed in between Iro-saki and Oö-sima; and night closed in when we were opposite its entrance. The feelings of the party during the day were of a mixed, indescribable nature — a compound of hope, fear, and expectation, which comes over one when on the eve of some event that he supposes will form an era in his life. During the night, as we beat up the bay, fires were observed burning on several eminences, from which we inferred that our approach was known, and the intelligence by this means conveyed to the capital. We were told that on the most prominent headlands along the southern coast, there are fires lighted every night for the guidance of vessels, which are sustained by the government. The fires in this instance, however, differed from any which our men had before seen, and were in different situations.

July 30th. The morning light found us not far south of Mi-saki or cape Sagami, the southern point of the principality of the same

name, and which also forms the western point of the entrance to the bay of Yédo, more properly speaking. The bay of Yédo, as it is called, is a large estuary, between thirty and forty miles wide at its entrance, and extending thirty miles north at nearly a uniform width, up to Mi-saki. This is the southerly point of a small peninsula, forming part of the principality of Sagami, which projects into the estuary, and on the western side of it, towards the shores of Izu, lies the bay of Sagami, at its entrance being about twenty miles wide. Mi-saki and Su-saki, (or cape Su,) both very prominent headlands, lying from each other nearly northeast and southwest, twelve or fifteen miles apart, form the entrance to the bay of Yédo, at the north end of which the capital stands, forty miles from Su-saki. The clear atmosphere, which we had yesterday, was this morning succeeded by a drizzling rain, rendered still more unpleasant by the head wind, and which entirely obscured the contiguous shores. This sudden and disagreeable change, while the barometer was at its usual elevation, is explained by the high mountains in the vicinity condensing the vapor, which, as the clouds become surcharged, falls upon the surrounding country, keeping it in a continual shower-bath.

The banks of the bay are abrupt, but not high; and as we approached either side in our zigzag course, the shores offered an agreeable variety of hill and dale, covered with vegetation. Trees of many sizes and kinds skirted the tops of the hills, and a low growth of bushes their sides, both of a lively green, giving the scenery a cheerful aspect, very different from the ruggedness of the mountains in Izu.

About twelve o'clock, we first heard the distant report of guns, though it was sometime before the fact could be distinctly ascertained, on account of the haziness, and the noise attendant on working the ship. The reports were heard at considerable intervals, and we assigned different reasons for so unexpected a proceeding; nor could the Japanese give us a satisfactory clue to operations so opposed to all their experience; and they suggested hoisting the ensign. Some thought that the guns were to report to the court our progress; others surmised that the officers near the harbor of Uragawa did not feel at liberty to allow a foreign vessel to pass into the anchorage without orders from their superiors, and some suggested they were saluting the ship: but all our doubts concerning their designs were removed, as soon as the weather cleared up, and we saw the balls falling towards the ship half a mile ahead. The guns were stationed on the point at the entrance of the harbor; and in order to guard the passage completely, guns were fired from the opposite side of the bay;—between them was a distance of five or six miles. There was but little danger to be apprehended from the metal of the guns, for the channel was sufficiently wide for beating out of their reach; yet the evident determination of the officers on shore to prevent our farther progress into the "inner waters," induced us to come to anchor where we then were, about two miles below the point. Breakers, a short distance ahead, also indicated other dangers that were to be avoided; but the

lead, which had been constantly hove while we were coming in, had hitherto reported a depth of twenty fathoms in the mid channel, gradually shoaling towards either side, and we brought up in seven fathoms. The firing from both sides ceased soon after we anchored.

The harbor of Uragawa, which it had been our intention to gain before anchoring, is on the western side of the bay, above the point where the guns were placed, and is the stopping-place of all vessels before going to Yédo. Here reside officers whose duty is to examine the manifests and crews of the inward bound vessels, ascertain that the two exactly correspond, that there are no women on board, and give a passport of entrance to the port of Shinagawa further up. We were told that decapitation is the punishment inflicted upon all the crew of any junk in which a female is detected; and that, when the manifest does not tally with the crew, detention and difficulty ensue. The shores of the harbor are lined with habitations, and the adjacent country is represented as densely peopled, and highly cultivated. Sixteen *ri* (about 23 miles) above Uragawa is Shinagawa, where all vessels proceed after they have been examined and passed, and where they unlade and receive cargo, it being only one *ri* from Yédo, and rather a suburb of the capital than a separate place. The bay above Uragawa spreads out into an extensive sheet of water, in some parts twenty-five miles across, in which junks and fishing craft are constantly sailing. Otokitchi says, that he has seen between seventy and eighty sail of vessels arrive and depart from Shinagawa in one day, and that the number usually anchored there is upwards of a thousand. The comparatively narrow entrance to the bay below Uragawa enables the Japanese to guard the approach to the capital in a very effectual manner, and the extreme caution they manifest in searching all coasting craft, apparently indicates some apprehension of danger from that quarter.

The anchorage we had taken was just off the outer point of a small curve in the shore, on the upper end of which the guns were placed. The nearest land was about three fourths of a mile, and from that spot the shore took a deep circular sweep, and then rounded gradually up to the higher point; at the bottom of the curve, on the banks of a small stream, were a few poor huts of fishermen, partly hid under the trees, the only dwellings in sight. A sandy beach extended the whole length of the bay, behind which the country rose in irregular gradations, diversified by cultivated field and bleak or wooded hills for a long distance inland. The southern and nearest point was a bluff hill covered with low pines, and from it the shore stretched to the south for several miles in a continuous, unbroken cliff, that rose almost perpendicularly from the beach. The numerous hills before us were for the most part rounded in their contour, and usually bore groves of trees either on their summits or sides. Many of them were terraced in a manner that showed the industry of the inhabitants; some were thus improved whose acclivities were so steep that the hill-sides resembled a flight of stairs, apparently without any flat surface on which plants could grow. Others were on gentler elevations,

where the grain could be discerned. Some of the fields were of a bright green, like young grain, and adjoining them were others of a dark green or blackish hue, like grass or turned up loam; and this contrast, still more variegated by the clumps of trees scattered about, rendered the scenery picturesque in the highest degree. No towns or solitary mansions were seen; but in the low wooded ravines, or hid behind the hills, we suspected there were settlements, from the rows of trees which led over the face of the country, and which, Kæmpfer says, are usually planted on both sides of the public highways. The absence of solitary mansions scattered here and there in a landscape, whose presence forms a prominent feature in European scenery, is, I believe, with few or no exceptions, a distinctive characteristic of views in heathen countries: either from suspicion, or insecurity, or predilection to gregarious habits, the people usually cluster together in villages or towns. The landscape before us did not extend many miles, being bounded by an irregular range of hills in the horizon, but the beauty of that which we could see, raised a strong desire to make further explorations. The shores beyond the upper point of the curvature made another gentle sweep, whose upper termination formed the beginning of the harbor of Uragawa. The eastern shore, belonging to the principality of Kazusa, was too far distant to see much more than its uneven outline and lofty hills; but it was as green and well wooded as that near us. On an eminence, near the spot where the guns were placed, we observed a smoke, probably the remains of the signal-fires of the previous night, which was kept up until evening.

We anchored about 3 P. M., and soon after boats began to approach the ship; but the few first could not be induced to come alongside, and returned to the shore, satisfied with gazing at the ship and masts. An old man first ventured up the sides, who as he crossed the gangway took a survey of the deck, and then stepped down. When fairly aboard, he saluted us by slowly bending his body and suspending his arms, until his fingers nearly touched the deck. He then proceeded to examine the objects about him, slowly passing from one to another, but was speedily interrupted and recalled by his companions; but on his favorable report, all immediately clambered on board. Other boats now arrived, and the decks were soon covered with Japanese, who went over the ship, making their remarks on what they saw to each other, without paying much heed to the foreigners. The pigs and geese were scrutinized with great attention by them; and in explanation, Otokitchi said that both those animals, although known, were but little used in this part of the island. The height of the masts and rigging were also sources of unceasing wonder, and the boats often stopped a little distance from the ship, while the inmates, to whom a foreign vessel would naturally be an object of interest, gazed upwards. Our visitors appeared friendly, at first coming up to us with questions; but soon, ascertaining the inability of most of us to speak their language, they made their remarks among themselves, or carried their doubts to Mr. Gutzlaff. Nothing except a small fish was brought for

sale; nor would they part with their little articles of dress, although none made any objection to receiving whatever was offered.

The majority were thinly clad, notwithstanding the cold rain; a piece of cloth around the loins, or a loose gown thrown over the shoulders, secured at the waste by a girdle, was their usual covering. A few wore quilted cotton jackets, whose tattered condition and repeated mendings indicated the poverty of the wearer; and now and then, when an individual had become chilly and wet from exposure to the rain, he would borrow his neighbor's garment for a short time, certainly a convenient accommodation. Their sandals were made of grass, modeled like those of the Lewchewans; few, however, wore them; nor were the heads of many covered. The Japanese shave the crown of the head, leaving the hair on the sides above the ears to grow long, and combing it back to the occiput, where the whole is gathered up into a cue and brought upwards and forwards to the crown, and tied with a cord; when tied, the end is cut square off, leaving a little tuft on the top. Whenever the hair above the ears is neglected and falls slovenly over the neck and shoulders, it gives a peculiarly haggard, ruffian-like aspect to the person; but the heads of most of those we saw were neatly dressed. Until the age of thirteen to sixteen, lads suffer the hair over the whole head to grow, binding it in two tufts on the crown; and the first shaving of the young man is equivalent to the ceremony of putting on the toga among the ancient Romans. The women are not shaved, but bind their long hair on their heads with a profusion of combs and ornaments, making rather a fanciful headdress. In the general cast of their countenances, our visitors differed considerably from the Chinese, while the points of resemblance were sufficient to indicate their connection with the great Mongolian race of northern Asia. In their oblong, sunken, and angular eyes, they were like the Chinese; but their short necks, snub-noses, high cheek-bones and inferior stature, approximate rather to the Coreans, Kuriles, and northern branches, than to the sons of Han. Many of them have heavy beards, and the majority were large-limbed men.

To all, who by their dress or otherwise appeared more respectable than the others, we gave pieces of paper, on which was written a request for the presence of an officer on board with whom we could communicate. These papers were written in Chinese, which was soon discovered to be unintelligible to the greater part of our visitors; Mr. Gutzlaff, however, explained their purport, and added, that we wished water and provisions.

Not knowing the impression which the fact of our having Japanese on board might make on the people, nor how much this previous information would affect their ultimate safe reception by the authorities, it was thought best to conceal the men from their countrymen, at least from the very first visitors. When an officer came on board, the men were to be given over to him, allowed to tell their own story, and receive ample assurance of safety from the government before they should leave the ship. We also wished to learn the reception a ves-

sel would receive, which came into the harbors of the Japanese empire simply asking for water and provisions.

One man, who was thought to be an official personage, or an emissary from officers on shore, came on deck with an air of great authority, looking about him with much disdain, not unmingled with a little amazement; but, after partaking some refreshment, he became more friendly and good-humored. The boat in which this man came was larger than the others, and crowded with natives, none of whom came on board; but, having received again the official character, who only tarried long enough to glance at the vessel and its inmates, and to take away a request for an officer, it returned towards the upper part of the bay, from whence it had sailed. This boat attracted our attention a little, and we followed its course, with a glass, up to the point, where we saw a large crowd assembled on the beach, and four or five square red boards, bearing inscriptions, stuck in the ground, with the faces towards us. Several boats were observed around the point, and some of those which visited the ship returned thither. The most reasonable cause we could assign for the crowd was, that the inhabitants of a village, hid beyond the point, had come down there to see the strange vessel.

The boats in which the natives came off were rudely though strongly built of pine; and most of them carried a sail of coarse cotton canvass, suspended from a single moveable mast. Their progress was accelerated by three or four large sculls attached to each side near the stern on pivots, and formed of two pieces lashed together like the Chinese; with this difference, that the loom was very broad at its lower end, in its general shape resembling a paddle; the upper surface was convex, and the rounded edges made the under somewhat concave; this form appeared to be for convenience in sculling. Some of the largest of the boats were thirty feet long and six wide, having the two ends open like a scow, and carrying between twenty and thirty men. In two or three were a few women of whom we did not see much; for they were fully occupied in protecting themselves from the rain, piling bamboo cloaks and hats upon their persons, in a very singular manner, while they lay in the bottom of the boats; but, unlike what is described by former visitors to Japan, all was peaceful, as if the natives neither feared us, nor suspected us of any covert design. All manifested friendly feelings, partaking of the refreshments offered them, inquiring our business, scrutinizing the ship and all on board, and inviting us to go on shore and ramble. Some of them promised to inform the officers of our request, but this promise was given in such an odd manner, as if from persons utterly unused to magisterial dignitaries, and whose line of life had been at a great remove from the precincts of a court, that we hardly knew what to predicate. They appeared much surprised that not any one of us was able to converse with them; some would seize the arm, enter in to earnest discourse, and then, after a few unsuccessful sentences, leave us, seemingly amazed at our doltishness and the ill success of their eloquence. By seven o'clock the last boat had left the ship, there

having been in all upwards of two hundred visitors; and to return their visit a trip on shore in the morning was planned.

July 31st. During the night the weather cleared up a little, with occasional squalls. Towards four o'clock, three or four boats were seen coming down in shore from the upper point, which stopped near the fishing huts, and the men in them landed, and assembled on a low hummock near the beach. No particular notice was taken of their movements, until we were saluted by a cannon-ball, whistling over the ship, succeeded by three others, fired from four guns planted on the hillock where the party was assembled. This movement was so unexpected that we were for a moment nonplussed as to their intentions; and hoisted the colors, and soon after a white flag, in order to induce some one to come on board to explain the reason for such proceedings. No heed was given to our signals, and the firing continuing, we began to weigh anchor, and make sail. To show them that we were leaving, the spanker was hoisted; but the firing rather increased, and one ball struck the bulwarks, ploughing up the deck in its progress, but doing no other damage. There being sixty fathoms of cable run out, and a crew of only sixteen men to weigh anchor and make sail, we were exposed to the firing for an hour; but, although several other shot came very near, yet by the protecting mercy of God over us, none of the ship's company were injured. The manner of serving the guns was unskillful, some of the shot going over the masthead, and others falling halfway between the shore and the ship. The balls made a loud whistling, as they passed, which was caused perhaps by their rough casting. As we were leaving, the ebb tide discovered to us a line of breakers projecting from the bluff point near the ship directly into the stream, and just astern of us, but the wind favoring, we passed out above them, and were shortly beyond injury from balls or rocks. The gun-boats which had been seen early in the morning, now left the shore, and bore down upon us, each carrying thirty to forty men, with flags displayed, and firing swivels at us with commendable activity. When fairly off in the stream, we lay to for them to approach, but they soon returned. In order to induce some one to come alongside, a piece of canvass was thrown overboard on which was painted in Chinese, that a foreign ship desired to return a few shipwrecked men, and to procure water and refreshments. This was picked up by a boat, which, instead of coming to the ship, stood in for the shore.

It now became a serious question, what course it was best to pursue; two presented themselves: either to remain longer in the bay of Yédo, anchoring in the stream, or near the shore lower down; or to leave this port, and gain another port on the southern coast as quickly as possible. The latter commended itself, inasmuch as it was thought the officers here would not be favorable to our object, after committing themselves, by thus unceremoniously driving us away. We might stop near one of the many towns that lay on either side of the bay, near its entrance, as did captain Gordon in 1817, and give our documents to the first man who came aboard,

requesting him to take them on shore, and give them to an officer to send to Yédo, and telling him that we would wait for an answer. But the tidings of our approach to the coast were already known in all the region around, and the news of the summary manner in which our audacious attempt to penetrate the *mare clausum* of the bay of Yédo had been repelled, would spread like wild-fire, and probably prevent any inferior officer from executing our requests. The same system of mutual responsibility which produces so many baneful effects in China, obtains in the Japanese government; and if we should get our documents ashore, the officer would no doubt desire to screen his own head by first asking permission of the court at Yédo to receive and forward them. We could not anchor where we then were on account of the depth of water, and the exposure; for the place was no better than an open roadstead, with 15 to 30 fathoms, and a stony bottom, and the tides running like a sluice. The arguments against leaving the capital without opening a communication were strong and fully felt, especially when we had to do with a government so feudal as the Japanese, where every petty prince is amenable to his liege for his every action, suspicious of his peers, and cautious that what he does be not reported at court to his discredit. Some perhaps would have advised us to renew the attempt at the entrance of the bay, excusing ourselves to whoever came on board, for going up to Uragawa, by pleading ignorance of the regulations, and our desire to be as near Yédo as possible. However, 'uniting the circumstances,' as the Chinese would say, it was concluded to leave the bay for Toba in the principality of Sima, about 150 miles southwest of Yédo, from whence Iwakitchi and his two companions embarked, when they were shipwrecked.

If another attempt were made it was important to do it immediately, lest information of our repulsion should be sent along the coast, and orders given to all the officers to drive us away. Moreover, it was very unlikely that the court of Yédo knew our nation, object, or character, and on many accounts it was very desirable to declare all these points fully, even if the other objects of the voyage should not be gained. The indignation and disappointment of our men were as great as their previous hopes had been high; they were warm in their denunciations against the petty officers at Uragawa for so unprovoked an attack. Those of them that had visited the place, said, the officers must have taken great pains to bring cannon a long distance down to the point to fire at us, and richly deserved to be brought to condign punishment.

The clear atmosphere enabled us, on leaving the bay, to see both shores, each presenting a variety of forest and field, clad in nature's liveliest green, that all left with regret. Most of our information concerning the several places which lie around this noble estuary is derived from books; a few details may assist the readers to understand the locality of some of the places mentioned. Yédo, the capital of the empire and seat of power, is situated in latitude 35° 40′ north, and longitude 139° 50′ east, in the principality of Musasi, at the head

of a large bay, and the embouchure of Toda-gawa, one of the largest rivers in Nipon; besides ruling its own province, it exercises a superintending control over the two neighboring principalities of Sagami and Izu. The road to it from the west is over high mountains, passing through narrow defiles, where soldiers are stationed to examine all passengers. The pass at Takoni in Suruga, from the description given of it, is another Thermopylæ, where the seogun has placed a guard to intercept all suspected persons, and forbid the passage of women, either out of or into Musasi. On the eastern side of Yédo, and facing the Pacific on their eastern coasts, lie the principalities of Awa and Kazusa; their capitals are Oözio and Otagi. Susaki, already mentioned, is the westerly cape of Awa. The principality of Sagami adjoins Musasi, on the south and west, lying around the bay of the same name; Odawara is the capital, and a town of considerable note. Izu lies directly south of Sagami, a very mountainous region, and has Simoda for its chief town. Mount Fusi is situated just beyond the borders of this peninsula in Suruga, but a range of lofty mountains extends its whole length. The islands, extending from the bay of Yédo down to Fachisio, are dependencies of this province. West of Izu, across a bay similar to Sagami, lie the principalities of Toötomi, and Suruga, both ruled by powerful princes. The power of a prince is usually estimated by his revenue, which is reckoned by *man* or myriads of *koko* of rice; each *koko* being equal to 250 catties. Thus, the revenue of the seogun or secular emperor, which is derived from five provinces appropriated to him, is said to amount to 148 *man* and 1200 *koko*, equal to 370,300,000 catties, or 246,866 tons of rice.

Aug. 9th. We left the bay of Yédo on the 31st of July with a fresh breeze, which carried us past Toba the next day; and, finding it impossible to make it without beating, we stood on for Sionomisaki (or Point Sud de Nipon) in the principality of Kinokuni. But here also the wind headed us off, and we concluded to make the bay of Kagosima, in the principality of Satzuma, where the Portuguese first landed, and where Francis Xavier began his labors. After passing Siono-misaki, the wind died away with occasional breezes, and the strong opposing current carried us back, sometimes at the rate of seventy miles a day, and it was not till the 8th inst., that we made cape Cochrane, in the island of Kiusiu. While passing along the coast, several species of sea-fowl came around the ship, though in limited numbers; many shoals of fish were seen, and pumice and seaweed drifted past; some specimens of the latter were remarkable for the delicacy and elegance of their forms. In sailing near the shores of Fiuga, we were delighted with the ever-changing scenery, some parts of which presented subjects worthy the pencil of a painter. The hills, in some places come down to the beach in abrupt cliffs, with deep ravines intersecting their acclivities; while elsewhere, the shore is sandy, and the land gradually ascends to a moderate elevation, interspersed with low hills. Numerous bays and inlets multiply the headlands, and give a peculiar undulatory character to the outline of the coast. On some of the higher hills, masses of clouds

rested, that attracted notice by their resemblance to immense snow-banks piled one upon another, appearing as if just ready to fall. There were few villages seen, and, except near cape Cochrane, the number of boats and junks was much less than near Yédo. One or two of them came near, as if to take a closer view of the ship, but although repeatedly requested they would not come aboard; they said they belonged to Satzuma. Between capes D'Anville and Cochrane, where we met these vessels, there are a few villages near the beach; but, farther south, the coast is remarkably destitute of either habitations or traces of cultivation; nor were there any boats. Cape Negaeff is a headland conspicuous for its bold projection into the sea, along a coast, which, like that of Scotland, is remarkable for its cliffs and promontories. As the evening closed in, the straits of Van Diemen, between Kiusiu and Tanega-sima, opened upon us, and in the distance were seen some of the other islands, forming part of the group that lies between Satzuma and Lewchew.

August 10th. This morning, we found ourselves around Siono-misaki (cape Tschitschagoff), and the bay of Kagosima, with its beautiful scenery, just illuminated by the rising sun, lying full before us. On the right, at the distance of half a mile, lay the shores of Oözumi, stretching off nearly due north, as far as the eye could see, in a bold, well-wooded bank, with but few interruptions. About three miles from Siono-misaki, the bank takes a short sweep inland, forming a little bay with a shingle beach, where is situated the village of Sataura. Beyond this the hills rose by a gradual inclination, to almost mountain ridges, and the view of their sides, ascending one above another, all of them covered with verdure, and many with fields of grain, was among the finest we had hitherto seen. Between the hills are a few plateaux of table land, which appeared to be under the highest cultivation; one in particular, with the surrounding hills terraced to their tops, looked like a large garden. The rocky cliffs near the cape are covered with pines, some of which, one might imagine, grew merely in order to make all parts of the landscape green, so thin was the soil on the rocks. Directly north of the entrance, at the distance of twenty miles, is the high island of Sakura, just opposite to which, on the northwestern side, is Kagosima, the capital of the principality. The western side of the bay was too far distant for us to discern its features, except that of the regular cone of Kaimou-daki (or Peak Horner) near the seashore, which rises to a height of 1200 or 2000 feet above the surrounding country.

As soon as we entered the bay, Siauzau and Giusabaru were put ashore, where a few fishing boats were seen, in one of which they pulled up to the village of Sataura. On arriving there, they found the people in great commotion at our unexpected appearance, and the officers making preparations for a defense, which were suspended on the approach of our scouts, whose foreign dress had attracted attention before they landed. They were surrounded with eager inquirers, seeking to know the cause of our coming, and, after partially satisfying the curiosity of their countrymen, they procured an officer,

and returned to the ship, accompanied by two or three crowded boats. This officer was a pleasant looking man, dressed in a long cotton robe of blue and white plaid, secured at the waist with a large girdle, in which were stuck two swords, and from which hung a tobacco pouch and pipe. Some of his attendants were dressed in a similar manner, except the two swords, but the majority were nearly naked. He made inquiries additional to those he had already asked of the men, stating that they had been thrown into such alarm by our sudden appearance on the coast, that they were making preparations to fire upon the ship, supposing her to be a pirate. Our explanations, and the assertions of his countrymen, regarding our peaceful designs, removed his fears, and he entered into our plans with much interest, received the papers we had prepared for the prince of Satzuma, which, he said, must be delivered to another officer on shore, who would forward them to Kagosima, and promised that he would immediately hand them to his superiors. Intelligence of the arrival of a foreign ship had already gone to the seat of government. After looking around a few moments, he left in the gig, together with Iwakitchi and Siauzau, directing two or three of his men to stay and act as pilots. Before leaving, he requested us not to proceed farther up the bay, alleging that there were dangerous rocks a short distance above, and promised to return soon with a pilot, who would guide us to a place of safety.

The pilots left on board by the officer had very easy duty to perform, inasmuch as they were ordered not to permit us to proceed, and it was out of the question to anchor in an open roadstead, where the soundings were from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. They were poor ignorant men, but yet had a share of local information, and appeared to take an interest in whatever was novel and curious around them. They said that the principality of Oösumi on the eastern side of the bay was a dependency of Satzuma, and a thinly settled, mountainous, country, at present suffering, in many parts, from a failure of crops and a subsequent want of food; and that the distress was so great that the people ate the alburnum trees. They received a few printed handkerchiefs and some other trifling articles with pleasure, but neither they nor any of our visitors would part with the least thing; nor did any of them ask for what they saw, except salt-beef and biscuit, which they munched with a great relish. Finding that there was no use for their services, the pilots left us about noon. During the afternoon, a boat, bringing a large tub of water, came alongside, sent by the officer from Sataura, but by reason of the progress of the ship, and the heavy sea, she could not hold lashings, and having cast off, fell to leeward and returned. In conversation with the officer in the morning, we gave prominency to our want of water and fresh provisions, and he promised to supply us with water immediately, which, much, to his credit, he fulfilled. It was consequently rather annoying that it could not have been received as soon as it came, and that thus his attentions should be seemingly repelled. As at Uragawa, the natives came off in boatloads to see the ship, bring-

ing nothing to sell, and most of them departing as soon as their curiosity was gratified. Among them several were noticed on whom the operation of the acupuncture or pricking with a needle had been performed. The needle had been thrust in between the shoulders, or into the lumbar region, but mostly into the belly, seven or eight times in each place; and some persons there were, both at Uragawa and Satzuma, whose bodies were scarred in many places. The greater part of those who visited the ship were pitted with the small-pox, some of them deeply; and our men agreed in their accounts of its extensive prevalence and sometimes its great mortality.

Their appearance and dress, generally speaking, was superior to those at the former place, but, owing probably to the distance and high sea, there were not many visitors from Sataura. The same things attracted attention in both places; the number and height of the masts, and the pigs and geese: but in the exhibition of an intelligent curiosity, they were inferior to the Lewchewans.

Their garments for the most part were of cotton, and on many the coat of arms of the individual was worked into the cloth. The blazonry is a white circle about an inch in diameter, within which is the device. The ignobile vulgus are content to have their family coat of arms worked in the seam on the back, between the shoulders; but the officers bear their heraldry upon the seam of the dress in five places; on the back between the shoulders, inside each elbow, and on each breast. This insignia was more common among those at Satzuma than those at Yédo. Their boats were in most respects like those seen in the bay of Yédo; some were larger, being over thirty feet long, and carrying amidships a tub, containing nearly two hogsheads, for the purpose of preserving fish alive. They were built of soft pine; the moveable mast and paddle-like sculls were like those before seen. A rude caboose made of large pieces of pumice was near the stern, around which were lying some coarse earthen pots; the anchor was a water-worn block of greenstone, secured by a rope of straw.

About two o'clock, Iwakitchi and Siauzau returned, in company with three officers, all wearing two swords, but no otherwise distinguished from their attendants. One of them, an old man with gray hair and beard, was so ill from the motion of the boat, that he could not come on board, but lay stretched out in the bottom of the boat, quite overcome. The officers brought back our dispatches unopened, saying, that their superior on shore had declined taking them himself, but having sent a full statement to Kagosima, a high officer would probably come from thence and receive them, together with the men. In the meantime the pilot, whom they had brought, had been directed to bring the ship to a safe anchorage on the western side of the bay, where we must wait three days for an answer from court. A number of boats were also promised to come next day and tow the ship farther up the bay, into a still more secure harbor; and promises were held out to us of an ample supply of provisions.

The swords, by which their rank is distinguished, were a great incumbrance to these officers. One of them was full three feet in

length, rather coarsely made; the other was a shorter weapon, resembling a hanger; but in both instances, the blade is thicker and narrower than is usual among the weapons worn by Europeans. There was only a small button between the blade and the handle, which, in a conflict would afford very little protection to the hand; the handle was bound with narrow strips of cloth or leather, and the scabbard, in some instances, was defended from moisture in a similar manner. They were worn without a belt, being simply thrust through the large girdle; and, as in walking, the motion of the body causes them to slip down, they are a source of constant annoyance to the wearer. The small one is stuck into the belt horizontally; the long one hangs down, and whenever the owner sits, it is taken out and carefully laid by his side. In our ignorance of their etiquette, we took one up to examine it; the blade was rusty and destitute of all ornament, but very sharp, as if kept in readiness for any emergency. As soon as the officer saw us examining his weapon, he started and took it from us; and our men said that it was an offense almost amounting to an insult to touch the sword of another. When he returned to the boat, we observed that he gave the long sword to an attendant, who carefully laid it aside; and in several instances we noticed their sensitiveness concerning the inviolability of their weapons. The society where arms are constantly worn has been by some represented, as one where every member is cautious in his actions, and careful not to incroach upon the rights of another; but this doubtful advantage must be greatly over-bal ced by the suspicion, and mutual distrust among different classes, by the aggressions of the strong on the weak, and by numberless wrongs that always exist, and to all of which the temptation of having arms already at hand must, in the nature of man, powerfully contribute. The Japanese, no doubt, owe much of their reputed warlike spirit to their familiarity with arms; yet in them, this does not appear to be a noble, generous, sentiment, that exercises itself in redressing wrongs, but from what we can learn is rather a brutal, punctilious, disposition, that deadens all the finer feelings of the heart, and steeps all the laws in cruelty and blood. But, whatever may be the effect of the code of honor upon the social system of the Japanese, one would recommend placing the seat of so sensitive a faculty in a less exposed position than at the end of an unmanageable sword three feet long.

After giving a few directions to the pilot, the officers left us, and we stood over to the western side of the bay. This poor man, thus suddenly brought into contact with foreigners, was in a most unpleasant situation; for he could not command the vessel, and the anchorage to which he was in a manner compelled to bring her was an open roadstead, exposed to the wind and swell from the sea, and affording little or no protection. He endeavored to excite our fears by telling of rocks and shoals scattered here and there, although no indications of such dangers were visible, and the lead reported a depth of fifteen to twenty fathoms; and when he saw us going in the direction of the danger, he would change its position. At last, when he had nearly

reached the proposed anchorage, he declared that there were no dangers before reaching Miabama; but the poor man was so bewildered, that apparently he did not know whereabouts he was, nor what he said. An officer of the ship was sent to examine the soundings, who reported a safe berth, and we anchored in six fathoms, about three fourths of a mile from the shore. As soon as the anchor was down, the pilot hurried away; and, shortly after, a small boat came alongside, forming part of the guard appointed to watch us. It contained a single officer, who came aboard; and, without vouchsafing a single reply to Mr. Gutzlaff's interrogatories, paraded round the deck, as if to inspect his charge, amusing us all with an exhibition of the inimitable self-sufficiency of an officer of the Japanese empire appointed to guard a foreign vessel; he then took his leave, being the last native of Japan who boarded the ship, As the evening closed in, the village of Chugamitsu opposite us was lighted up, and numerous fishing boats just outside of the bay also displayed large fires.

On questioning the men who were sent ashore in the morning concerning the reception they met from the magistrates, Iwakitchi said, they were received with great kindness, both by the officers and people. At his first visit, Siauzau carried the manifest of his junk, which he had fortunately preserved, and which he said corroborated his story. They gave their deposition before the magistrate at Sataura, in presence of the assembled villagers; and the particulars were all taken down in writing; as the names, ages, and residences of the seven men, the time when each junk left Japan, a few items of their adventures, and the treatment they had experienced among foreigners. Their statements of the peaceable character of the ship were corroborated by the officers who first came on board; and, when the deposition was sealed up for the purpose of being forwarded to Kagosima, the chief magistrate exclaimed, truly, these benevolent foreigners must be something more than human. Although he declined forwarding our papers, yet he expressed no doubt of the favorable reception of the mission, and that the men would soon be on their way home. Remarking upon the distress that existed for want of food, he asked them why they had returned to Japan, if they got rice enough in China; and when the officer who came on board mentioned the dearth, he was told that foreigners would bring them all the rice they wished, if the government would only permit it. The surrounding villagers listened with breathless attention to their narrative, and united with the officers in talking 'sweet words' to them. Iwakitchi was so sure of their acceptance, that, on returning to the ship, he wished to engage one of the boats about the ship to take him to the capital. His view also extended farther, and he proposed going to Yédo, after he had seen his friends, and endeavoring to bring 'those brutal officers' at Uragawa to justice, for their atrocious attack. Siauzau was also highly elated at the prospect of returning home to his wife and friends; but none were so sanguine as Iwakitchi, he could hardly contain himself.

Aug. 11th. At sunrise the ensign was hoisted, and one of the guard-boats came to see what was the occasion of hoisting the flag. We told

the officer, who was the same man that strutted over the deck the previous evening, that it was customary in a foreign port to hoist the national colors. He replied, that having never before seen a foreign vessel, he was ignorant of our practices. We reminded him and his companions of their promise to send us water and other refreshments, and also boats to tow the ship into a safer anchorage, which we desired might be done speedily, as the weather was unpromising, and the ship might be driven ashore should a storm arise. They said some water should be immediately sent; but added, that for the boats we must wait the arrival of the high officer from Kagosima. This was rather a different story from what was told us yesterday, though, when we considered the grade of this officer it was doubtful if he could do otherwise than refer the matter to the pleasure of his superior. Soon after he left, a boat came with a tub of water, but none of its crew came on board, having probably been interdicted by the magistrates from all intercourse.

After hearing that no boats were likely to come and tow the ship, captain Ingersoll prepared two more anchors in readiness to let go should the wind increase, and took all proper precautions against dragging. There being no intercourse with the people, we had leisure to examine the adjacent country. The landscape is very green, being like that around the bay of Yédo, in the neighborhood of high mountains, which condense the vapor. The form of the shore is similar to the other anchorage, forming a gentle sweep, terminated at each extremity by a rocky hill, covered with pines. Near the one at the southern point our guard is stationed, perfectly defended from the wind and swell by the bank. But, except in the curvature of the shore, there is no resemblance between this and the anchorage at Uragawa. Here the bank is so steep that, from one hill to the other, a distance of two or three miles, there is only one place where a horse can ascend; in some places it is upwards of fifty feet high, formed of stiff clay with ledges of rock cropping out at intervals. From the bank, the land, generally speaking, rises gradually to a moderate elevation, diversified with many hills and trees, and apparently is exceedingly well cultivated. The system of terracing is carried out even more than at Uragawa, and much higher than any of us had seen it in China, extending to the tops of hills, whose acclivities resembled a flight of stairs. The most conspicuous object here, as everywhere in the bay, is Kaimou-daki, whose sides are covered with a thick growth of pines, and whose top is seldom destitute of a cap of clouds. No rival eminences are near, and its solitariness appears to add to its beauty; in regularity of form Kaimou-daki might almost be cited as a type of the genus *Mons*. A range of mountains is visible to the northward, which forms part of the chain that runs through the island. One of its most remarkable peaks is Mount Udziu, famous for its burning sulphureous springs, and the tortures inflicted there on the adherents of Catholicism in times of persecution. Kumataru, whose native place, Simabara, is only three miles from it, says, the region around is thinly inhabited, and that many of the springs are hot

and poisonous, while others are tepid, and useful in cutaneous diseases; and he cont[illegible]ates Kæmpfer, who describes the baths as erected for the accommodation of invalids. He says that snow remains on its summit during the whole year.

The country beyond the hill, at the upper end of the curve, as far as we can discern, is well cultivated. Just off this hill, that so provokingly bounds our prospect, lies a sharp conical rock, about forty feet high, with an arched hole in its base, sufficiently large to admit the gig. The hill at the opposite extremity is flanked seaward by a ledge of red rocks, in which, and in the base of the hill, the waves have worn many holes. Near the only place for ascending the bank, which is a gully, about three fourths of a mile beyond this hill, is a grave-yard, the gray colored stones being placed upright, and standing in rows after the manner of western countries, and totally unlike the horse-shoe cemeteries at Napa keäng. The place is not inclosed, but the numerous large trees, around and among the graves, give a pleasing and retired appearance to the spot, consonant with its purpose. About a quarter of a mile beyond the grave-yard lies the village of Chugamitsu, looking as if it had been let down into a niche in the shore prepared for its reception; for the tops of the houses are not as high as the banks on either side, and the dark shade of the trees behind the many white dwellings throw them into relief. Most of the buildings are white, and the village has a neat and compact appearance; and the inhabitants have made several ghauts down to the beach, for convenience in ascending and descending. The rows of trees which cross the country in various directions, protecting and designating the roads, is a singular feature in the scenery; but viewing the landscape as a whole, although beautiful in many parts, the shores around the bay of Kagosima are inferior in grandeur and sublimity to those near Yédo.

As no one came near us after the watering boat left, about one o'clock a blue flag was hoisted, but it proved unavailing to induce any one to visit us. After dinner an officer was sent in the gig, Kiukitchi accompanying him, to sound near the shore. This movement immediately caused a stirring among our overseers, and they dispatched a boat to order the gig to return, while a second came to the ship. The latter contained three officers, who, as the boat ranged alongside, standing up, in a pleasant manner, asked why the gig had left the ship. We told them, that, as the weather looked threatening, it was very desirable to know how much water there was around the ship, and we had sent the boat to sound. Remarking that they stood up in the boat with great inconvenience, we invited them on deck, but they declined, saying they were prohibited coming on board, much against their inclination. On being asked when the officer from Kagosima would arrive, and the provisions and boats be sent as had been promised, they replied, that he had not yet come, but would probably soon make his appearance; adding, however, that it was not likely that the men would be received. This remark surprised us all, and the Japanese immediately spoke out, inquiring the reason for this opinion; but the

officers became suddenly rather dogged, and evaded a reply, by observing that they knew nothing of the reasons of their superiors, being only persons appointed to watch us. We told them, our purpose in coming into the bay was simply to restore a few shipwrecked men, and that, if the prince of Satzuma did not wish to receive them, the officer deputed from him need only come on board, explain his message, and we would forthwith depart.

The officers, in this their last visit, were not as friendly as on previous occasions, though they endeavored to put on a good face. The trouble of watching us day and night, and the irksomeness of remaining hour after hour in an open boat, exposed to frequent squalls, may have soured their tempers; though, like Japanese officers, who consider all such circumstances as merely incidental, they never alluded to it. Their regards personally toward us were favorable; but, however much they might wish us success, they considered themselves as mere subalterns, who could only execute the orders of those above them. Their attendants were much more decently clad than in former visits, many of them were large muscular men, but the cast and expression of their countenances generally were not prepossessing, perhaps on account of the smallness and obliquity of the eyes, depriving the face of all animation. Among the parties who from time to time came, there were several lads, who appeared to take great pleasure in looking at the novelties around them. The officers were noways distinguishable from their attendants by superior carriage or more intellectual countenances, and, if deprived of their swords, would not have been remarked. Soon after they left us, the gig returned, and the officer reported that the bay was nearly of an uniform depth, having five fathoms within a few rods of the shore, and the beach formed of fine sand, the debris of the cliffs. The evening soon after closed in with a threatening aspect, and squalls of wind and rain were frequent during the night.

August 12th. The weather this morning was raw and rainy, but Iwakitchi was on the look-out to see if there were any indications of the arrival of an officer during the night. At six o'clock, a small boat, containing three persons, approached the ship, until they placed it between themselves and the guard, when they hailed us. They said they were going a fishing, and came alongside to see the ship, as all intercourse was prohibited by the magistrates. Iwakitchi, on asking them whether the officer had come from Kagosima, was answered that none had come, so far as they knew, but that they had heard a rumor of the expulsion of the ship, and the refusal of the government to receive the men. The grounds of this rumor they would not give, or perhaps did not know, yet remarked that it was well authenticated, and one added, 'it is my opinion that, perhaps, you had better weigh anchor and make sail.' They remained half an hour talking with the men, making many observations which gave us a bettter idea of the state of affairs than we had yet received, and of the feelings entertained towards us by the people, all of whom were much alarmed at the approach of the ship, but, as soon as her errand was known,

every one wished us well. They repeated, that the rumor of our expulsion was a credible one, and said, as they were leaving, that they were going out of the bay to fish, and when they returned would bring us a few. But, instead of going out, they went around the bows of the ship, and paddled in shore, all the while bobbing a fish line in the bows of the boat, as if to make the impression that they had just come in from seaward. Whatever may have been the design of these people, in thus covertly coming off to the ship, they took much trouble, as the weather was very unpleasant, and the sea very rough for their little shallop; yet their declarations, although probable enough, were given in such a hesitating, uncertain, manner, that we were doubtful what to do.

Soon after their departure, a broad stripe of blue and while cloth was seen stretched several rods, across the trees, near Chugamitsu, looking like a fence, and bearing in it the blazonry of the prince of Satzuma. The inhabitants were seen running backwards and forwards between the cloth and the village, and along the beach, as if some terrible event was about to happen. We were wondering what this might betoken when Iwakitchi came with a rueful visage, saying that the stripes of cloth indicated warlike operations, and that in all probability a messenger had arrived from Kagosima with orders to expel us by force. He said, the stripes of cloth were for defending the soldiers, being composed of four or five or more pieces of heavy canvass, stretched one behind another, at short intervals. The vibratory motion of these pieces of loose cloth, would no doubt weaken the force of a cannon shot, and almost stop a swivel ball, however ludicrously the idea of a cloth battery might at first strike any one. After the villagers had been sometime assembled around this extemporaneous fortification, we saw them leave it simultaneously, as if an order had been promulged; and the major part, being on foot, ran by different paths along the beach and hill-side, towards the grave-yard on the other side of the village. If we had not been too deeply interested in their movements to notice the comical, the appearance of so large a crowd running along a beach, where the white bank, fifty or sixty feet high threw the whole into a bold relief, and the distance diminished them two thirds, would have been inexpressibly ludicrous: the flying multitude brought to mind the pigmies of Herodotus going out to battle against the cranes. On arriving at the grave-yard, another cloth fort was soon stretched, bearing the same coat of arms, behind which we saw many small banners fluttering, and people assembled, among whom several persons dressed in white robes, and others galloping about on horseback, were distinguishable.

Not knowing what might be the end of all these doings, we concluded it the safest way to make preparations to leave; and began to heave in the cable, of which there were seventy-five fathoms out, and hoist the yards without unfurling the sails; the colors were also shown; but no one answered the signal. These precautions were necessary, for the last position chosen by the party perfectly commanded the ship, and if it was their intention to expel us, and guns as large as

those employed at Uragawa should be brought to bear upon us, our situation would be dangerous. Soon after the colors were shown, a boat left the shore, which was hailed, but it stood across the bay towards Sataura, without giving the least heed to our signals. Immediately following its departure, the party behind the canvas opened a fire upon us, with musquetry and cannon, the shot from the latter falling about half-way to the ship. The people on shore were so long making preparations, that we had almost concluded the commotion had some other object than our expulsion; but the first discharge, decided the rejection of our proposal, indicated the continued hostility of the Japanese government against foreign intercourse, and drove their poor shipwrecked countrymen into a second banishment. We consequently made sail as fast as possible, although there was no wind, and, by reason of the flood tide, we would be in danger of drifting against the perforated rock at the upper end of the curve, as soon as the anchor was tripped. It was very evident that the brave troops on shore, who mustered several hundred men, knew our defenceless state; for not only were they much exposed, but the people were collected in groups on the contiguous knolls, allowing them just enough room for using their guns; a discharge of grape from the ship would probably have killed many tens, and the splinters from the gravestones have wounded many more.

By carrying out a kedge astern to wear the ship, and sending two boats to pull at the bows, we were fortunately enabled to clear the rock, which at one time threatened to do us more damage than the guns; and, in passing, a meed of praise ought to be given to captain Ingersoll, for the manner in which he extricated the Morrison out of this unpleasant predicament. The calm continuing for a couple of hours, we slowly drifted up the bay seven or eight miles, not pursued by any gun boats as at Yédo, and enjoying a view of the town of Miabama, with its neat white houses, and of the well cultivated country around it. Into a small inlet, which lies below the town, a river empties that comes from among the hills, and on whose banks is the large town of Yamagawa. The shores of the bay here disclosed new beauties: on the eastern side, the hills approached close to the water in bold wooded cliffs, partially cultivated, but most of them untouched by the hand of the husbandman; on the other side, a gentle ascent from the beach presented an extensive landscape diversified by cultivated ravines, woods, and bleak hills. Miabama is situated at the foot of a steep hill, and, judging from its size, is a town of medium importance. From what we could see, while in the upper part of the bay, the country is too inviting and too picturesque to leave without a sigh of regret, that a land so adorned by the hand of nature should be inhabited by such misanthropists. Occasional squalls from seaward enabled us to stand out of the bay, and by three o'clock we reached Sataura, where we were saluted by two or three large guns, whose shot fell far short. Coming down still farther, we approached our late anchorage, and saw the brave gunners still firing, whenever the frequent squalls permitted; and also discovered, that four cannon on carriages had

been transported around the hill, and stationed on the level base towards the sea, from whence the soldiers fired as we drew near. Thus the loyal subjects of the prince of Satzuma left no means untried to execute his orders, and do to us all the injury in their power. And, having escaped the malice of the government, both in this part and at Uragawa, it would be placing constraint on our own feelings, and would mark the utmost ingratitude, if we were to omit to express our unfeigned thanks to the merciful Being, who shielded us from their malicious attacks, and preserved us from the dangers of the unknown waters on their coast.

Our next course was now an important subject of consideration. Although much more had been done than at Yédo, yet that full communication with the government which had been proposed at the outset of the expedition was not yet attained. But how should it be attained? If we sailed eastward, and appeared in the harbors on the southern coast, we could not expect a favorable reception from officers, who had probably heard of our rëiterated expulsion; and to the westward, Nagasaki alone remained. If we went to that port, we should probably so far attain our object as to be boarded by an officer, who would inquire our errand, and receive our papers; and thus the government would be informed of our object in visiting their harbors. To give them this information, and to justify ourselves somewhat in their eyes, (if such an apology was necessary,) were the principal reasons for appearing again in their ports; for all hope of returning the men, or of opening intercourse with them, was abandoned. The treatment of those men whom Krusenstern brought back was not very encouraging to the hopes of our poor men; for those were kept closely confined during the six months the Russian embassy remained in Nagasaki, and received by the Japanese just at their departure. These reasons in favor of our making a third essay to overcome the hostility of government were, however, somewhat nullified by several considerations. From what could be gathered from the men who went ashore, a very full account of the object, the nation, and the character, of the ship had been given to the magistrates; and, although Iwakitchi and his companions were only partially acquainted with our plans, yet their story embraced the leading features of the expedition. The officers of course would report this deposition to their superiors, and the rumor of the ship coming into the bay would give it a wide notoriety. By this means, a greater publicity among the people would be obtained, than by delivering a packet of papers at many ports. But when the men, whose hopes of again seeing their friends were so cruelly blasted, considered their examination in its several bearings, the little likelihood of being received at another port, or of being able to steal into the country on the coast, were apparent. Their families would no doubt hear of them in various ways, and this information would intimate their safety to those who doubtless looked upon their long lost friends as swallowed up in the ocean. Siauzau had handed a letter for his father to a person at Sataura, which he was promised should be forwarded. But the full account they had given

of themselves was fatal to their hope of being able to appear among their friends without subjecting themselves to immediate recognition, and examination, and perhaps ultimate punishment. If the government did not receive them, no one else could with safety. The same objection lay against endeavoring to reach the shore by means of a junk, or by landing on an island, and being taken off by passing vessels, or by trusting themselves to a raft, and gaining an uninhabited part of the coast; in their fulness of confidence they appeared to have completely shut the door of return against themselves. This was their own view of the case; and, from what we already knew of the conduct of the Chinese government, in similar cases, was not an improbable view. They said, moreover, that they would not trust themselves into the hands of the governor at Nagasaki, whatever promises of safety he might make to them; but their opinion was, that he would not dare, after hearing of the present expulsion, to receive them. Moreover, we did not wish by going to Nagasaki to excite the fears of the Dutch, who have always shown a great desire to exclude all other foreigners from sharing the trade they enjoy. All these reasons decided us to return to Macao, and to commit the results of what had been done to open the door of Japanese seclusion into the hands of the allwise Governor of nations.

In summing up the circumstances attendant upon both our attempts, and comparing them with what we could learn of previous trials, it was instructive to observe, how gradually the Japanese government has gone on in perfecting its system of seclusion, and how the mere lapse of time has indurated, instead of disintegrating, the wall of prejudice and misanthropy which surrounds their policy. These circumstances also indicated their present feelings, for we could refer the greater part of what had happened alone to the government. When we approached the bay of Yédo, immediate intimation was given to the officers, and we were fired upon when the report of the guns was just audible, and the thick mist entirely hid us from view. This treatment any vessel in a starving condition would probably receive, and it is important to inquire what causes have been operating to produce it, and how far foreigners themselves may have increased it. It would not be amiss to make investigations, at the proper sources, into the conduct of the whalers that frequent the eastern coasts of Nipon and Yesso, to learn whether in their dealings with the people and the vessels which they have met, there has not recently been conduct, unworthy of Christians, which will not bear being brought to light. Captain Gordon of Calcutta, in 1817, was boarded by an officer when he anchored, and his request to trade was sent up to Yédo; and although it was rejected, yet he received kind treatment compared with us, being loaded with provisions before his dismissal. A people, who show the decision of character of the Japanese, silently erecting their batteries to drive away their enemies by force of arms, and bringing their cannon several miles to plant in a favorable position, are not to be lightly despised, or insulted with impunity. If the immediate aggressor escapes, vengeance usually lights

upon some unwary and innocent straggler, and the mutual hatred is thus increased. At Satzuma, a pilot is sent to bring the ship into an anchorage, and the officers are made acquainted with our object, which they apparently approve. It would seem, that here, too, great distrust of foreigners existed, from the report that the people took us for a pirate; and a rumor of such marauders in these regions must have reached their ears. The men repeatedly told the officers, that they need only tell us to depart, and we would go; but that before dismissing us we requested to be supplied with fresh provisions. Yet a hundred or more men are commissioned to drive out a defenseless vessel with cannon and musquetry; and commence their attack too, at a time when we should be in great jeopardy as soon as the anchor was off the ground. What course of conduct would have been pursued by the Japanese, if ours had been an armed vessel, it is impossible to say; but I am more than ever rejoiced, now the experiment has been made, that no cannon were carried. However, towards a people who thus manifest decision of counsels and reliance upon their own resources, although exerted in a barbarous and savage manner, and on an occasion when kindness was meant, a degree of respect and deference is paid. The believer in the promises of God's word looks forward to the time, when the same energetic qualities of mind, changed and enlightened by education, shall be directed to better and nobler objects. Although cruel and prejudiced, they manifest a character, which can be moulded, by God's grace, into something more efficient, than that of their vacillating and edict-making neighbors, the Chinese and Coreans. Whatever purposes of mercy or of judgment may be towards this people in the counsels of their high Governor, it is not for us to inquire, but we hope that the day of their admittance into the family of nations is not far distant; when the preacher of peace and truth shall be allowed access to their hamlets and towns, when the arts of western lands shall be known, and commerce, knowledge, and Christianity, with their multiplied blessings, shall have full scope. Then will that ancient saying, *Lux ex oriente*, have its accomplishment; and the land of the Rising Sun will be the one to begin to shed the beams of civilization over the earth. But before this can be done, those who now enjoy these inestimable privileges have a great work to do; and who shall begin?

Let us look at this people a little longer. For more than two hundred years have they been separated from their fellowmen, and when the tie was severed, at the expulsion of Catholicism and the Portuguese, it was done under great excitement, and in the flush of victory over those whom they supposed were undermining their liberties. What were the grounds for the allegations against the Jesuits, we will not stop to inquire; but the feeling manifested by the Japanese, when they challenged even the God of the Christians to touch their shores at his peril, shows how confident they then were of their own power and resources, and how determined to exclude foreigners. And they have excluded them; and, since that time, the only representatives of all Christendom whom they have seen, have been a few individuals at

Desima, whose own historians give ample evidence that gain has always been their chief object. The Japanese, from what they know and have heard of European nations—of their wars, their deadly battles, their opposing interests, and their great power, must congratulate themselves on their seclusion from such contests. Not that they have enjoyed peace within their own borders, since they have built their wall of separation, but that, by repairing the breaches which interest and ignorance have from time to time made in it, they have not subjected themselves to the visits of fleets and armies. And if such are their feelings and ideas regarding us, can it be wondered at, that they look upon all foreign intercourse as a thing to be deprecated, and opposed in all possible ways? What might at first have been conjecture or slander regarding other countries, has probably now become, by repetition and the authority of books, received truth; at least, it is always the course of error to strengthen by time. One of our men says, he was taught, that in some western countries the men were covered with hair and lived upon trees. And in a Japanese work, we have seen representations of people, with arms so long, that the owner of one pair is engaged in fishing with them, and has mercilessly clutched a carp in his hands; and of others, whose legs enable the man elevated on them to pluck the fruit from palm trees; and in another place are two tribes of men drawn, one of which is so small, and the other so large, that the latter is figured as carefully holding one of the little men in the palm of his hand; Gulliver's heroes in Lilliput and Brobdingnag were proportionate compared to them. And what are all these chimeras but painful illustrations of their ignorance and pride? But before they will lose them, juster and more correct notions must be imbibed. They now regard foreigners as ready to pounce upon their country the moment it should be opened; at least one would draw such a conclusion from Golownin's narrative; and, before they will consent to receive them, they must be assured that those who seek their ports are peaceable friends. They can derive no just ideas of other nations, nor of their enterprise, commerce, and philanthrophy, from what they see of foreign trade, cabined and reduced as it is by their laws; and who expects them to come with open arms, and request free intercourse, before they are acquainted with the benefits they would derive from it? Their ideas of Christianity are, every one knows, of the most erroneous sort, considering it as another name for intrigue and lust of power; and a thing to be kept out of the empire at all risks, as one would drive a viper from a nursery of children. Now there is no innate power in the Japanese, more than in other people, to teach and reform themselves; and do we expect that a miracle is to be worked, and that they are suddenly to become enlightened and inquiring? Let us not be weary in well-doing; but let us do all we can to give to the Japanese the knowledge of true Christianity, which seeketh not its own; let us present before them the Bible in their own tongue; and, with this pure river of life we know that civilization, commeree, and knowledge, will flow through their land. Because one attempt has failed, shall all

future endeavors cease? We learn wisdom from experience. The rejection of the men, although painful to them and us, may be the very best thing that could have happened: for, if they had been received, and we quietly dismissed, our means for doing them and their countrymen further good would have been taken out of our hands. In this view of the case, and it appears reasonable, let us not abandon this nation; but by making the best use of the men whom we have, get better prepared to do them permanent good; and "by and bye," if God permits, and as Otokitchi says, "we will try again."

August 13th. Yesterday afternoon, as we were taking leave of Satzuma, we met a junk from Lewchew, just going up the bay. In the evening, we left our valiant foes firing, until darkness hid them from our sight; during the night we made but little progress, and this morning Kaimou-daki is in full view. The islands which lie off Kiusiu engaged our attention as we passed them during the day. Tanega-sima contains several towns, and carries on a trade in fruit and timber; its northern end is twenty-five miles from Siono-misaki, in a southeasterly direction; it is twenty miles long and about eight broad, and appears well cultivated. Yakuno-sima, which lies fifteen miles west of Tanega-sima, and forty due south from Kaimou-daki, contains between fifty and sixty square miles, and is famous for the variety of fine timber which it produces. During the night, being between these two islands, we experienced a current setting us towards Tanega-sima, and as it was calm, we were drifted within a mile of the low shore, where a line of fifty fathoms gave no bottom; but a breeze springing up, we stood away to the northwest in order to get into the Yellow sea.

The large island of Kiusiu, which we are now leaving, is the southwesternmost of the three forming the empire of Japan. It is of an oblong shape, lying nearly north and south, averaging eighty miles across, and 180 miles long. Its northern point is in latitude 34° 06° north, and Siono-misaki, the south cape, is in lat. 30° 56′ north; it lies between the meridians of 130° and 132° east. A range of mountains runs from north to south, some of whose summits are active volcanoes, and others, we are told, are covered with snow the whole year. It is divided into nine principalities, of which Figo and Satzuma are the most powerful, holding a high rank among the whole number of provinces in the empire. The prince of Kaga, whose dominions lie on the northwestern side of Nipon, is, according to our men, regarded as the most powerful prince in the empire. Kiusiu is surrounded by islands of various sizes, all dependant on the principalities to whose shores they are contiguous, and some of which contain large towns. Amakusa, off the coast of Figo; the Gotto isles belonging to Fiseu; and Tsusi-sima, between Kiusiu and Corea, are the largest. A coasting trade is carried on between them and the mainland; and also between the various ports on the coast there is frequent communication. Nagasaki, in Fiseu, is ninety miles northwest by north from Kagosima in a direct line, but the route coastwise between the two

places is circuitous, and among numerous islands. The principality of Bungo, which lies on the eastern side of Kiusiu, is famous in the history of the Catholics, as the stronghold of their faith, and whose prince remained their firm friend during his life, in times of great trial.

August 14th. After leaving the still waters between Yakuno and Tanega-sima, we passed by Seriphos Island, a low sand bank just above the surface of the water; Julie I., and Apollos I., both small; and Iwo-sima or Volcano Island. The latter is situated in latitude 30° 43′ north, and longitude 130° 16′ east, and in its size and form resembles Lintin; it is destitute of vegetation, except a few trees on the southern extremity. The volcano emits smoke in rapid puffs, which collects on and hides the summit; on the acclivity, where we saw the smoke issuing, is a fissure, whose sides are apparently covered with sulphur; and the men said, that the prince of Satzuma, to whom these islands belong, derives a large revenue from the sulphur collected there. It was in very gentle, though constant, action; and if circumstances had been favorable, a visit to this epitome of a volcano would have been very gratifying. The extremities of the island are flanked by reefs of rocks; and also to the eastward of St. Clair I. a small cluster of rocks was passed, not marked in the chart, to which we conditionally gave the name of Morrison Rocks. They lie in latitude 30° 50′ north, and longitude 129° 04′ east. Many of the islands, as well as those just cited, are skirted with the same pointed, conical rocks, so numerous along the mainland, which corroborates the well known volcanic character of Japan.

In passing through the Yellow sea, a northerly current was experienced, but it was much milder than that on the southern coast of Nipon. For one or two days the sea was covered with the particolored stripes, before mentioned as occuring east of Kiusiu; and from the shoals of fish, especially Balistes, seen in it, its use as their probable food was better ascertained. The water in this sea was surcharged with fine particles of silt, brought down from the great rivers of China, and which the various currents agitating the water retain in solution. The lead for three or four days gave a depth of from thirty to twenty fathoms as we drew near the coast; and, in the act of sounding, the lead apparently plunged into fine mud several inches above the leather which joined it to the line. On the coast of Fuhkeën two or three fishing boats were boarded, whose stock consisted of but little else than immense quantities of Sepia or cuttle fish, opened and spread out for drying on the decks. A favorable breeze in the Formosan channel carried us down to Amoy, where calms and opposing currents retarded our progress for a few days; and on the evening of the 29th of August, we anchored in Macao Roads.

ART. 11. *Trade with China: a letter addressed to the British Public on some of the advantages that would result from an occupation of the Bonin Islands.* By G. TRADESCANT LAY. London, 1837.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,—The observations I have to make upon the advantages of the occupation of the Bonin Islands will not be characterized either by depth of thought or extent of information; a few plain sentiments, delivered in plain language, will fill the compass of these brief pages. I have often remarked that the successful issue of an enterprize was not due to the recondite nature of its principles or the multiplicity of contrivance, but to the adoption of, and the adherence to, rules that were obvious in theory and easy in practice. And, in the same way, I have seen that conviction is not produced by far-fetched arguments and labored declamation, but by simple statements and familiar proofs.

To establish a communication with eastern China, Japan, Lewchew, and other islands and shores of this sea, on terms of equality and mutual respect, is an event which, at the first glance, appears so full of interest and utility, that no display of eloquence or depth of argument is necessary to enforce it. To find ourselves shut out and hindered from extending to multitudes of the human race the benefits of the gospel and the improvements of science, or even from gratifying a reasonable curiosity, is humiliating, especially when we learn, by experience, that neither knowledge, kindness, nor any other recommendation can procure for us a momentary stay in Canton, except at the pleasure of delegated authority, but are liable to be thrust away forthwith, as if we had the plague or the leprosy, without protection from the laws of hospitality, or time to explain the reason of our coming.

It will be said that some have visited the coast and met with friendly treatment, and that we are allowed to live at Macao with our families if we please; but here at Macao, on a jutting point of land, like prisoners, we are hemmed in, partly with the sea and partly with a barrier, that is guarded, not by soldiers, nor by any thing in uniform, nor even in decent apparel, but, as if on purpose to insult us, by some of the most degraded beings in the empire. The mandarins teach the common people to despise us by every means in their power; these are not slow to profit by their instructions, and at certain periods, by threats, they frighten all the timorous natives from our service, alleging that an intercourse with us infects the purity of the Chinese morals. A few days ago it was declared to be presumption in foreigners to ride in chairs borne by Chinese, without any exception in favor of invalids or delicate females, and it was thought better for men employed in this way to starve than submit to such a degrading employment. As to the visits which have been made to different

parts of the coast, their desultory and flying character shows how much reliance could be placed upon the transient smile of a friendly reception. Nay, in some instances, highly emblazoned with attractive description, if the truth were told, it would appear that even this transient smile owed more to the lure of opium than to the feelings of humanity. However that may be, we know that a frown from a man in authority soon dissipates the semblance of a cordial welcome, and the stranger finds himself alone, while his benefactors are hurried away to do some act of penance for shewing him any favor. It is sometimes contended that the Chinese have a right to lay what restrictions they think proper upon their trade with foreigners, and to drive them from their shores as often as they choose, who, if they do not like these terms, may go elsewhere in quest of better. But the question that demands an answer does not seem to be, what right they have to perplex commercial dealings, which they themselves have encouraged, or to treat us on all public occasions as destitute, unprincipled men;—but, whether it be not advisable to take such steps as may, sooner or later, convince them that their opinion of us is erroneous, however flattering it may be to their pride and vanity to cherish it? The justice of declaring war against them would be questioned by many, and an embassy, unless it were conducted with a degree of firmness and resolution far different from any of its predecessors, would prove, like them, a melancholy failure. A Chinese has only two leading passions, fear and avarice; all the other feelings incidental to our nature are merged in these two dominant motives to action. If Christianity forbids us to use threatening, there is no rule of morals or religion that I am acquainted with, that hinders us from *attempting to pursue a lawful object of commercial dealing upon equitable terms, wherever an independent spot is opened.* This may work upon his principles of self-interest, while his apprehensions would be excited, without drawing a sword or bending a bow. This, I think, would be done with increasing effect and prosperity by a settlement at the Bonin Islands, which, while it would draw adventurers allured by the hopes of a gainful trade from the neighboring shores, would give the English nation such a respectability in the eyes of all around, that contumelious usage and scornful language would soon cease to be applied to us.

The Bonin Islands are about eight days' sail from China, five from Lewchew, and three from Japan; and belong to the English, not only in virtue of a formal possession, but from the circumstance, that Englishmen have resided upon one of them for more than ten years; which gives us a title to them, arising from prior occupation, a title that is esteemed a good one by the law of nations. When I visited one of them, in the expedition of captain Beechey, I found a hilly spot covered from the shore to the ridge of the mountain with vegetation, which abounded in curious and beautiful plants and trees. I never spent four days that afforded more interest or more instruction. I do not wish it to be understood, that I think them fitted to answer all the hopes of a husbandman who had come from the other side of the

globe to better his condition; for, the settlement I propose is not to be an agricultural, but a commercial colony; one that would be worth the nursing, not so much for its intrinsic value, as for the place and name that we should thus obtain in the midst of these interesting countries. It is enough, that there is room sufficient for laying out gardens to raise vegetables for the table, and some variety of hill and dale for such walks and pleasure grounds as health and recreation might require. Those who have lived there in lonely seclusion, found the necessaries of life of such easy acquisition, that, when induced to leave from present circumstances, they have afterwards expressed many longings to get back again to their sequestered but easy home. Here, under the management of a spirited and enlightened governor, Englishmen, Americans, and the natives of European nations, might enjoy all the security, and many of the comforts of home, in the very centre of those nations who have hitherto shut their doors against them.

Some of the principal advantages may be summed up, a little more in detail, under the following heads, which will form the substance of this representation.

First. The first class of advantages would result from the vicinity of the Bonin Islands to Lewchew, Japan, China, and Formosa, by which a point of easy access would be afforded to native vessels from all those countries, a circumstance that would tend to promote an unfettered communication among them with foreigners, and of consequence, with each other. This would certainly be the case in a little time, whatever embarrassments they might at first be subjected to, from the authorities of their respective countries, where with few exceptions, every effort to introduce foreign articles is checked and nampered by the ascendancy of local statutes. There would be found among them men of enterprise; such, for example, as the natives of the Fuhkeën province, who, urged forward by the hope of advantage, would disdain unreasonable and petty restrictions, and repair to a market near at hand, where the greatest choice of foreign articles might be had at the lowest prices. And it is not hard to conceive, that those who come to trade, would in time bring goods instead of money, which would assist the manufacturers at home, and consequently spread the benefits of such traffic to many hundreds besides themselves; which might induce the magistrates to allow the utmost extent of liberty in their power, or, what is far better, lead the legislature to repeal irksome and abortive laws. For governors, in this part of the world, though they often treat individuals with little ceremony or compassion, are rather fearful of exasperating a whole community, especially when they find them disposed to set up the rights of the subject against the encroachments of a magistrate. It will be said, perhaps, that experiment does not warrant us in expecting much advantage from this trade; for nothing finds a ready market save opium. But perhaps it would not require much ingenuity to prove, that the sale of opium stands in the way of lawful kinds of traffic, while it abstracts those monies which might otherwise have been

applied to useful purposes in general commerce. Nay, I apprehend that it would not require much aid from the imagination to think, that as opium, when taken as a luxury, destroys every sinew of the body, and enervates the mind, and renders the person using it a fit companion only for the lost of the human race; so, as merchandise, it blasts and withers every kind of dealing that is mixed up with it. I hope it may not have this effect upon the religious books that have sometimes been circulated under its auspices. But we had forgotten our settlement, the fame of which, when once diffused abroad, would allure not only those who looked for gain, but entice others, from motives of curiosity, to come and visit it, who would not fail, on their return, to report among their countrymen what they had seen, and what kind of treatment they had experienced among the sons of freedom, religion, and science. At this place of rendezvous, Chinese, Japanese, Formosans, and Lewchewans would meet and exchange their sentiments, if not by speech at least by writing, which would tend to establish them upon a footing of a better understanding with each other, and diffuse a knowledge of the colloquial dialects, peculiar to each nation, among all the rest; while the prospect of advantage, and the comforts of home, would persuade Europeans to come hither to learn the Asiatic languages, that they might act as interpreters, which would enable us to dispense with that mutilated jargon in which all our mercantile transactions are now conducted.

Secondly. One of these islands would be an eligible spot for establishments of a religious and scientific nature, where strangers might obtain every kind of instruction, and from whence books might be issued for the improvement of surrounding nations. As facilities for learning the eastern languages would be greatly multiplied by this means, so conveniences for printing would be much increased. At Macao we print by sufferance, and, of course, with all the disabilities which such a kind of toleration is likely to entail upon us. The expense of typography would also be greatly diminished; so that, at no great cost, books of instruction might be scattered with an unsparing hand in every direction. Artists would also come and settle amongst us, who would furnish drawings and illustrations for our books of science;—now we are obliged to put up with the rude and inaccurate performance of a Chinese, or dispense altogether with helps so important towards an adequate conception of things not seen. There is another advantage that we may mention here, lest it should be forgotten, which is, the rest of one day in seven, maintained with the decencies and solemnities that belong to the Lord's-day; while the ordinances of religion, and the preaching of the gospel, might be waited upon with the zeal, assiduity, and interest, which make them refreshing to our hearts, and render them lovely in the eyes of mankind.

Thirdly. Merchants now resident in China, would find this an easy retreat, whither they might retire to prosecute their commercial schemes, whenever the governor of Canton should think fit to interrupt the progress of trade. It is pretty evident that the sellers of tea and

silk, if the merchants were stationed only a few days' sail from the coast, with a fair wind both ways, would send the goods after them, if a message with conditions of peace, and a return of the merchants upon their own terms, did not render such a step unnecessary. But I am much mistaken, if, after a settlement had been effected so near China, any attempt to stop or perplex the trade would ever be once thought of; for a son of Han is toō discreet a man, especially with all his learned records about him, to try an experiment that must then inevitably terminate in his own confusion. On the contrary, the news of such an event as the colonisation of islands at so short a distance from the celestial empire, would produce such a sensation at the court of Peking, and throughout the country, that we should be received in a way very different from that tone of arrogance with which we are now entertained. The doctrines of submission, which, like the venerated relics of antiquity, have been handed down from one generation of merchants to another, have emboldened a Chinese to treat us with insult, and to make sport at our vexation; but when he saw forts, batteries, and men-of-war so near his own threshhold, he would at once think that we had lately embraced a new set of tenets, and shape his conduct accordingly.

Fourthly. But while we should thus show ourselves able to maintain our own cause, our principles and our practices would have nothing warlike about them. On the contrary, this spot might, under the blessing of the Almighty, be the focus from whence the influences of religion, science, and the sentiments of political freedom, would emanate in an over-flowing tide. Millions would soon hear, and many thousands see, how men fare when they live under the benign aspect of impartial laws, and religious liberty; compare matters at home with what they were found to be abroad, and thence be led to ask the reason of the difference. Those who labor among the heathen in word and doctrine know the value of such inquiries; and it is pleasing to learn, from observation, that strangers cannot long converse with Christians, on amicable terms, without gaining some relish for freedom, or some impression in favor of religion. Thus the great object, in behalf of which so many prayers are now offered up to the Throne of Mercy, would be advanced, namely, the evangelization of this mighty portion of the human family.

Fifthly. A depository would be provided for such stores as are necessary for the repair and refit of ships coming either from the east or the west, and a place where they might lay up the indisposable part of their cargo till the arrival of fairer opportunities, and thus be enabled to prosecute the rest of their voyage with as little delay as possible. No arguments will be required to convince shipowners that it is highly desirable to have a port near at hand, where spars, rope, sails, and other necessaries, can be had in good order, and at a small advance on the market price in England or America. A ready communication might be established by means of steamers with this place or any other upon the coast, which would carry the superfluities of cargo to the islands, and bring from thence the stores or whatever

else might be required, while these superfluities, along with other articles of speculation, might be sent in small vessels to every part of the coast with ease and safety. The small vessels might skim over the seas without danger from the shoals; while the frequency of their appearance would, in time, make them familiar, and at last, obtain for them a license to trade without interruption: and what is not unimportant, the sight of them occuring so often, would indicate that they were not far from home.

To effect so desirable an object as the establishment of a colony in the midst of these seas, an appeal must be made to government, which is never so likely to be successful as when it is backed by the concurrent opinions of an enlightened public. When all acknowledge that something must be done to protect our commerce in these regions from vexation and loss, and to gain a better acquaintance with the inhabitants, do not be particular, my countrymen, in the choice of expedients, provided they are just and lawful, but take the first that offers, till you can find a better. The one I recommend is feasible, at least in my judgment, and in the judgment of several about me, who have devoted their attention to the subject. Look at your map and turn the matter over in your own mind, and it is not unlikely that you will soon be of the same way of thinking. Some of my Christian brethren, in whose prayers I hope the Bible Agency of China has sometimes a share, will say, perhaps, that the distribution of God's word and missionary efforts will soon of themselves accomplish all I contemplate, without any extraneous and perhaps, questionable assistance. Upon that head we will not spend a moment's controversy, but these all-powerful instruments for doing good must first have fair play, otherwise they will effect but little or nothing. In order to instruct or convert the people we must get at them, but this we cannot do at present, save by ways and methods so full of degradation, hurry, or annoyance, that our best endeavors are often paralyzed, though we see that the line of our duty runs onward, and the promise of God urges us to follow it with courage and cheerfulness. When I can travel in town or in country with my bag of Bibles without the fear, or rather the certainty, of being haled before a magistrate, and from thence to a dungeon; and when the missionary can teach publicly and from house to house, without jeopardy of losing his head, I shall then find so much to occupy my mind and engage my heart, that I will consent to leave all wordly projects to be dealt with by wiser heads than my own, and withal allow my friends in England to inscribe upon their performances, CHINA OPEN, in as large a character as they please, and to descant upon the theme with all the enthusiasm of thought and play of language that a glowing fancy can supply. In the meanwhile you must remember, that between us and a right understanding with China there is a large barrier of ignorance pride, and prejudice, to remove which every engine, with a firm reliance on God's help, must be used. The occupation of the Bonin Islands would not achieve all, but it would perform a good part in the execution of the work, I have therefore, felt it to be my duty to suggest and recommend it to you.

For the arguments here used, and for the mode of handling them, I am myself alone responsible; should they produce conviction in the minds of some; or furnish a hint for reflection in others and so help to set forward a good design, the credit must be ascribed to T. R. Colledge, esq., senior surgeon to his majesty's commission, who, by his professional zeal and long continued exertions for the welfare of this people, has earned the title of the Chinaman's Friend, while his patient efforts, to extend and improve our intercourse with the Chinese, commend him to the grateful feelings of his countrymen. His example has been followed by the Rev. P. Parker, M. D., from the American Board of Missions, who has now, for more than twelve months, conducted an Ophthalmic Institution at Canton, with great ability and increasing success. To incite some of the medical profession in England to come hither and coöperate in the advancement of the same good work, is the motive for this short encomium, with which I wind up my letter. (Signed) G. Tradescant Lay.

China, November 27th, 1836.

ART. III. *Treaty of amity and commerce between his majesty the magnificent king of Siam and the United States of America.*

His majesty, the sovereign and magnificent king in the city of Sia-Yuthia, has appointed the Chou Phaya Phra-klang, one of the first ministers of state, to treat with Edmund Roberts, minister of the United States of America, who has been sent by the government thereof, on its behalf, to form a treaty of sincere friendship and entire good faith between the two nations. For this purpose the Siamese and the citizens of the United States of America shall with sincerity hold commercial intercourse in the ports of their respective nations, as long as heaven and earth shall endure. This treaty is concluded on Wednesday the last of the fourth month of the year 1194, called pi-marong chatta-vasok (or the year of the dragon), corresponding to the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1833. One original is written in Siamese, the other in English; but as the Siamese are ignorant of English and the Americans of Siamese, a Portuguese and a Chinese translation are annexed to serve as testimony to the contents of the treaty. The writing is of the same tenor and date in all the languages aforesaid: it is signed on the one part, with the name of the Chau Phaya Phra-klang, and sealed with the seal of the lotus-flower of glass; on the other part, it is signed with the name of Edmund Roberts, and sealed with a seal containing an eagle and stars.

One copy will be kept in Siam, and another will be taken by Edmund Roberts to the United States. If the government of the United States shall ratify the said treaty and attach the seal of the government, then Siam will also ratify it on its part and attach the seal of its government.

Article I. There shall be a perpetual peace between the United States of America and the magnificent king of Siam.

Article II. The citizens of the United States shall have free liberty to enter all the ports of the kingdom of Siam, with their cargoes of whatever kind the said cargoes may consist, and they shall have liberty to sell the same to any of the subjects of the king or others, who may wish to purchase the same, or to barter the same for any produce or manufactures of the kingdom, or other articles that may be found there. No prices shall be fixed by the officers of the king on the articles to be sold by the merchants of the United States, or the merchandise they may wish to buy; but the trade shall be free on both sides, to sell, or buy, or exchange, on the terms and for the prices the owners may think fit. Whenever the said citizens of the U. S. shall be ready to depart, they shall be at liberty to do so, and the proper officers shall furnish them with passports, provided always there be no legal impediment to the contrary. Nothing contained in this article shall be understood as granting permission to import and sell munitions of war to any person excepting to the king, who, if he does not require, will not be bound to purchase them: neither is permission granted to import opium, which is contraband, or to export rice, which cannot be embarked as an article of commerce. These only are prohibited.

Article III. Vessels of the United States, entering any port within his majesty's dominions, and selling or purchasing cargoes of merchandise, shall pay, in lieu of import and export duties, tonnage, license to trade, or any other charge whatever, a measurement duty as follows: the measurement shall be made from side to side, in the middle of the vessel's length, and if a single decked vessel on such single deck, if otherwise on the lower deck. On every vessel selling merchandise, the sum of one thousand seven hundred ticals or *bats* shall be paid for every Siamese fathom in breath so measured, the said fathoms being computed to contain seventy-eight English or American inches, corresponding to ninety-six Siamese inches. But if the said vessel should come without merchandise and purchase a cargo with specie, she shall then pay the sum of fifteen hundred ticals or bats for each and every fathom, before described. Furthermore, neither the aforesaid measurement, nor any other charge whatever, shall be paid by any vessel of the United States that enters a Siamese port for the purpose of refitting, or for refreshments, or to inquire the state of the market.

Article IV. If hereafter the duties payable by foreign vessels be diminished in favor of any other nation, the same diminution shall be made in favor of the vessels of the United States.

Article V. If any vessel of the United States shall suffer shipwreck on any part of the magnificent king's dominions, the persons, escaping from the wreck, shall be taken care of and hospitably entertained at the expense of the king, until they shall find an opportunity to be returned to their country, and the property saved from such wreck shall be carefully preserved and restored to its owners, and the United

States will repay all expenses incurred by his majesty on account of such wreck.

Article VI. If any citizen of the United States, coming to Siam for the purpose of trade, shall contract debts to any individuals of Siam, or if any individual of Siam shall contract debts to any citizens of the United States, the debtor shall be obliged to bring forward and sell all his goods to pay his debts therewith. When the product of such bona fide sale, shall not suffice, he shall be no longer liable for the remainder, nor shall the creditor be able to retain him as a slave, imprison, flog, or otherwise punish him, to compel the payment of any balance remaining due, but shall leave him at perfect liberty.

Article VII. Merchants of the United States, coming to trade in the kingdom of Siam, and wishing to rent houses therein, shall rent the king's factories, and pay the customary rent of the country. If the said merchants bring their goods on shore, the king's officers shall take account thereof, but shall not levy any duty thereupon.

Article VIII. If any citizens of the United States, or their vessels, or other property, shall be taken by pirates and brought within the dominions of the magnificent king, the persons shall be set at liberty and the property restored to its owners.

Article IX. Merchants of the United States, trading in the kingdom of Siam, shall respect and follow the laws and customs of the country in all points.

Article X. If hereafter any foreign nation, other than the Portuguese, shall request and obtain his majesty's consent to the appointment of consuls to reside in Siam, the United States shall be at liberty to appoint consuls to reside in Siam, equally with such other foreign nation.

*** Here were annexed the seals and signatures of the Phra-klang and the envoy, leaving space for the seal of his majesty to be hereafter attached. Below them is the following certificate.

Whereas the undersigned, Edmund Roberts, a citizen of Portsmouth, in the state of New Hampshire in the United States of America, being duly appointed an envoy by letters patent, under the signature of the president and seal of the United States of America, bearing date at the city of Washington, the twenty-sixth day of January, A. D. 1832, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his majesty the king of Siam: now, know ye, that I, Edmund Roberts, envoy as aforesaid, do conclude the foregoing treaty of amity and commerce and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same nevertheless for the final ratification of the president of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the said United States.

Done at the royal city of Sia-Yuthia, (commonly called Bankok) on the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, and of the independence of the United Stated of America, the fifty-seventh.

(Signed) EDMUND ROBERTS.

Art. IV. *Free intercourse with Eastern Asia, considered in connection with the voyage to Japan, the occupation of the Bonin Islands, the treaty of the United States with Siam, and the present position of the British authorities in China.*

Each of the three preceding articles demands from us a few remarks. The enterprises, to which they refer, are among the signs of the times, and indicate the spirit of the age. Free intercourse with the great nations of this hemisphere will not be established, until far more information is obtained: the people and rulers of these countries must be better acquainted with those of the west; while the latter must know more accurately the condition and character of the former. We do not wish to see Europeans extending their possessions in these regions, nor their inhabitants bound under foreign rule: on the contrary, we prefer they should enjoy perfect freedom. There are many forms of slavery; and, perhaps, national bondage is not the least in the list of these evils. Not an inch of territory would we wish to have wrested from its lawful masters, in the east. In the cause of emancipation, a noble career has been commenced by Great Britain and the U. S. of America: if the latter has the most to do at home, the former has the most to do abroad. In allusion to England it has been said, 'It is far better to be the mother, than the master, of many nations.' States, as well as individuals, have their pupilage; and when that period is completed, the former, as well as the latter, ought to go free. And they will do so. Throughout all this hemisphere freedom is unknown. A better order of things must come—and will come, when the people of Christendom understand their obligations and do their duty. It is practicable, even now, for ministers plenipotentiary, from Great Britain, France, and the United States, to reside at the courts of Peking and Yédo. But so long as the people of the west remain ignorant and regardless of these 'ends of the earth,' no great improvements can be effected. It is full time the governments of Japan and China were approached, friendly negotiations commenced, and free and well-regulated intercourse established. The Chinese adage is here apposite:

She shang woo nan sze,
Jin sin tsze puh keĕn:

In all the world nothing is impossible,
The hearts of men only are wanting in resolution.

The voyage of the Morrison, her expulsion from the harbors of Japan, with the rejection of seven shipwrecked mariners, cannot fail to excite attention, and lead to inquiry. The Morrison had a right to enter the harbors as she did—in a peaceable manner, for the benevolent object of restoring to their homes the unfortunate and penniless sufferers. Duty required that the men should be returned. The attacks, made on the party, were savage and murderous. But

for ability to escape, the vessel would have been sunk. Had she entered the harbors disabled and in distress, she would have received the same treatment, and a long captivity would have been the lot of her company and crew. What shall be said of the conduct of the Japanese government, in this case, towards its own subjects? See those poor men on shore, surrounded by multitudes of their countrymen; see them anxiously inquiring for their families, and honestly giving their depositions, with confident expectations of speedy release. In the mean time, armed men were collecting; the engines of death were prepared; and in an unexpected moment, all their hopes of return were blasted! The cause of such conduct ought to be investigated, that (to say nothing of the past) it may be prevented in future. In this case, the government of the United States is called on to make investigation, and to obtain such explanations of the past, and such securities for the future, as justice will approve.

The occupation of the Bonin Islands is important, particularly as it regards the approach to Japan. So far as we know, the proposition of Mr. Lay has the approbation of nearly the whole foreign community in Canton, though all do not go with him to the full extent of his deductions. The distance of the islands from the Chinese coast, their position, out of the ordinary track of vessels sailing to and from China, and their small extent of territory, are serious objections, in the view of some, to the mercantile part of his plan. We ourselves doubt whether, as a commercial colony, they can ever rise to very great importance, though, as suggested by Mr. Lay, they may serve most beneficial purposes. As a naval station, as a rendezvous for the numerous vessels engaged in the 'whale fisheries,' and as a point *a appui* for Japan, they may surely be useful. And as regards their extent and capabilities, it may yet appear that the Bonin Islands are more valuable, than they are generally supposed to be. According to a Japanese authority, the whole group contains no less than eighty-nine islands. The reader will find a description of the group in our third volume, pages 510–516. The thanks of the British public are due to Mr. Lay for bringing the subject to their notice, at the time and in the manner he has done.

Perhaps, if investigation were made, some other spot, more convenient than the Bonin Islands, and nearer to the Chinese coast, might be obtained; it might not be found impracticable to obtain a place 'to stand upon,' at the Hajikoséma group, or on the east coast of Formosa, or on some of the islands between Formosa and Japan. If justice were done to the people of Lewchew, perhaps they would be freed from the domination of Japanese princes, and be found ready to form treaties with those who are both willing and able to guaranty their liberty and independence. The careful consideration of this topic we recommend to the notice of all those who are interested in the welfare of Eastern Asia.

The treaty of amity and commerce, between the magnificent king of Siam, and the United States of America, is worthy of being 'placed on record.' If it is not so specific and comprehensive as it might be,

it is, nevertheless, a good beginning. If the young princes are duly trained, and their zeal for learning and commerce and free intercourse carefully fostered, the present treaty may take a form, at some future day, more befitting the character of 'magnificent kings.' If some of the shipbuilders in the United States or England would furnish the Siamese government with a first rate vessel, well-armed for defense against pirates, and in other respects well-fitted for commerce, it would serve them as a model for the improvement of their own shipping, and hasten the extension of their commerce. The voyages of the *Conquerer* need not be long limited to Singapore. Voyages to Europe and America will, doubtless, erelong be undertaken. This the treaty seems to anticipate.

The British flag, hoisted in Canton on the 12th of last April, was *struck* on the morning of the 2d instant. The imperial edict, permitting the 'English foreigner' to repair to the provincial city, was published in our last volume, page 527. His arrival here, on the 12th of April, was noticed in the same volume, page 576. Since that time, all communications to and from the governor were transmitted through the hands of the hong merchants, till near the close of the last month, when the intercourse was interrupted—for reasons given in captain Elliots' letter, dated the 29th ultimo, published in our last number. We should like to see all the other foreign flags *struck*, and never again hoisted in the celestial empire, until they can be respected. The Dutch and French consuls are permitted to exercise authority over their own countrymen to their hearts' content; but by the local government their consular power is treated with utter indifference, not to say contempt. The American consulate is not only without any shadow of influence with the Chinese government; but even with regard to American citizens it is powerless, either to control or to protect. Every house in Canton might hoist its own flag, and the Chinese would doubtless view them with perfect indifference. With foreign flags and consulates the Chinese have no concern.

Her Britannic majesty's commission in China is at present composed of the following members:

Captain Elliot, R. N., *Chief Superintendent*,	Salary	£3000
A. R. Johns on, esq., *Second Superintendent*,	Salary	1500
E. E. Elmslie, esq., *Secretary and Treasurer*,	Salary	800
Rev. G. H. Vachell, *Chaplain*, - -	Salary	800
T. R. Colledge, esq., *Surgeon*, - -	Salary	1000
J. R. Morrison, esq., *Chinese Secretary*,	Salary	1000
Rev. C. Gutzlaff, *Chinese Secretary*. -	Salary	800

The history of this commission, since it was first formed in December, 1833, will make a curious chapter in the annals of British intercourse with China. It has been changed, and modified, and changed again. It has been sent to Canton, and been expelled from Canton. It has been to Lintin, and to the gates of the provincial city. It has petitioned for permission to come hither from Macao; and now it has retired to Macao, and 'all communication between it and the local government has ceased.' So let it be. We are glad it is so,

and hope it may thus remain, until the intercourse is placed on a foundation, which shall secure mutual respect, and be worthy of the British name.

It may be asked here, To whom does the blame of all this bad management and ill-success belong? This is a fair question, and ought to be fairly answered. To give such an answer, however, would require more time and space than we can now command. We should like an answer from some of those around us, who are able to canvass and exhibit the subject fairly in all its bearings. Have British subjects in China made those faithful representations to their government at home and to the British people, which the case requires? Have the superintendents, from first to last, acted according to the letter and spirit of their instructions? Have ministers constituted and instructed the commission in the manner they ought? Have the British public and parliament done their duty? Or is there something, in the nature of the case, which renders success impracticable? Answers to these questions are much needed at this time. The British government and people are too much interested in the commerce with China, to allow things to remain long as they are. The instructions from her majesty's government, which have made it necessary for the chief superintendent to retire from Canton, auger well, indicating that, *a better understanding and a different mode of communication are deemed indispensable.* There are, we think, strong reasons for a mission to Peking: the exigences of the case call for such a mission; the peace and welfare of the Chinese empire require it; and the prosperity of foreign commerce, and the dignity and honor of foreign governments demand it. But let it not be undertaken rashly, ignorantly, or with wavering purpose. The enterprise is great, and requires corresponding wisdom and energy. Whether England undertakes this work single-handed, or seeks the coöperation of other nations, scarcely less interested, we pray that it may be conducted on those principles which humanity will approve, and in a manner which God will bless.

ART. V. *Seaou Hëŏ, or Primary Lessons: translation of part ii, chapter 3d, elucidating the line of separation between husband and wife.*

NEXT after the relative duties of the prince and his ministers, the Chinese, in the work before us, treat of those which are incumbent on the husband and wife. This chapter, though brief, is intended to furnish instruction for the parties, through their whole course. There are copies treatises extant on this subject, some of which we should like to see translated. Two volumes of Luhchow's work treat of the education of females. He quotes copiously from the classics, and

from writings of modern times. Only the cardinal duties of husband and wife are noticed in the Seaou Heŏ; we give the translation without explanatory notes, except a single one on the title of the chapter.

Chapter 3d. Line of separation between husband and wife elucidated.

Note. In the original, the title of this chapter is *ming foo foó che peĕ* "the line of separation between the husband and wife elucidated." In another place (vol. 5, p. 82,) we have given, "the respective duties of husband and wife," as a free translation of the same. When used as a verb, *peĕ* means to distinguish, to divide, to separate; but in this place it has a different sense, that of *distinguishment*, the line of distinction or separation.

SECTION I.

In the Illustrations of Rites it is said: "The man and woman, no matchmaker having gone between them, must not know the names of each other. Presents not having been received, no intercourse or intimacy between them is admissible. Therefore, to mark clearly this line of separation, the day and month of their marriage are reported to the prince, and with fasting announced to the deceased ancestors, while friends and fellow-officers are invited to an entertainment of wine and food. When marrying, take not a wife of the same family name; therefore, when purchasing a concubine, if ignorant of her family name, have recourse to divination."

SECTION II.

The Rules of Marriage contain these instructions: "The father, presenting wine to the son, commands him saying, 'Go and receive your consort, and with her sustain the honors of my family; urge and persuade her with respect to succeed her mother-in-law; and in these duties be you constant.' The son answers, 'I will; though I fear my inadequacy for these duties, yet I dare not forget your commands.' When presenting a daughter in marriage, her father commands her saying, 'Be careful and respectful, day and night let there be no opposition to commands.' The mother, presenting a small girdle and a folded napkin, says, 'Be attentive and respectful, day and night fail not in housewifery.' The stepmother [the father's concubine] at the door within, presenting a large girdle, and repeating the instructions of the father and mother, commands her saying, 'Respectfully listen to and honor the words of your father and mother; day and night, in order that you may not err, look on your girdle.'"

SECTION III.

According to the Book of Rites, "The generations of men have their origin in the marriage observances. The wife is taken from a different family, in order to prevent scandal, and to mark the line of separation. The presents must be immaculate, and the language becoming, in this way to teach her rectitude and fidelity—with fidelity to serve her husband, for fidelity is a woman's virtue. Once identified

with him, so long as she lives, she must not change her condition; accordingly, after her husband's decease, she must not marry. The man in person receives the bride. He takes precedence of the woman, on the principle that distinguishes the stronger from the weaker — just as heaven is above the earth, and the prince superior to the minister. Presents are taken when seeking an interview, in order that the line of separation between the man and woman may be clearly marked. When this is done, there will be attachment between the father and son; thereby correct principles will spring forth; which, in their turn, will ensue decorous conduct, and all things will repose in peace. But to lose this line of separation, and to be devoid of correct principles, is to act like brutes."

SECTION IV.

"The family of the bridegroom, when a wife is brought home, must not have music in the house for three days — their thoughts being occupied with the reflection that, their parents are giving place to them. The marriage ceremonies are not congratulatory,— they are those of succession."

SECTION V.

According to the Domestic Instructor, "Observances have their origin in becoming conduct between husbands and wives. The house being partitioned into inner and outer apartments, the men occupy the latter, the women the former. The strong doors of the most retired rooms, are guarded by porters, that the men may not enter them, nor the women pass out of them. They must not have the same clothes-stand. The wife must not presume to hang her clothes with those of her husband, nor to place them in the same wardrobe. She must not presume to resort to the same bathing-room. When her husband is not at home, she must put his pillow into its place, and the bedding into the drawers, doing every thing with care. The younger serves the elder, the inferior the superior, all in like manner. Even among concubines, in respects to clothes and food, the elder takes precedence. The concubine, while attending on her master, in the absence of the wife, must not assume her place."

SECTION VI.

"Men must not speak of what belongs to women; nor women, of what belongs to men. Except in sacrifices and at funerals, they may not receive things from each other in person. When they exchange things the woman receives them in a basket; if she has no basket, they both being seated, the one lays down and the other takes up, the things to be received. The man and woman must not have the same well, nor resort to the same bathing-room; nor sleep on the same mat; nor borrow things of each other. Men and women must not exchange garments. When men enter the inner apartments, they must not laugh, nor point at things. When walking by night they must use a light; if without a light they must stop. Women going abroad, must

veil their faces; they must have a light when walking in the night time, and if without a it they must stop. When upon the road, the men must keep on the right, and females on the left."

SECTION VII.

Confucius said: "The woman is in subjection to the man. Therefore, being without the right of self-direction, there are three conditions in which obedience is required: at home, she must obey her father; when married, she must obey her husband; and after his decease, she must obey her son: in no case, may she presume to guide herself. She must be instructed not to go from her apartments, her business being confined solely to the preparation of food. Therefore, always remaining in her apartments, she must not go a hundred *le* even to attend a funeral. No business is to be under her control, or aught to be done of herself alone. After due deliberation with others, she may act; and of what is well authenticated she may speak. By day, she must not go into the hall; walking by night, she must use a light: in this manner let her perfect her virtue. There are five things which prevent a woman from being taken as a wife: if her family is vicious, she is not to be taken; if the members of her family are insubordinate, she is not to be taken; if any of them has been punished for a crime, she is not to be taken; if the family is tainted with incurable disease, she is not to be taken; if she is the eldest child (brotherless), and her father is dead, she is not to be taken. There are seven causes for which a wife may be put away: viz., disobedience to parents, barrenness, wantenness, jeolousy, incurable disease, loquacity, and thievishness. There are three things on account of which she is not to be put away; when the family from which she was taken no longer exists to receive her, she is not to be put away; if she has been three years in mourning with her husband, she is not to be put away; or, if her husband, formerly poor, has become rich, she is not to be put away." Such are the rules by which the sage (Confucius) regulated the intercourse of men and women, and gave dignity to the commencement of marriage rites.

SECTION VIII.

In the Illustration of Duties it is said, "Do not become the friend of a widow's son, who is of mean abilities."

Art. VI *Siamese History: notices continued from the Siamese era, 945 to 948 (or from* A. D. *1584 to 1587).* By a Correspondent.

Siamese era 945, A. D. 1584. This year Náret, who had now become king, collected 100,000 men, 800 harnessed elephants, and 1500 horses and ordered everything to be in readiness by the first month (December), to march against Kamboja. To the above he added 10,000 men from the province of Rájásemá. The governor of

Petchaburi was appointed to take charge of the gallies from Ligore, Pattalung, Songora, and Chaiyá, 200 in number, laden with provisions, which, with the war-gallies amounted to 20,000, all well armed. A hundred and fifty of these went to guard Chantaburi and other places on the frontiers. [In the armament of these boats is the first mention of gunpowder, that I recollect in this history, though guns are frequently mentioned at dates considerably anterior to the use of gunpowder in Europe. The places from which provisions for this expedition were drawn, as mentioned here, all lie between Kedah on the west, and the gulf of Siam on the east. Ligore, by the Siamese is called Nakhónsithammarát, my ignorance of whose location I acknowledged in a note, on the 57th p. of vol. v. Songora the Siamese also call Songkhlá.] The march was commenced on the 1st day of the 1st month, but they soon halted, and held a feast for five days. The king and his brother accompanied the army, and their movements are described with all possible superlatives and exaggerations.

The principal division of the army proceeded to Paniat, on the road to Batabóng. A nobleman, named Mánu, had seriously offended Náret, and to balance his offense was ordered to go with 25,000 men and take Batabóng and Phóthisat. The king of Kamboja had previously sent spies to Siam, and ascertained the plans of his antagonist. Being thus aware of the enemy's designs, he had had all his forts repaired and forces collected. Batabóng was guarded by 10,000 men under the command of Manómaitri. Phóthisat was under the command of Sowankhalók, with 20,000 men, and 30,000; men were placed under the king's brother Sísuphanmá, at the city of Boribun. Messengers were sent without cessation to and from Batabóng and Phóthisat. The Kambojans had also a fleet of 150 boats, with 10,000 men, well armed with large and small guns and powder at Pásak and at Cheturamukh. A small detachment of 5000 men was sent, under the command of a Chinese, to guard the mouth of the river at Phuttaimát.

Mánu proceeded with a rush upon Batabóng, and took it before the Kambojans had time to make any important resistance, secured the governor and his family, 20 elephants, 50 horses, with guns, large and small, and arms of various kinds, in abundance. The governor, was conveyed, of course, to Náret, who ascertained from him the disposition which had been made of the Kambojan forces. Náret inquired of him, if he thought the capture of Phóthisat and Boribun would not be equivalent to the subjugation of the whole country; He replied, "That is more than I can say: you can judge for yourself: but it seems to me, that those places are like the bows of a ship, and that the Kambojan country is like the stern. If the bows receive the dashing of the waves and tempests and are broken and dashed to pieces, it will be a difficult matter to preserve the stern." Náret and his brother were so much pleased with his answer that they determined to retain him in their service. They then left the governor of Náyok with 3000 men, to guard Batabóng, and proceeded to Phóthisat, the commandant of which, being apprized of the fall of Batabóng, made

diligent preparation for them. These were promising at first, but after great slaughter on both sides, the Kambojans were defeated by Mánu, with the loss of 50 elephants, 100 horses, numerous captives and much armor, and Phóthisat fell into the enemy's hands.

Tidings of these events were received by Náret with great joy. There yet remained the city of Boribun. Náret declared that, though it was strongly defended, he was sure he could take it in the twinkling of an eye. Accordingly, after three days' march, he approached it, and seeing that the Kambojans did not come out to assail him, he ordered his officers to attack and take it at once. They made a furious onset, but met a brave resistance; yet ere the day closed, the fortifications were broken down, the city entered, officers and privates, cannon and muskets, with other implements of war, were taken in abundance, with 75 elephants, 200 horses, &c.

But the brother of the Kambojan king (Sisuphanmá), who had the command of the army, fled with 10,000 men to Lawék, the capital, with all possible speed, and made known the state of affairs to the king. The king was greatly incensed and censured his brother severely. His anger, however, did not prevent his making the most vigorous efforts to fortify his capital, by increasing the military, repairing the forts, putting in order a certain machinery which consisted of sharp stakes driven into the ground, and mounting his guns. When all this was done, he sent a deputation to Cochinchina for assistance. But Náret spent only one day at Boribun, and after two days' march reached the capital, to which he immediately laid seige. A small division of the Siamese army had already taken Phuttaimát, and another detachment, under the governor of Petchaburi, had subjugated Pásak, and routed the Kambojan fleet. The Chinese in command of the river, at Phuttaimát, fifteen trading vessels, two Portuguese sloops, and numerous war boats, were taken. These two detachments united and captured Cheturamukh, and then joined the main army at Lawék. Náret ordered fortifications to be erected in front of each gate, and everything to be completed in three days, on penalty of decapitation and gibbeting. He then addressed a letter to the king of Kamboja, saying, that the two countries had formerly been at peace and in friendship, while the Kambojans paid their tribute, and this peace had been wantonly disturbed by the king. He inquired if the king, knowing what he had done, was not satisfied whether he could conquer or not? 'Then,' says he, 'come forth and acknowledge your allegiance and your life may be prolonged by it. If not, come forth and let us enjoy the amusement of a battle. If you do not come in the space of three days, I will send my forces and rend the city to pieces in an instant.'

On the reception of this letter, the king was so offended that he ordered the bearer to be imprisoned and his guns fired at once upon the enemy. The Siamese, though suffering much, still persisted, till on the 1st day of the Siamese year 946 (A. D. 1585), the walls were battered down, the city entered, and great carnage followed. The king was seized and brought to Náret, who smiled and said, "Since you are

a king and wish to enlarge your dominions, why do you not march to Siam and conquer it fairly, instead of availing yourself of every occasion, when we have war with Pegu, to plunder our frontiers and capture defenseless women and children, like a crow robbing eagles' nests? Is this worthy of a king? Now that you are overpowered, tell me what you think of yourself, and tell me truly." The king of Kamboja prostrated himself and acknowledged his criminality, but begged his life, promising future faithful service if it was spared; and if he must die, he could yield to his fate. Náret replied, "I gave my word before the conquest, that I would wash my feet in your blood; think not, therefore, of your life's being spared, but look to another world. As to your family, their happiness shall be provided for." The executioner then cut off the king's head, received the blood in a golden salver, and washed Náret's feet in it, on which occasion the whole body of Siamese attendants gave the utmost demonstrations of joy. After a slight examination of the city, Náret collected the royal family and other Kambojans, to the number of 30,000, marched for and reached Ayuthiyá, by a march of thirteen days.

948. Intelligence was brought to Náret, that Sisainaróng, who had been appointed governor of Tennaserim, had rebelled. This at first was doubted, but still a messenger was dispatched to call him to court. He refused to appear: hence Náret was very angry and dispatched his brother for him, with 30,000 men, 300 harnessed elephants, and 500 horses. Chaiyá, Chumphon, Khlongwán, Dúm, Prán, and Petchaburi,* furnished 15,000 men, who joined the prince at Bángtaphán. The governor of Tenasserim, was greatly alarmed when he found what was approaching, for he knew he could not resist, and if he fled he could not hope to escape. He was compelled to defend himself as best he could. The prince, on reaching the vicinity of Tenasserim, dispatched a letter to the governor, telling him that if he would deliver himself up he would use all his influence in his favor. This offer was declined on the suspicion that it was a mere military stratagem. Thus, nothing was left but to attack the city. Scaling ladders were prepared with torches on the top, that should their approach be resisted, the flames would drive off the assailants. The city was entered, Sisainaróng seized, brought to the camp, and flogged with thirty lashes. An account of these matters was transmitted to Náret, who sent word to his brother, requiring him to conduct Sisainaróng about the city as a public spectacle, and then have his head cut off, and set up on a stake at Tenasserim. This commission he executed and then returned to Siam.

[On this relation it seems natural to remark, that, if the ocean is not wrought into a tempest 'to waft a feather or to drown a fly,' there must either have been a much greater population at Tenasserim in those days than in more modern times, or there is a very great exaggeration in the estimation of the forces sent from Siam. Various circumstances incline me to the conclusion, that it was the latter. All

* These six places are small provinces lying southwest of Bankok and north of Ligore. The first and last of them are the most important.

partially civilized nations, among whom no regular census is ever taken, are accustomed both to overrate the existing population, and to suppose that the former population was much greater than the present. The Siamese often remark, that formerly their inhabitants were much more numerous than at present, but they furnish no substantial evidence of the fact, unless the statements of their history, written by themselves, be taken as evidence, which would be an assumption of the question in debate, viz., whether the former accounts are not greatly exaggerated. Three or four years ago, when an expedition against Kamboja was undertaken, this disposition, to exaggerate the forces sent, was strikingly manifest. The army was constantly estimated at 50, to 80 thousand, and yet it is almost certain that there never was more than half the estimated number. Though, therefore, we may justly discredit the estimate of numbers, as being greatly overrated, yet the general story may still be safely relied upon.]

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Close of the year* 1837; *Kingkwa's death; Hingtae's bankruptcy; burning of opium; Hospital ship at Whampoa.*

THE year, now closing, has been signalized in China, as elsewhere, by disappointments, perplexities, and distress. These calamities seem to have been universal, in all parts of the world,—everywhere effecting, more or less, the interests of governments, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; even benevolent and religious institutions have felt the shock. Calamities, such as these, spring not from the dust—they come in the wise and good providence of our God; and it becomes us, as his children, to humble ourselves before him, implore his forgiveness, turn from whatever is wrong, and seek and hope for better things in time to come. We hope for, and *we wish all our friends and readers, a happy new year.*

The death of Kingkwa, which occurred a few weeks ago, and his funeral obsequies, which have recently been witnessed, will be noticed at length in one of our sebsequent numbers. He was one of the oldest hong merchants.

The bankruptcy of the Hingtae hong, has been a cause of no small embarrassment the case is still unsettled; and, not unlikely, may be referred to the British government.

Burning of opium. The traffic in opium was to be stopped many months ago; certain merchants were to be expelled from Canton; and the receiving ships sent home. Such were the orders: the facts are these—the traffic has been continued, at Lintin, at other anchorages far northward on the coast, at Macao, while thousands of chests have entered the Bogue, and not a little of the drug has found its way, in foreign vessels to Whampoa, and in foreign boats to Canton. Smugglers, and smuggling boats, have been seized in great numbers. And to crown the farce, local authorities go in state to the place of military parade and burn the drug: the transaction is duly reported in the provincial court circular, and will forever stand on the records of the fooyuen's office! Now no one, who knows, the Chinese, believes that a pound of opium was burnt; while every one does know that official boats have been the chief agents in carrying the drug!

The hospital ship—'Hope'—so conveniently fitted up at Whampoa, with accommodations for at least a hundred patients, is, we are sorry to hear, threatened with expulsion. There can be no reason, or justice, or 'tender compassion for far-traveled foreigners,' in this measure; and we trust the threat will be as impotent as many others have been, and that the 'Hope' will be allowed to remain.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VI.—JANUARY, 1838.—No. 9.

ART. I. *Nautical observations, made by captain David Ingersoll, during the voyage of the Morrison to Lewchew and Japan, in July and August*, 1837.

SHOULD I again visit Lewchew, or Japan, I would proceed by the Formosa channel, as the current, during the S.W. monsoon, generally runs to N. E. 1½ knots (whereas in the Bashee passage I had some western current), and probably better winds prevail there than south of Formosa. Near the Lewchew islands, the tides ran N. N.E. and S. S.W. 1½ or 2 knots, during the last quarter of the moon: but in Jeddo and Kagosima bays little or none was perceptible; while the rise and fall was about 18 inches. Near Tanegasima and Jakunosima they ran S.E. and N.W. 12 hours, each way ½ knot, moon full.

By reference to the table, all I know about the currents may be seen; the most in one day was 79 miles northeastward.

The S.E. part of the Island of Typinsan I made in 125° 24′ E. Horsburgh has it in 125° 36′ E. My chronometers made Napakiang Roads in 127° 36′ 30″ E., agreeing with Hall's survey. When at anchor there, with Capstan Rock S. 75° E., Abbey Point S. 48° W., I found two spots of coral rocks, about 20 feet in diameter, with 6 and 7 feet water over them, not more than 40 fathoms in shore, or to S. by E. of us: the water looks brown over them. In longitude 128° 49′ E., latitude 27° 20′ N., there is a small high island, probably Wukido, laid down in 128° 23′ E. In lon. 129° 56′ E., lat. 28° 6′ N., is a low, level island, about three miles long, not laid down.

Cape Tootomy Japan, laid down in 138° 19′ E., I made in 138° 14′ E. The western part of Yzou promontory, laid down in 138° 49′ E., I made in 138° 41′ E. Off *Cape* Yzou, about ½ a mile, is a small quoin or wedge shaped rock; S.E. from this are two others; the outer one, being quite an island, is about 2½ or 3 miles from Cape Yzou, and in a line with the south part of Osima or Volcano island, bearing N. 75° E., 12 or 14 miles—between which there are no dangers, and from thence to Jeddo bay there are no invisible dangers,—so I was informed by the Japanese on board, some of whom had been 20

voyages along this route. Here the current ran strong to N. N.E., at least 3 knots. The above mentioned outer rock is in 138° 49′ 30″ E. Yzou promontory has on its S.W. part a remarkable white spot, near the water, about 200 feet in diameter, also a sharp conical rock.

From our Japanese I learned, there are no dangers in the outer part of Jeddo bay, until a mile or two above Ouragawa harbor, which is on the western side. We beat up, the wind blowing strong, and part of the time very thick weather from side to side, but saw no dangers more than ¼ mile off shore. Cape Sagami, the western side of the entrance, I made in latitude 35° 10′ N., longitude 139° 33′ E. It bears from the point, forming the eastern part of the entrance, N. N.W., about 9 miles; close in with it, say 100 yards, there are 11 fathoms, rocky bottom, but here the bottom appeared very uneven. A ledge above water runs to S.W. ¼ mile; farther to northward and westward, than where I stood in, about 1½ miles to westward of this ledge, is an island, forming, between it and the main, a bad harbor, with a village on the main, to northward. Squally, blowing fresh, and thick at intervals, I had not much opportunity for observation or sounding. Running in for an anchorage the western side of the bay, going quick, first cast gave 20, and as fast as the lead could be hove we had 18, 13, 12, 9, and 8 fathoms, when I anchored: the bottom, very uneven coral. The anchorage was in the N.W. of a small bay, making westward about 1¼ miles deep, the points bearing N. N.W. and S. S.W.; it may be 5 miles between them. Two rocks above water bore W. S.W. 1 mile, which appeared connected with a ledge under water that ran round to N. N.E., and not more than 100 yards from the ship: this we discovered from the breakers during the night, a heavy swell rolling in after midnight; when we anchored it was quite smooth. The anchor did not appear to have any hold, as it came up without an extra heave and clean. There appears to be no good anchorage about here, and what may be, is exposed to shot, being so close in; ours was about a mile off shore, 3 miles below Ouragawa harbor, which our Japanese say is a fine landlocked place, with 6 or 7 fathoms all over it. Off this harbor there is a small flat rock, about the size of a ship's hull, but not so high, it may be ¼ the distance across the bay, which is here about 5 miles in width. Jeddo bay above, spreads out to a width of 20 miles, filled up with quicksands and rocks, so that only small junks can get up to the city, through a most intricate and winding channel, about a mile wide,—so said our Japanese. On the heights above Ouragawa there appeared to be some strong batteries of heavy cannon, as the shot came at least 1½ mile.

In running down the coast to Kagosima bay, the barometer was low for some days; 29.55 was generally the blowing point; but there was no bad weather, only a lack of wind. Krusenstern mentions the same circumstance. Cape D'Anville, on Kiusiu, I made in 131° 19′ E.

The entrance to Kagosima bay cannot well be mistaken, from Mount Horner, which forms the S.W. point, being a very remarkable, conical, regular mountain, from the sea to the peak. I made its longitude 130° 32′ E. From the south point of Kiusiu, (or Cape Tschitstagoff by the Russians,) up 16 or 18 miles, the eastern part of the bay

is clear, as I went up on that side as far as the first village, which is hidden by a cliff until bearing about E. S.E. Our anchorage was on the western side, about 5 miles N.E. of Mount Horner, in a small bay ¾ of a mile deep,t he points bearing N.E by E. and S.W. by W. about 3 miles apart, village on a kind of shelf at the bottom of the bay N.W. by N. The bottom was hard coarse black sand, like cannon powder, poor for holding. The depth 100 yards from beach 4 fathoms, deepening gradually to 18, 2½ miles off. We anchored in 7, with the above bearings, exposed from S. S.E. to S.W. by W., and from S. S.E. to E.; the land was from 10 to 12 miles distant. During our stay here, it was cloudy squally weather, so that no observations were obtained. The wind was light, except in squalls from southward, bringing in a large swell. After getting out, the ship was drifted within one mile of the N.E. part of Jakunosima island, where are 52 fathoms mud. Southerly winds prevailed on this part of the coast, probably the tail of the S.W. monsoon; easterly about Jeddo. Across Kagosima bay, the soundings are 50 fathoms mud. There are about the bay several conical, perforated rocks, through which the water flows.

I made the centre of the north part of Tanegasima in longitude 131° 2′ E.; but was unable to determine the latitudes of most of the points mentioned; as near as I could judge, they are laid down correctly on Krusenstern's chart. Volcano island has, running from its N.E. part, a ledge or reefs, (some above others breaking the water,) that extends ⅓ the distance to St. Julie island, which may be 2½ miles from it to N.E.; one of these looks like a junk under sail. From the S.W. part of the island there is also a cluster of rocks, (about 100 yards in diameter, breakers and all,) about 1½ mile distant with green water between them. In a deep ravine, on the east side of Vulcano island, yellow smoke ascended from three points, enveloping its summit. S.E. from St. Clair there is a haycock (high but small) shaped rock or island, about 5 miles distant; when bearing westward it forms one cock, when bearing north two.

In latitude 30° 50′ N., long. 129° 27′ E., is a cluster of pointed high rocks or islands, not mentioned by former navigators, but being so near the track to Nagasaki the Dutch have, probably, their position.

On 19th August, in latitude 30° 33′ N., longitude 125° 19′ E., sounded in 34 fathoms mud; for two days previous the water had looked like soundings. Same soundings continued until in latitude 29° 28′ N., longitude 123° 50′ E., when a breeze from N.E. was too valuable to be lost in sounding. I have but little doubt that soundings extend from the Chinese coast nearly to Japan's southern part.

From latitude 29° to 24° a space of 4 days, the barometer was down to 29.60 and 39, which low state induced me to down top gallant yards and masts, as by all old traders, or generally in the China sea, 29.50 is considered a signal to make all snug, in typhoon season. Until this time, and that on the coast of Japan, I have never known the barometer down to 29.50 without a gale. In June, returning to China from Java, the barometer fell to 29.50 and 40. I prepared for a gale, which followed soon, and lasted 26 hours; this was in latitude 15° N., near the Paracels.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE

Made by Captain Ingersoll, during the voyage of the Morrison to Lewchew and Japan, from July 6th to August 29th, 1837.

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Air.	Water.	Barom.	Currents.	Wind, Weather, &c.
July 6	21° 44′ N.	115° 56′ E.	83.5	83.5	29.60	None	Light, westerly breeze: fine weather. Strong ripplings.
„ 7	21° 26′ N.	119° 07′ E.	83.5	83.5	29.59	None	Fine; west breeze, cloudy and threatening.
„ 8	22° 00′ N.	121° 57′ E.	83	82.5	29.47	Westerly 20m.	West; strong gale, and high sea.
„ 9	22° 39′ N.	123° 02′ E.	83	83	29.45	None	West, strong N. by W. breeze—moderate; heavy swell.
„ 10	23° 24′ N.	123° 46′ E.	82.5	82	29.56	None	North, varying, calm; rainy, heavy sea from north.
„ 11	24° 56′ N.	125° 25′ E.	83	83	29.67	N. 55′ E. 23m.	S.W., squally—fine breeze.
„ 12	Lewchew		82	78	29.80	N. 45′ E. 35m.	While in Lewchew, weather fine,
„ 13			82	78	29.85		with occasional squalls,
„ 14			81	77	29.95		and light south and S. S.E. breeze.
„ 15			80.5	78	29.95		E. N.E. fine.
„ 16	25° 58′ N.	127° 50′ E.	82	80.5	29.88	None	Eastward—fine, clear.
„ 17	27° 03′ N.	129° 05′ E.	81	79.5	29.84	None	S.E. clear; faint, oppressive.
„ 18	27° 50′ N.	130° 06′ E.	83	80.5	29.90	None	S.E. faint airs, fine.
„ 19	28° 12′ N.	130° 50′ E.	82	80.5	29.89	N. 45′ E. 12m.	Calm. N. light; fine.
„ 20	28° 51′ N.	132° 24′ E.	83	82	29.90	N. 6m.	Calm and faint; N. fine.
„ 21	29° 21′ N.	133° 06′ E.	82	82	29.86	None	Light and calm; N. fine.
„ 22	29° 36′ N.	133° 42′ E.	83	82	29.86	S. 45′ W. 11m.	N. N.W. and S. airs—calm and oppressive.
„ 23	29° 50′ N.	134° 32′ E.	83	82	29.88	S. 20m.	Variable, faint; hazy, and very sultry.
„ 24	30° 01′ N.	135° 05′ E.	83	82	29.89	S. 11′ W. 26m.	Calm, faint and variable—cloudless.
„ 25	29° 56′ N.	134° 53′ E.	83	83	29.88	S. 6′ W. 37m.	Hazy, faint, variable.
„ 26	30° 56′ N.	134° 38′ E.	83	83	29.88	S. 40′ W. 38m.	Light, S.E. fresh; easterly; fine.
„ 27	32° 14′ N.	135° 47′ E.	83	83	29.88	S. 11′ W. 6m.	Moderate fine; smooth sea, and oppressive.
„ 28	33° 26′ N.	137° 14′ E.	81.5	82	29.86	N. 52′ E. 53m.	Easterly, faint; squally off land.
„ 29	34° 22′ N.	138° 24′ E.	78	80	29.80	N. 35′ E. 43m.	Westward fine breeze; clear, E. faint.
„ 30	34° 53′ N.	138° 20′ E.				N. 35′ E. 40m.	Fresh east; rainy and squally.
„ 31					29.60		N.E. squally; E. fresh, rainy.

Date.	Latitude.	Longitude.	Air.	Water.	Barom.	Currents.	Wind, Weather, &c.
Aug. 1	33° 21′ N.	136° 50′ E.	80	79.5	29.46	None	Easterly; fresh, N.W. fine; cloudy.
„ 2	31° 46′ N.	135° 25′ E.	80.5	80	29.46	S. 64′ E. 39m.	Moderate W. N.W. North, fine.
„ 3	31° 53′ N.	132° 57′ B.	81	80	29.59	N. 70′ E. 43m.	Strong breeze N., rough sea—east, fine.
„ 4	31° 30′ N.	132° 44′ E.	80.5	80	29.64	N. 57′ E. 40m.	Faint; heavy swell; east, calm.
„ 5	31° 11′ N.	132° 12′ E.	80 5	81	29.69	N. 63′ E. 70m.	Easterly, faint airs; and oppressive.
„ 6	31° 17′ N.	132° 50′ E.	81.5	82.5	29.71	N. 63′ E. 65m.	Light, variable airs; calm.
„ 7	31° 23′ N.	132° 28′ E.	82.5	81	29.76	N. 57′ E. 58m.	Southward, faint, calm, clear.
„ 8	31° 35′ N.	131° 30′ E.	81.5	81.5	29.71	E. 36m.	Southward, light airs; sultry.
„ 9	31° 06′ N.	130° 55′ E.	82	80.5	29.75	S. 20m.	S.W. light, calm—variable, current along shore.
„ 10	31° 10′ N.	130° 30′ E.			29.70		S.S.W. squally and fresh; calm.
„ 11					29.70		
„ 12					29.78		
„ 13					29.83		
„ 14	30° 40′ N.		82.5	82	29.80	tides to N.W.	S.W. calm and squalls; variable.
„ 15	30° 59′ N.	128° 32′ E.	83	83	29.90	E. 20m.	Steady S.W. breeze; fine.
„ 16	31° 20′ N.	127° 12′ E.	83	82	29.97	None	S.W. fresh; clear.
„ 17	30° 59′ N.	127° 04′ E.	82	82	29.90	None	S.W. light and fine.
„ 18	30° 51′ N.	126° 06′ E.	82	82	29.90	N. 68′ E. 30m.	Southerly; clear, fine, light.
„ 19	30° 33′ N.	124° 57′ E.	82	82	29.85	N. 64′ W. 16m.	Southward; faint airs.
„ 20	30° 12′ N.	124° 12′ E.	84	83	29.72	S. 45′ W. 9m.	S.W. faint breeze; fine.
„ 21	29° 28′ N.	123° 28′ E.	82.5	84	29.80	None	S.S.E. faint; N.N.E. light, fresh.
„ 22	27° 21′ N.	122° 26′ E.	82.5	83	29.70	N. 60′ E. 28m.	N.E. moderate, strong, squally.
„ 23	24° 52′ N.	119° 40′ E.	81.5	81	29.52	N. 18′ E. 17m.	N.E. fine breeze.
„ 24	33° 37′ N.	118° 35′ E.	81.5	79	29.46	N. 22′ E. 12m.	N.E. light calm; West, sultry.
„ 25	23° 46′ N.	118° 06′ E.	81	78	29.40	N. 65′ E. 11m.	S W. light, cloudy, threatening
„ 26	23° 29′ N.	118° 02′ E.	79	84	29.65	N. 40′ E. 16m.	S.W. light breeze; clear.
„ 27	23° 19′ N.	117° 56′ E.	81	80	29.64	N. 64′ E. 24m.	Calm, faint airs, S.W. by S squally.
„ 28	22° 35′ N.	116° 59′ E.	83	83	29.72	N. 51′ E. 33m.	Fine breeze, S.S.E. equally.
„ 29	Macao.						Rainy, squally; S.E.

Note. It was the intention of captain Ingersoll to prepare, along with the preceding table, a full nautical account of the voyage. His professional engagements and his declining health prevented in part the accomplishment of this plan, and the short paper, preceding the table, is all, we believe, he has left behind. Our local readers need not be informed that this able commander and excellent man expired the 18th of October last, in the Strai ⁻ of Gaspar, on his way to Batavia,— his employers and friends being unaware, until the receipt of the intelligence of his death, that he was sinking under an insidious disease. He continued to discharge his duty to his employers, and to the cause of Christianization in Eastern Asia, with his wonted ability and devotedness, till within a few days of his death. His end was peaceful and happy. We trust some one will come forward, under the same noble motives, to supply the place he has left.

N. B. In the names of places we have followed the orthography of the manuscript. It is much to be desired that uniformity, in writing names of places, should be preserved: but this is impracticable, at present, with regard to Japan. The capital, for example, is written Yedo, and Yeddo, and Jedo, and Jeddo: the correct orthography, according to the Indian system, we believe, is Yédo — the é pronounced like *ei* in neigh, or *ay* in lay. We shall shortly again take occasion to remark on, and exhibit, that system of orthography which we wish to adopt.

ART. II. *Notices of some of the specimens of natural history, which were collected during the voyage of the Morrison to Lewchew and Japan.*

THE few opportunities offered for collecting specimens in a voyage of only fifty-eight days, forty-eight of which were passed at sea, preclude the idea of any extensive notices. The least addition, however, to our stock of information concerning the productions of a field so large and comparatively, unknown will not be misplaced. Wherever the book of nature is spread out in all its variety and freshness, even the wayfarer, if disposed, can read a few lines, and examine the handy works of the Great Contriver of all things, with pleasure and profit.—And, in passing, we beg leave to suggest to those of our readers, who, as supercargoes, captains, or otherwise, pass through the seas interjacent the Indian Archipelago, the practice of preserving in spirits whatever in animated nature they light upon, no matter how common or well known. The seas and coasts in this part of the world teem with curious and unknown animals of various kinds, which usually can only be procured by those who are sailing from one port to another in the prosecution of trade, and who, while so doing, can make commerce a handmaid to science, and assist in repaying the debts that commerce has long since contracted to science. All that is required is to immerse the animal in spirits, taking a little care to close the jar to prevent evaporation. If possible, let the whole body be preserved; but if that is too large, the head and genital

organs can be separated. In the examination of the specimens, here described, Mr. Lay has kindly assisted the writer of these notices.

There are two kinds of millet cultivated by the Lewchewans; the *Milium nigricans*, or black millet, and the *Setaria italica*. The first species grows to the height of six or eight feet, with a stem half an inch in diameter, and is clothed at intervals with large clasping leaves, which when spread out in their verdure make this one of the most elegant of grasses. The stalk, however, can hardly support the weight of the branching panicle of seed at the top; and when it has become ripe and heavy, the first blast of wind or rude knock breaks the slender support, and the fruit comes to the ground, or more frequently hangs suspended midway. This does not appear to be wholly accidental, but intended to ripen the crop, and at the same time protect it from undue moisture and the depredations of birds. After the grain has attained its full size, the sun is the principal agent in ripening the juices, and if the communication with the stalk is cut off, the process will be more expeditious. Every one will remember the practice, usual among farmers, of breaking down the tops of broom-corn, a grass not unlike millet, in order that the tuft may be elastic and sound. This is a very fruitful grass, aptly called millet from *milium*, a myriad; the seeds being congregated into a graceful panicle a foot or more in length, which is filled with hundreds of round, whitish grains, affording the laborer a wholesome nutriment. The seeds are about the size of musket shot, covered when ripe with two coriaceous, concave glumes or scales, of a shining brown deepening into a black, which retain the seed until the flail of the thresher loosens their hold. As the fruit ripens, the inner paleæ or chaff coverings dry up, the beard of the larger becoming twisted like an awn, and projecting beyond the outer brown scales. At the base of the seed, one, two, and sometimes three, abortive florets are found, thus showing the prolific nature of the plant. The other species was less cultivated in the fields near the beach, and is probably not so great a favorite as the milium, on account of the smaller size and less quantity of the grain. Its head is a cylindrical spike, a foot or more in length, made up of short spikelets, which, increasing in size from the base upwards, makes the head top-heavy. The spikelets are filled with little white seeds, that afford on grinding a large proportion of chaff. The seed is surrounded with an awned involucre, which like a defensive bristle guards its trust, and projects beyond the glumes, giving the spike somewhat a bristled appearance. The stem is about four feet high, rather slender, with a few narrow leaves; and altogether it is much less graceful than its congener.

The *Convolvulus batatus*, or sweet potatoe, was growing, together with two species of millet, in the sand near the beach; and all seemed to be, like some of the people we saw, suffering for want of nourishment. Another species of the same family of Convolvulaceæ, the *Ipomœa maritima*, with obcordate, coriaceous leaves, and bell-shaped flowers of a beautiful purple, trailed over the sand, as if to hide, by its exuberant foliage and gay blossoms, the barrenness of its pasture.

This plant is common on the beach at Macao, and exhibits its flowers nearly ten months out of the twelve. If we look into the corolla, we shall find five slender stamens surrounding a pistil, whose blunt, summit and thick style remind one of the war-club of a New Zealand chief.

A species of *Salsola* and *Sedum* had also begun to establish themselves on the coral reef. The latter plant is of a vivaceous nature, and appears to be designed as one of the vanguard of vegetation in taking possession of the newly acquired territory prepared for it by the industrious corallifers. It grows in the clefts of the rock, subsisting chiefly on the moisture in the air, and rapidly extends itself over the stone. The *Vitex ovata*, a slender, elegant shrub, two or three feet high, with few branches, decorated the arenaceous fields with its small blue flowers. The leaves of this plant are of a cinereous, mournful hue; on the upper side nearly of the color of sand, and below of a dark brown. So closely does it resemble sand, that the young plants cannot always be detected at a hasty glance. At its feet crept a species of *Commelina*, with its blue blossoms nearly concealed in the leafy involucre. This plant will be known by the folded leaf that surrounds the flowers, and which also serves to cover the seed vessels; when the flower is in blossom it expands itself outside of the involucre, but both the bud and the ripening seeds are contained within its bosom. A delicate *Verbena*, about four inches high, grew in the damp grass, having obovate, serrated leaves, and small red flowers collected together in spikelets, up and down the stem. The *Amaranthus hecticus* grew in the patches of millet; an inconspicuous plant, with the flowers aggregated in a spike like those of wheat. The capsule was filled with a few black seeds, which spilled out as soon as the persistent style was touched; for the seed vessel is divided in the middle, and only requires a gentle pressure to burst asunder. One or two species of pine, and several kinds of fruit trees, were seen, which were sufficiently numerous to give a wooded aspect to many parts of the landscape. The *Inocarpus edulis*, or Tahitian chestnut, a tree fifty or sixty feet high, was in flower. The spikes of blossoms attended by a bunch of leave, grow out of the trunk and branches of the tree, and give it rather an odd appearance. A species of *Pandanus* and the *Cycas revoluta* were abundant along the beach, their thick branches and spreading leaves concealing the unevenness of ground, and making it necessary to exercise some caution in walking. The several kinds of grasses, as *Andropogon*, *Panicum*, &c., were collected; as were also a few other plants. On the hills behind Pootsung, the grass grew compactly forming a greensward, that reminded us of the meadows and flowers of our own country; and was the more observable from its absense in the southerly regions we had just left.

A delicate species of Tubularia, with dichotomous branches and white tubes of the diameter of pins, was found on the reef near Blossom Rock. The various kinds of madrepores, which are seen on the bottom of the harbor, through the pellucid water, in all their fantastic

forms and varied colors, some like shrubs, others like immense mushrooms, here the appearance of a pretty flower, and there a withered stump, suggest to the beholder the idea of an old neglected garden, with grottoes and arbors fallen to ruins, which had been suddenly submerged, and in which fish now wander, where once was exerted the skill of man. On comparing notes with the recorded observations of Beechey and others, we drew the inference that the harbor is gradually filling up with the coral. No shells or fish were brought for sale, and few specimens of either one or the other were seen. The rocks around Abbey Point were covered with snail shells, but the reefs offered a very small variety for the conchologist. The universal *Mantis precatoria*, with its supplicatory, or more properly, its defensive, menacing, forelegs; the pyramidal-headed *Truxalis*, with its grass-green body; and the musical *Gryllus*, or locust, were flying about in great numbers. A *Cetonia*, or gold-green beetle, a slender waisted wasp, and several varieties of dragon-fly, are among the assortment of animated nature which calls Lewchew its home. To these general notices, we add a more particular description of a few specimens.

Calappa tuberculata (?) Hidden-footed crab. This differs in several minor particulars from the *tuberculata*, and probably is another species which our works of scanty reference prevent us from ascertaining more definitely. The whole genus of Calappa, and this species as much as any, are remarkable for the situation of the four posterior feet, which are concealed under the vault of the carapace or shell; while in this instance, the large, triangular forceps, form an elegant and perhaps safe protection for the mouth and its various appendages. It is difficult to describe the singular adaptation displayed in the structure of the claws of this crab. The fourth and largest of the joints is broad, and concave, and the small pincer, in shape like a blunt hook, is placed upon the edge, where it acts as a thumb, to hold the food, at the convenience of the maxillaries. The superior edge of the forceps, and the opposite part of the carapace, match exactly, and along the edges of each run a line of hairs, which oppose the ingress of all offensive substances. The whole circumference of the carapace is ciliated, its upper surface being unequally granulated, and of an ash-gray color. While many species of crabs, from the size of their prongs, are able to make defense against ordinary assailants, the Calappa seeks succor in concealment; his weapons are chiefly of the defensive kind. But the shield that he forms by the application of the arms to the thorax is not less noticeable for its elegance than for its utility. When withdrawn under its shell, this crab can hardly be detected from the earth on which it rests, a correspondence of color which no doubt often aids it in escaping detection. It is two and a half inches in breadth, and large enough to be worth capturing,—for it appeared to be used as an article of food by the Lewchewans.

Gelasimus, or Quadrilateral crabs. This specimen before us does not agree precisely with any of the sub-genera in the section of Qua-

drilatera according to Cuvier's Animal Kingdom, but rather comes between the Macropthalmus and Gelasimus. The eyes are black, placed at the extremity of short pedicels, which are lodged in a groove or fossule under the margin of the shell, and do not quite reach to the lateral edges. The third and fourth pair of legs are much longer than the rest, and nearly equal. Between the legs, at their insertion, is a curious ciliated process, intended apparently to prevent undue friction of the limbs against one another. The right pincer is more than double the size of its fellow, with the teeth striated; the fingers of the smallest, when placed together, resemble a spoon. The tail is broad, having the last segment semicircular. The carapace or upper shell is quadrilateral, measuring nearly an inch each way, the surface shagreened with minute grains, and somewhat clouded. The antennæ, or little feelers growing between the eyes, are scarcely visible. The exterior maxillaries, or those hook-like things seen on each side of the mouth, which occupy the place of palpi in insects, are conspicuous, with a thin, raised border. The legs are pubescent; and there is, as a whole, a remarkable neatness about the workmanship of the animal. It was common in the beach at Napa, but its agility made it difficult of capture.

Another species of the same genus, the shell about one third of an inch across, remarkable for the comparative length of the legs, which measure nearly an inch, was procured at Lewchew. The ocular pedicles are shorter than in the preceding species; the antennæ minute. The tail is narrow, with the last segment triangular; and the whole body is covered with grey spots. It is less neat in its appearance than the preceding. While examining these, and other epecies of crabs, one cannot help admiring the various contrivances adopted for holding the eggs. The tail is divided into segments, and fits into a groove on the abdomen, so that when at rest it is even with the surface. On the inside we find several hairs proceeding from each edge, and converging the middle, performing the office of holders, that the eggs shall not slip out sideway. The female can thus carry her burden of eggs till they are hatched, without incumbrance to any motion, though the animal usually retires until the young can shift for themselves. In the long-tailed crustacea, as lobsters, crawfish, &c., where the tail is extended into an instrument of progression, the eggs are held on the under side by several broad plates, which clasp them so firmly that the motions of the member are not greatly impeded. The capacity of the tail is great, for we are told that the common lobster bears upwards of twelve thousand eggs at a time.

Asterias tesselata. Five rayed star-fish. This species, or one closely akin to it, is found in great abundance on the reefs. The whole upper surface appears like a miniature pavement of rounded stones; and the glass further informs us that those are composed of minute granules. The sides of the longitudinal furrow which runs along the under side of the ray are furnished with moveable points of great hardness. The middle of the furrow is studded with soft cupped processes, which adhere to other bodies by changing at will the posi-

tion of a fluid found in them. The mode in which this is effected is by presenting a flat surface, at the end of the tentaculum, to the object, and immediately withdrawing the liquid within it. A hollow, cup-like vacuum is thus formed for attachment, which is detached by again filling it with the liquid: a contrivance as simple as it is effectual. When recently taken out the water, the rays are soft, and the animal, which as it were resides in the centre, moves them a little, rejecting the fluid from the cupped processes in its endeavors to escape. When dead, the rays contract and bend, and the whole body shrinks and dries almost to a shelly hardness.

Ophiura. Snake tail star-fish. This singular animal inhabits the reefs near the shore, protruding its black and scaly rays out of its retreat, ready to entrap the unwary prey, and draw it under to destruction. But if a powerful enemy seizes the exposed limb, it does not mind leaving it in the possession of the assailant, provided the safety of the remainder can be secured by the sacrifice, well knowing that the defect will shortly be supplied by a new growth. Their neighbors, the crabs, have a similar facility of repairing any mutilations of their limbs; and we might almost fancy that the two could attack and devour each other by turns, providing each other with a continual feast. The disk or central part is three fourths of an inch in diameter, nearly circular; and presents a velvety appearance, from the number of minute grains upon it; the margin is somewhat granulated, and the centre depressed. The rays are round and tapering, about five inches long, and fitted for clasping. They are closely joined, each of the joints bearing four conical bristles, and imbricated, overlaying each other in the manner of the scutellæ on the belly of a serpent, whence the name given to the genus. The disk appears as if seated upon the rays.

Blennius. Blue blenny. When we landed the first time at Abbey Point, the blue fish sporting in the lagoons on the reef attracted our attention; and one or two of the sailors jumped into the water to catch and examine such fairy little things more closely. But the fish were too alert for such clumsy angling, and it was not till several trials that they were caught, and then it was owing more to luck and their numbers than to art or agility. This species of Blennius is about an inch long; and its delicate blue color suggests the specific name of *cyanus*, as its most remarkable characteristic, if perchance it has hitherto escaped notice. All the rays of the dorsal fin, which extends to the caudal, are soft and flexible; hence it rather belongs to the order of Malacopterygii or soft finned fish. The muzzle is very obtuse, which is characteristic of the genus. The mouth is well armed with rows of teeth; on each side of the lower jaw is a long tooth, which interlocks into the upper jaw, bearing a miniature resemblance to canine teeth, which makes one think of a bull-dog's mouth. One is unprepared to find so formidable an array of offensive weapons in the possession of so gay and sportive a fish.

The day after leaving Lewchew, a small whale, called by the sailors, cow-fish, was harpooned, and when brought on board, proved to

be a *Globicephalus Rissii*, or the Round-headed Cachalot of Risso. The animal measured nine feet and nine inches in length, head eighteen inches long, and average circumference three feet. The skin was glossy and smooth; on the back of a black color, lighter under the belly, and marked with long cicatrices resembling scars from wounds, as is represented in the figure in sir William Jardine's work on Cetacea. There were only five blunt and eroded teeth in the lower jaw, which combined with the scars on his back, led some of the crew to congratulate the remainder of the school on being rid of such a 'fighting character.' The position of the teeth differs from Jardine's figure, which has them in the upper jaw alone; but on examination it was supposed that most of the teeth had fallen out, which sometimes is the case in the ca'ing whale, or globiceps *(Globicephalus deductor)*. The dorsal fin was triangular and almost immoveable, fifteen inches long; two pectorals, fourteen inches; and all remarkable for their firmness and strength. The spiracle was three inches across, situated behind the eyes; between the valve and bone of the head there was a hollow place large enough to lay in the hand. The blubber was four or five inches thick about the head, gradually decreasing to the tail, and yielded only a gallon and a half of oil. The estimated weight of the carcass was 500 pounds.

The cavities of the brain, placed immediately before the blow-hole, were each about two inches in diameter, separated by the falx, and filled with a kind of white cylindrical Ascarides, some nearly six inches long. The eyes were less than those of an ox, placed behind the mouth; the sclerotic coat was nearly osseous, the iris of a dark color, but not red or orange, as is figured. The bones of the head were large and strong; those of the jaw were supplied with immense muscles, and the teeth appeared as if they were an integral part of the bone. The heart weighed 4lbs.; was 6 inches long, and 18 inches around; the walls of the left ventricle were 1¼ inch thick; the aorta and vena cava were between 1½ and 2 inches in diameter, and all the valves and muscles showed the force required to propel the blood through the system. The *cordæ tendonæ* and the *columnæ carnæ* were between one and two lines in diameter, and two inches long. The lungs rested upon the diaphragm, two lobes on each side, nearly 18 inches long, of a reddish brown color, full of tubercles on the surface, and in the parenchyma. The two central lobes were broad, flat, and thin, but as long as the larger lateral lobes; and both were well supplied with bronchia, which as well as the trachea, were proportionably very large. The trachea were 3 inches diameter and 6 inches long, from the spiracle to the place of division into two bronchia. The stomach was divided, as it were, into two parts; the larger, into which the œsophagus entered, seemed to be merely a receptacle for the food, and opened into the proper and superior stomach. The villous coat of the latter was very soft, of a bright red color; it contained remnants of medura, cuttle fish or squids, and a few bones, but the animal vomited the greater part of its contents when dying, which were lost. The œsophagus was 4 inches in dia-

meter, its inner coat possessing great muscularity. Duodenum; 10 inches long, resembling a third stomach. Pancreas; light gray, flat 6 inches long, 3 inches wide, and 2 inches thick. Spleen; structure dense, an inch in thickness. The intestines were 72 feet long, uniformly an inch in diameter; both coats thick and possessing great muscularity; contents a grayish liquid; colon 1½ inch in diameter; and rectum, half an inch, and 3 feet long. Omentum wanting; mesentery without fat; kidnies lay on the back, lobed in the manner peculiar to the cetacea; weighed 4½lbs., 12 inches long and 5 inches broad. Liver weighed 8¼lbs.; convex beneath and plane above; one of the lobes very small and nearly lost in the other; gall bladder small. The two small cylindrical bones, analagous to the ossa pubis of land mammalia, were 4 inches long, and supported the tendinous attachment of the prostrate gland, and the muscles of the penis. The distance between the preputial orifice and the extremity of the rectum was 8 inches. The testes lay in the cavity of the abdomen, cylindrical bodies 20 inches long, parallel with the rectum. There was an anomalous connection between the urethra and rectum near their termination, of a firm, round, imperforate band of a tendinous nature, half an inch in diameter, the use of which was not at all apparent. The heat and fatigue, however, prevented Dr. Parker from being so minute in the dissection as he desired.

The tail was two feet wide, and moved by a great number of large tendons wraped together about the backbone, forming a weapon of prodigious strength.* The Japanese on board by dissevering these tendons into small threads, and splicing the ends in a very neat manner, made several fishing lines; thus exhibiting the accuracy of Kæmpfer's observation, who says they make this use of them. When the animal was hanging suspended by its tail, in the agonies of dying, it threw itself out nearly in a horizontal direction, at the same time uttering most doleful groans. The muscular fibres were very large, utterly unfit to eat. The spinal column contained about 30 vertebræ, but they were not accurately counted. No openings for the ear or nostrils were observed. The valve over the spiracle was almost of an osseous firmness. This species does not spout a jet, though their breathing is distinctly heard at a short distance; they swim near the

* We extract a paragraph, from Jardine's little treatise, showing the mechanism of the tail in the cetacea. "The tail of the cetacea is peculiar; not vertical, as in fishes, but horizontal; by which great facility is given for their ascent to the surface, to which they must regularly resort for the discharge of the essential act of respiration. The agility of the lesser species, which they owe mainly to the tail, is universally known, and so powerful is it, even in the most gigantic varieties, that by its means they frequently force themselves entirely out of the water. This instrument of prodigious power is formed by the concentration of the muscles and tendons on all sides of the vertebral column. Mr. John Hunter remarks, that the mode in which the tail is constructed is, perhaps, as beautiful as to mechanism as any part of the animal; being principally composed of three layers of tendinous fibres It comprises, in the larger species, in a single surface, from eighty to one hundred square feet; its length is only five or six, but its width is from eighteen to twenty-six. In its form it is flat and semilunar; its motions are rapid and universal; its strength immense."

surface: and we had several opportunities of remarking their habits during the voyage. We also observed several shoals of porpoises, which avoided capture, by never swimming near the ship. One of the crew, a shrewd whaler, said it was the current opinion among whalers in those seas, 'that Japan porpoises were too shy to catch.'

Seaweed, in great quantities and endless variety, was seen along the southern shores of Japan, connected with which were always found numerous species of crabs, prawns, fish, and sometimes shells. The weed appeared to form a nucleus and a pabulum for the smaller sorts, among which were several species of minute Crangons, and a few species of Lepas, which attracted, in their turn, Portuni and Lophii, who were themselves lastly devoured by the larger fish. Pumice stone, sometimes in pieces of half a pound weight, frequently floated by the ship, showing our proximity to a land where Vulcan contests the dominion of the soil with man.

Chironectes pictus.—Antennarius, of Commerson. This grotesque fish, called by sailors, sea-devil, or fishing frog, when once seen is not easily mistaken for any other. It was found, together with several other sorts of fish and crabs, in connection with the seaweed. The slimy body is destitute of scales, of a light yellow ground, clouded with dark spots and bands: and attached to the skin on the belly are a number of apendages of a loose, flaby, nature, which are of very questionable use. The elongation of the carpus, and the palmated form of the pectoral fin, suggest to the observer the idea of hands, with a part of the arm; and the two dentate ventrals, immediately under the mouth and before the pectorals, bear no small resemblance to little paddles. The gill opening appears entirely wanting, till on a close inspection we find a pin-hole behind the pectoral fins, through which the air reaches the internal bronchia. This construction enables the animal to live a long time out of the water, and some of the same family, we are credibly informed, undertake short journeys on land, and even ascend branches of trees in search of food. The mouth is cleft nearly in a vertical direction; and when taken out of the water, the enormous belly is distended with air, giving the fish the aspect of a Diodon. A fin-like process grows out of the head, just before the dorsal.

Balistes. The file fish. One specimen was caught, of a dun brown color, and oval body, called by the sailors trigger-fish, from the singular articulation of the three dorsal spines. These are let into each other in such a manner that the anterior and largest spine cannot be depressed until the one behind it is unloosed; a contrivance not dissimilar to the hear trigger of a rifle.

Monocanthus, or one horned file fish. These are distinguished from the preceding by the single immoveable, dorsal spine; both are remarkable for their pyramidal snouts, terminated by a smaller mouth, armed with a few large teeth. This species is of a uniform dark brown; the skin is rough, covered with minute scales. The pectorals are narrow and spiny, which will account in some measure for the slow swimming of the fish; the second dorsal and anal fins are

opposite, long, and soft. The pelvic bone is salient in a small degree, without spines. This species was seen in large shoals to the southwest of Japan, feeding upon a floating gelatinous substance, and themselves becoming a prey to numerous bonetos, albicores and barracoutas, whose eager diving and plunging for them threw the water into quite a turmoil. We found their flesh dry and but indifferent eating.

Two other very small species of Monocanthus were fished up with the seaweed. One, 1½ inch long, is marked by a yellowish ground, with dark spots irregularly scattered over its surface. The pelvic bone is prolonged into a spine; and the dorsal spine is jagged and conspicuous. The other, an inch long, is of a light brown color, spotted with black. The triangle formed by the bones on each side of the head, to the ends of the pelvic and dorsal spines, is very nearly equilateral.

Portunus. (*Lupa* of Dr Leach.) Swimming crabs. This beautiful species of crab was caught with the file-fish. It appeared to be abundant in the Japanese sea, and we often saw it swimming alone many tens of miles from the shore. It is remarkable for the breadth of the carapace, which is of a fine purple, marked with small dots, and for the length of the feet. The natatory powers, usual in other swimming crabs, are here increased by the inner edges of the broad carpi or joints of the legs being ciliated; which, added to the large, fin-like posterior feet, makes this crab very agile in the water. The forceps are strong and denticulated, enabling the animal to seize its prey with a merciless grasp. The fore edge of the carapace has nine teeth on each side of the eyes, the last one being prolonged into a stout spine, giving the shell an ovoid shape. The outer pair of antenna are bristle shaped; the inner pair short and jointed, the last joint bifid. The ocular pedicles are elegantly lodged in a fossule defended by small teeth, and are distant ¾ of an inch. The spines on the exposed parts of the body of this crab, undoubtedly prove a great means of defense, rendering it a very uncomfortable mouthful for a fish, while its own predatory habits and powerful forceps make it a dangerous assailant. On one specimen a kind of Anatifa or barnacle has lodged itself in the shell.

Echeneis remora (?) Sucking remora. This curious and widely dispersed fish was found attached to a shark. It differs from the common and well known inhabitant of the Mediterranean in having only seventeen plates in the disk on the head, while that has eighteen. The skin is a bright black color, covered with scales so minute as to be discernible only through a glass. The fins are soft; the dorsal is directly over the anal; the two ventrals originate together, directly under the pectorals. The numerous teeth which line the broad mouth and osseous tongue, are fine, and the points are turned inward like the teeth of a card. When caught, this fish was put into a tub containing a turtle, which was so much excited by being made a point d'appui by the remora, that it moved round with much vivacity.

Scyllæa pelagica. This animal when first caught appears like a shapeless mass of whitish skin, destitute of life or motion; after

waiting a little while, till it has recovered from its fright, we see small fleshy lappets protruding themselves from under a mantle, and the thing begins to crawl, though very slowly. Presently, numbers of small tentacula are seen moving in a furrow, that runs along the belly, at the end of which are two more lappets, near the mouth; and, continuing our observations, we are surprised to see what an odd animal this lump of skin proves to be. The longitudinal furrow along the belly is furnished with the means of progression, so contrived as to enable it to grasp the stems of the fuci; the four fleshy lappets on its back are the brething organs, placed where they will not interfere with the motions of it proboscoid mouth, or interrupt its progress. The mantle is a simple border on each side of the belly; and the whole body is striated, which points out an analogy to the snails. It was often found attached to the seaweed.

The viscid scum which was repeatedly seen on both side of the island of Kiusiu is probably similar to what has been described as existing in the Arctic ocean and other parts of the world, and generally supposed to be the food of whales. The first patch of it was passed when off Cape Cochrane, on the southeast of Kiusiu, and occurred in broad streaks of a dark green and reddish color, extending as far as the eye could reach on both sides of the ship. On taking up a bucket full, the water was of a rose color, and surcharged with little granules of a semitransparent nature, which resembled boiled sago in size and color. They had no external organs of motion, and were probably a species of medusa, similar to that figured in No. 1 of plate 3 of Jardine's volume. We sailed through a succession of these stripes nearly half a day, going perhaps thirty miles. The other fields in the Yellow sea covered a much greater surface, as we met them every few miles for two days. The effluvia from the ocean in these places was very offensive, increased probably by the heat of the sun. The granules that were examined were much smaller than in the previous instance, being half a line and under in diameter, and bearing a great resemblance to grass seed. The color of the stripes was generally red, which sometimes changed into various shades of green and yellow, as the light of the sun fell upon them. One of the officers remarked, that it resembled the scum often seen on the coast of Brazil.

These collections of animalculæ, for such most of them no doubt are, occur in various parts of the world, and all are probably used as food, not only by whales, but by several kinds of fish. The vast shoals of file-fish seen in it, in the Yellow sea, appeared to be feeding upon it. Scoresby's account of the immense fields which are constantly met in the Arctic ocean is so instructive that we need not apologise for referring to it, as condensed by Jardine. Mr. Scoresby examined the qualities of this green water, in which the whale usually occurs, and to his astonishment found that it obtained its color from the presence of immense numbers of animalcules, most of them invisible without the aid of a microscope. The greatest number consisted of an animal of the medusa kind, belonging to an order with

which most persons are familiar, known under the name of sea blubber, a soft gelatinous substance, often found lying on the seashore, and exhibiting no signs of life, except shrinking when touched. He found the prevailing specimens to be globular, transparent, and from one twentieth to one thirtieth of an inch in diameter. Others resemled small portions of fine hair, somewhat dark in color, and verging in length, from a point to one tenth of an inch. There appeared to be about thirty bead-like articulations in the largest, being thus beautifully monoliform; their diameter appeared to be about one three-hundredth part of an inch. The microscope detected others which were wholly invisible to the naked eye. The number of medusa was found to be immense. Mr. Scoresby estimates, that two square miles contained 23,888,000,000,000,000; and as this number is above the range of human thought, he illustrates it by observing, that 80,000 persons must have started at the creation of the world to complete the enumeration at the present time. These animalculæ are not to be considered as the immediate food of the whale; they form, however, the food of various shrimps and crabs, and larger medusa, upon which the whale is supported. The extent of the green water in which they are found is estimated by Scoresby to be about twenty thousand square miles. Though it is liable to alteration of position from the action of currents, still it is always found, year after year, near certain situations. While the great extent of these 'pasture grounds,' and the inconceivable number of the animalculæ, raise our conceptions of the omnipotence of their Maker, who regards them all as a very little thing, our admiration and praise is excited at this wonderful manifestation of beneficence and care. Dr. Poeppig, a recent traveler around Cape Horn, describes a field resembling that through which the Morrison passed, but of a much less extent. The sea was of a dirty red color, changing into a purple, and when agitated into a rose color. The water was filled with little red dots, that under a magnifier proved to be infusoria of a spherical form, whose lively motions were only upward and downward. They were extremely sensible to the effect of nitric acid; for a single drop mixed in a glass of this animated water, put an end almost instantaneously to the millions it contained. The superficies of this streak was estimated at 168 square miles; and every one who has ever seen one of them, will join with him in confessing, that the numbers of the animaculæ infinitely surpass the comprehension of the human understanding.

When passing through the sea south of Japan, and along the coast of China, we were visited by many insects from the land, chiefly dragon-flies and butterflies. The former were very abundant when off Kiusiu, although we were out of sight of land, and they must have traveled many tens of miles. A few gulls and two species of albatross were seen, but generally speaking, the shores of Japan were destitute of those large flocks of sea fowl observed on many other coasts. When off the coast of Fuhkeën, one or two of the numerous fishing smacks were visited, whose cargo chiefly consisted of cuttle-fish. These had been opened, and were spread out in the hot sun to dry, and sent off an odor almost insufferable.

ART. III. ***Remarks on Formosa, respecting the rebellion of Choo Yihkwei, with suggestions for quelling insur rections, and for the improvement of the island.*** From the works of LUHCHOW.

THE opinions of Luhchow, on the commerce with the Indian Archipelago, may be found in our fifth volume, No. 10. From the perusal of that document, as well as of his other miscellaneous writings, we easily perceive, that he was a man of very strong mind, in many instances rising above the prejudices of his countrymen. Bred up in Changchow foo, a flourishing department, he valued trade as necessary to the subsistence of the people of his native province, Fuhkeën; and whilst he betrays all the pride of superiority, which 'the flowery natives' claim over the barbarians of the west, he can gloss their faults, whenever forgetfulness of their many bad qualities will help to make good his argument. We may have in future an opportunity of adverting to his other writings, but at present will confine ourselves to his treatise on Formosa. A translation of what he has written about this island, would but little edify the foreign reader, because there are so many names and such long details of unimportant events. However, we can give his sentiments as those of an eminent Chinese statesman, worthy of perusal.

Formosa, from its position, fertility, high state of cultivation, and dense population, is the most important acquisition of territory, which has been made to the Chinese empire by the present dynasty. Comparing this island with Java or Luconia, which have been governed by a policy superior to that of the Chinese, we must, after an impartial examination, declare in favor of Formosa, as being by far the most valuable possession. The reason for this preference, we do not find in its being of greater extent than the other islands, for it is the smallest of the three; nor in its harbors, for most of them are very unsafe; nor in its fertility, for in this point too it is inferior to both the others; but in a numerous, industrious population, which on account of the climate can lay the soil under more heavy contributions, than the enervated inhabitants of the south. According to the best accounts we have, there are no less than two millions of Chinese in Formosa engaged in the cultivation of sugar and rice, and about 400 vessels continually plying between the island and the Chinese coast. When it is taken into consideration, that a great part of the sugar consumed in the northern provinces of China is produced on this island, and that millions of the people in Fuhkeën depend almost entirely for their support on the rice imported from thence, we may fairly conclude, that great numbers of laborers are always at work to supply these wants. Many parts of the opposite shore in Fuhkeën are so barren, that without the aid of the oil-cakes from Formosa, used in manuring the sandy hills, even the sweet potato, would not be produced.

Under such circumstances it may be easily conceived, that the intercourse between these two countries is very brisk; they are mutually dependent on each other for existence, Formosa furnishing the nourishment, and Fuhkeën the people for extracting it from the soil. Ever since this island first came to the notice of the Chinese, there has been a constant influx of emigrants from the southwestern parts of Fuhkeën. They have gone on increasing to this very day, and the western division of the island is already too small to contain them; hence they have commenced cultivating the northeastern parts, and probably will not cease from their encroachments until every inch of ground is taken from the natives. The government, alarmed at such a rapid increase of colonists, early made laws for repressing their enterprise, but has not succeeded in its impolitic efforts. The whole island will very soon resemble the most thickly inhabited parts of China, and be able to send colonists to other countries. We are surprised that the Chinese do not pursue the same course in Luçonia, as they have in Formosa. A little colony, which, during the Dutch administration was of no value whatsoever, because it produced nothing of importance, now greatly exceeds any and all European establishments of a similar description in the east. What would such a fertile island as Luçonia become, if it could be cultivated by an equally industrious population!

The same considerations, which attract so large a number of settlers, strongly tends also to make it the abode of a race of outlaws—thieves and swindlers, who have been obliged to fly from their country. When once they have reached Formosa, they retire to the distant hills, and there live without constraint, not dreading the avenging arm of justice. These are the men, who, heading rebellions, so frequently distract the island. It is well known also, that the officers sent thither, feeling themselves freed from responsibility, often adopt arbitrary measures and extort heavy sums from the people. This has been so constantly done, that the colonists, to protect themselves, enter into close compacts, and by combining together often defy the power of their rulers. When, however, their oppression is too severe, and they are convinced they will be the weaker party, they either yield quietly or betake themselves to the mountains, and associate with the lawless vagabonds, who inhabit those retreats. When a fit opportunity for taking revenge has arrived, they descend upon their oppressors, and the governmental forces are often defeated. Hitherto the rulers have never succeeded in putting down, entirely, these outlaws, whose strongholds are almost impregnable. The policy of bribing the chiefs to submission, and of making a few helpless wretches the victims of their wrath, so common among the Chinese, has been repeatedly and most successfully adopted. But the flame of insurrection is not thereby extinguished, and but few years ever elapse in which the contest is not renewed.

Luhchow, who ably traces the causes of these frequent insurrections, also suggests their remedies. His advice is very reasonable, though his measures can never be carried into effect, so long as

corrupt officers hold the sway. Arrangements have been made by government, that every new colonist should be provided with a passport, to be granted only when his neighbors have given ample testimonials that he is a good and industrious man. This regulation, however, is frequently evaded by the local officers in Fuhkeën, who are glad to get rid of governing more people, than the produce of the soil can maintain. The evil will continue and spread so long as the emigration increases. The country, therefore, cannot enjoy a lasting peace under the present system; for, supposing even all the bad and unruly inhabitants were confined or executed, new recruits from the mother country would soon overspread the island.

We will now cite a few particulars respecting a rebellion, which occured in 1722, the sixteenth year of the reign of Kanghe. Formosa was then a recent acquisition; and though its sovereign had been 'reverentially submissive' to the celestial dynasty, his subjects were by no means pleased with the swarms of hungry officers, pouring into their country to devour the fat of the land. These magistrates were particularly oppressive in levying the taxes, which had been considerably increased, while the murmurs of the peasantry grew daily more loud.

There lived at that time a colonist, from Changchow foo, called Choo Yihkwei, a worthless character, who, detested by the inhabitants of the village where he lived, left the place and became a police-runner. Soon afterwards he lost his situation, and having no land to cultivate, sought a livelihood by feeding ducks. According to their custom, these feathered tribes marched daily out in regular rows, like the files of soldiers, and returned in the evening in the same manner. This circumstance appears to have suggested to our hero the first idea of military tactics, and he seems not to have been slow to improve upon the instruction. Having met some of the outlaws, he prepared a sumptuous dinner, and for that purpose killed his ducks. From that moment he became a desperado. Ten men only, ground down with oppression, had sought safety in flight. To these, others were soon joined; and Choo Yihkwei very adroitly proposed, that their enterprises should be carried on under the semblance of patriotism in behalf of the fallen Ming dynasty, of which he was a clansman, his surname being Choo. All assented, an oath was duly administered, and every conspirator bound himself to press new recruits into their service; and their number soon increased to several hundreds. The government now thought fit to send some troops under the command of a lieutenant against them. This valliant officer, as every other Chinese hero must do, reported a victory, though the rebels escaped into the mountains. To make sure, however, of their extirpation, a reward of three taels for every head of the malcontents and five taels for those of the chiefs, was promised to the aborigines, who inhabited the mountains. This offer was too tempting for these savages to resist, yet finding it difficult to catch the marauders, they decapitated some innocent people and burnt their houses. Having done this, they presented their heads. Such proceeding, under

the sanction of government, gave rise to confusion and misery; the people detested their rulers, but favored the cause of the insurgents.

Under this dismal aspect of things, new troops marched in pursuit of the outlaws, under the command of a brave general. Though victory upon victory was obtained, according to the accounts of our author, the rebel army, like a hydra, grew stronger and stronger, the more it was beaten. Notwithstanding all the defeats, the rebel leaders determined to carry off the public treasures of the capital, but to keep on good terms with the people. They only waged war against government, and all their enterprises converged to this one point—its entire overthrow. When we here speak of battles, the reader must not suppose there were engagements like those of Leipsic and Waterloo. No such thing; for, though there were more encounters within two years, than during the French revolution, yet the Chinese, being more humane than those western barbarians, brought only a few hundred soldiers into the field; and hard words, the chief weapons of their warfare, were exchanged with great virulence. In one memorable rencounter, several tens—yes tens—of rebels were actually slain! Whilst these invincible troops, crowned with laurels, were enjoying all the satisfaction of having destroyed the lawless bands, the insurgents, by a countermarch, entered the capital, took possession of all the public money, with a great quantity of gunpowder, and fire-arms. Elated with success, they performed a mock ceremony of crowning Choo Yihkwei emperor; and now this duck-feeder was elevated to the throne, being in the pride of his heart a mighty potentate. The Chinese officers, including the naval commanders, very wisely fled to Amoy; and as their misfortune could no longer be disguised, they addressed a humble note to the governor, who in his turn wrote to the emperor, promising that within two months the rebels should be extirpated.

Such things as these, being of ordinary occurrence in the celestial empire, we will no longer dwell upon them.

Whilst terrible forces were collecting on the shore of China, threatening to conquer the island, Choo Yihkwei most resolutely maintained his imperial rights, forbidding plunder, and protecting the property, as well as the persons, of his new subjects. If any one of his soldiers did not pay sufficient regard to his injunctions, he lost his head. Such discipline had the most salutary effects, and inspired the whole population with confidence in their new master.

At length, the new Chinese army embarked at Amoy, consisting of 22,000 soldiers and 120 officers, all burning with a desire to signalize themselves. The commanders, having called a council of war, their future proceedings were discussed, and it was unanimously agreed, that, since the number of rebels amounted now to about 30,000 men, it would be best to slay only the chiefs, and to grant life to the heedless multitude. This was certainly a wise plan, for in order to slay the said army, it was first necessary to capture it; and to carry this into execution was now the only difficulty. Moreover, every rebel who surrendered of his own accord, was to be allowed to return home unmolested.

The first exploit was the burning of the rebels' fleet, which was anchored at Lökang. Immediately afterwards a fort was taken by storm, which, however, had no garrison. The subsequent events were one continued series of victories over the disheartened rebels, who often did not wait for the charge, but fled as soon as they saw the imperial soldiers advance. We should fain record the names of many heroes, who gained in the fields of Formosa a lasting renown, but they are really too numerous, and we leave it to the celestials to emblazen their memories. The assault of the imperialists must, according to our author's account, have been irresistible. The fire of their matchlocks and batteries, shaking the very earth, spread terror into the rebel ranks. In consequence of this signal success, a report of victory was sent to the continent, and all looked for the great rewards which the imperial munificence would assign to them. When lo! to their utter astonishment, there arrives an imperial rescript, in which his majesty assigns, as the cause of the rebellion, either the extreme want of his loyal subjects, or the extortion of unprincipled officers; and decrees, that, to massacre a misguided people would be cruel and wicked, because they were his children; and, therefore, he commands the governor of Fuhkeën to soothe and quiet the rebels, not to kill them.

On the arrival of the civilians, sent to soothe the people, affairs took a most wonderful turn. Nine tenths of the rebels surrendered, and even Choo Yihkwei with his associates, after a hard fought battle, fell into the hands of these compassionate officers. In almost all similar events, the celestial terrors were slighted; but when the extreme mercy of the emperor was made known, the people were touched to the very heart, and of their own accord yielded obedience. Whether silver balls were found more effectual in this warfare than leaden ones, we are not told by our author; but the sudden and entire submission makes us rather suspect that this was done, to bring things to a safe and speedy issue. We are not able to explain the subsequent events. Notwithstanding the great heroism displayed, there was still a stubbornness in the remaining rebels, which baffled all the efforts of the victorious army. There were many skirmishes which led to no satisfactory results, but only emboldened the rebels to persevere in their resistance. Epidemic diseases now began to break out amongst the soldiers, and great numbers were swept away. The aborigines received orders not to harbor any rebels; and though these inoffensive people, whilst overawed by the presence of the military, did not dare to enter into a league with the outlaws, yet when they were freed from such restraint, they were very slow in the execution of the orders of the government.

From all we can learn, they are very timid, and very much exposed to the tyranny of the Chinese, which often renders them desperate. The tide of population has forced them from their ancient abodes and great numbers live amongst the inaccessible mountains, without any intercourse with the inhabitants of the plains. Kanghe had in the mean while departed this life, and his successor immediately took vigorous measures for subjugating the country. He ordered, that all

the disposable forces of Fuhkeën, should remain in the islands as a garrison, that the civil appointments should be increased, and a censor constantly reside in the island, in order to watch over the behavior of the officers. The grand engine, however, which was to be set at work to suppress the prevailing rebellious spirit, was the renovation of the people, that they might learn the duty of passive obedience; the savages of the mountains were to be tamed, and then changed into men. To insure the future peace of the country, a line of fortresses was to be erected, and no efforts to be neglected to render the people virtuous. The execution of these, and many more commissions, was entrusted to an imperial envoy; and it is on record, that he, in conjunction with the local authorities, obeyed the imperial commands, to the very letter. After the exhibition of this paternal kindness, we hear nothing more about that rebellion, the storm was hushed, the fire was extinguished; but, unfortunately, the embers were still burning, and a few years afterwards again broke out, giving new anxiety to his imperial majesty.

If any one will take the trouble of examining the history of the rebellions, which have taken place in this country, he will soon observe, that they are carried on in a regular routine — as every thing else is done in China. The people rise; the military march; are driven back, reinforced, prove again unsuccessful, until some civilians arrive, who finally put all things into order After this, an imperial decree is issued, promising oblivion of former misdeeds, and moralizing upon the depraved state of human nature, which is to be changed radically by inculcating filial piety, and love towards inferiors. This document closes the drama: henceforth all is peace and submission, and matters return to the same state in which they were before.

The next paper to which we wish to refer, contains Luhchow's suggestions for putting an end to the insurrections, and making the mountains accessible and their inhabitants submissive. Though the country enjoyed at that time tranquility, the natives withstood the soldiers, and became every day more and more daring. It was, therefore, proposed to adopt measures for soothing them, a suggestion which Luhchow utterly rejects, because it would greatly injure the dignity of government, and only shew its weakness.

Under the Dutch administration these people had been very docile. Without any difficulty they delivered the allotted number of stag's hides into the Company's magazines, and behaved themselves in every other respect as loyal subjects. But then they were not ruled with a rod of iron; a school-master who taught them the rudiments of Christianity was their governor, and he attached them by gentle means to their foreign masters. Thus it happened, that during the war between the Chinese and Dutch, these people remained faithful, whilst many suffered a cruel death for having advocated the cause of the Company. The Chinese pirates were especially incensed against the school-masters, some of whom, after most cruel torture, were crucified at the entrance of their respective villages. When they had fully come under the Chinese yoke, they were divided

into townships, and measures taken for assimilating them, in their manners, to the Chinese. How far the conquerors proved successful in this endeavor, we cannot say, but their numbers constantly increased, while both the mountaineers and the tribes on the east coast remained in full vigor.

It is principally to the mountaineers, that Luhchow's remarks refer, the tribes on the eastern part of the island being scarcely known to the Chinese government. What prevents the junks from visiting that coast we have never been able to ascertain, but no trade appears to be carried on between the two nations, and the country itself is as little known as if it were situated thousands of miles distant. In two voluminous native topographical works upon this island, which recently have fallen in our way, we could find nothing respecting the aborigines of those eastern regions, nor have any European navigators by their researches thrown much light on their condition.

But to return to Luhchow. He tells us, that the aborigines are of a stupid disposition, and are often misled by the Chinese merchants, who do not scruple to rob them of their property. To remedy this evil, the good people ought to be exhorted to be content with their rightful property, and the soldiers, who do not seem to be over-righteous, ought to be enjoined never to trouble the people in any way. Whilst being extremely vigilant to detect every semblance of a plot, those who become informers against such as enter into illegal correspondence with the aborigines, ought to be rewarded, so that early notice of conspiracies may be obtained by the Chinese government. The haunts of the aborigines being difficult of access, though a line of military posts has been established all along the frontier, it would be well to give the natives one month for tendering their surrender, and in case of their obstinacy to execute military law upon the disobedient. But as a thief cannot be hanged before he is caught, it is advisable, that an assault be made, headed by natives under the control of government, and in order to strike terror into the mountaineers, their jungle and forests ought to be set on fire to smoke them out. A similar and equally charitable measure is first to prevent their tilling the ground, and afterwards to cut off all supplies, in this way to reduce them to starvation. As salt is an indispensable article of their diet, and the use of iron so common that without its importation all warlike preparations must stand still, it is suggested to keep these two necessaries entirely out of the reach of the natives. In their warfare they use pointed swords and poisoned arrows, which do a great deal of mischief to those unaccustomed to their encounters. It is therefore needful to manufacture good shields, and spears with a large shaft; but above all, to use fire-arms in lieu of bows and arrows, of which the natives do not entertain the least fear, whilst they tremble at the thunder of guns.

In reviewing the former exploits of the military, our author is of opinion, that the soldiers were never sufficiently rewarded for their bravery, nor properly punished for their want of courage. His very sensible advice is, therefore, to stimulate a sense of honor in their

breast, and to rouse them to emulation by recompensing their deeds of heroism. Yet their numbers never being complete, it is proposed to raise a militia, which might serve in time of war, and then be disbanded. A former military commander tried the experiment, but paying only 600 cash (about two thirds of a dollar) per month to each individual, and giving them just rice sufficient for preventing actual starvation, they very soon dispersed and sought other more lucrative employment. But the pay ought to be raised, and every encouragement given for their enlisting under the imperial banners.

Whether this measure was carried into execution or not, we are unable to say; but the natives continued to make inroads upon the Chinese territory, and thus elicited other remarks from our writer. Being persuaded, that their unruly spirit could be curbed only by a strong arm, he gives it as his conviction, that unless a strong line of military posts were drawn along the frontiers, and the people induced to cultivate the country in their vicinity, and thus gradually to encroach upon their territory, their invasions could not be prevented. Had Luhchow lived in our enlightened times, he would have advised government to construct rail-roads to facilitate communication, and would have quoted the highlands of Scotland as an instance of the successful subjugation of the fiercest western race, by laying their lands open to an unrestrained intercourse. There may still be time for introducing this improvement; but the immense Chinese population, forced to clear new lands in order to obtain subsistance, will perform the needful, and drive the natives from one place to another until they have become extinct!

After the rebellion mentioned above, the island became a scene of the utmost misery and wretchedness. The country had been laid waste, and pestilential diseases swept away great multitudes. The emperor, always ready to relieve the distresses of his children, appointed a commission for examining into the existing evils, and Luhchow could not forbear giving his advice gratuitously.

The colonists of Formosa had been accustomed to trifle with the laws and prohibitions of government, and the first step to be taken was to put them in force to the very letter, that the people might be taught to obey. Moreover, it was a very notorious fact, that the inhabitants delighted in litigations, stirred up by a number of designing demagogues. To obviate this evil it was necessary to execute justice without the least partiality, to banish the influence of money from the public courts, and to seize upon the mischievous attorneys. In addition to this, robbers, who might screen themselves under the amnesty before granted, ought promptly to meet with capital punishment, without time being given to refer the matter to higher tribunals, and thus to defer or elude the execution of their sentence; in fact, exemplary justice ought to be exercised with an uncompromising hand. The colonists being of dissolute habits, given over to drunkenness and every sort of debauchery, in which they spend their money and incur debts, laws ought to be issued against these crimes, and measures taken for the introduction of better customs. As it frequently happened,

that marriageable women, at the age of thirty, were without husbands, they ought to be prevailed on to enter the matrimonial state at twenty-five!

Some difficulty existed also regarding the shipping. The custom-house officers demanded fees to which they were by no means entitled; this put the people upon their guard, and made them desirous of introducing prohibitted articles, in order to indemnify themselves for their losses. Such a state of things, says Luhchow, is by no means proper, and some alterations ought to be made in the regulations. There were crowds of colonists from Chaouchow, the eastern part of the province of Canton. These men, collecting in thousands at some places, and availing of the dread inspired by numbers, committed deeds of violence; this ought not to be allowed. Besides, every new colonist ought to prove that he has friends, into whose service he might enter to gain a livelihood; otherwise, he should not be allowed to settle, lest he might become an idler and a burthen to society.

A principle, which influences all the institutions of the Chinese government, is the promotion of schools. It is the firm opinion of every genuine Chinese, that without the cultivation of the mind a people cannot live happy, nor be obedient to their rulers. Luhchow, therefore, recommends, in the strongest terms, that instruction should be provided to the utmost extent, free-schools established, and high rewards held out to the successful literary candidates. The advice has not been neglected: the schools are in a flourishing condition, and the graduates very numerous. We have heard complaints, that the first and second degrees were too easily obtained; but if this be really the case, it is done to stimulate the students to persevere in their laborious task, in order to secure honor and obtain emoluments.

As most rebellions have taken their rise in the cupidity of the officers, our author recommends a reduction of the land-tax, and that legal exactions be as few and as light as possible. At the same time, he complains very much, that the officers being badly paid, have no means for maintaining themselves; and on this account, he says, the underlings commit great ravages upon the defenseless people. He therefore insists upon the clearing of new lands, the produce of which might be paid into the treasury for the maintenance of officers. Thus a constantly flowing stream of revenue might be opened, and the people would no longer be harrassed with heavy exactions. At the conclusion of this hortatory document, the aborigines also come in for their share of attention. It appears, that, in former times, merchants were nominated by government to carry on the trade with the natives, as a monopoly. There were also linguists appointed to transact business with them. It has, however, been found out, that these persons, being actuated by fraudulent motives, cheated these ignorant people and gave rise to a great many disturbances; therefore they ought to be kept under very strict surveilance, and no occasion given for bringing forward complaints of injustice. In order to curb the power of the native tribes, the intercourse ought to be restrained as much as possible on both sides. Much care ought to be taken,

lest any Japanese or Dutch, landing on the east coast, might nestle themselves amongst them; 'a thing above all others to be avoided.'

We pass over several of Luhchow's remarks—as for instance, that the women ought to be employed in rearing the silk worms and planting hemp, to enable them to provide materials for the apparel of their families; that fortresses of better materials than mere bamboo and wood ought to be erected, &c. At another time we may again take opportunity of recurring to this author, because he is a man of sound sense, and tells us things for which we look in vain in other Chinese books.

ART. IV. *The Hawaiian Spectator; volume first, number first, January, 1838. Conducted by an association of gentlemen. Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands.*

THIS work has just reached us; an exhibition of what it is, will be its best recommendation. Its mechanical execution is not inferior to similar works in Europe or America. In style and matter, too, it need not shrink from a comparison with the best periodicals of the other hemisphere. The periodical literature of Asia and Oceanica is destined to rival that of Europe and America. These are new fields, and we know they are rich. We are sorry so few copies of the "Spectator" have come to China—ten only having been sent, not one third the number already subscribed for. We shall improve an early opportunity to notice some parts of the work—such as the 'Sketches of Kauai,' 'Decrease of population,' &c.; but have room in our present number for only the prospectus, table of contents, and the introductory observations; these exhibit well the character and object of the

HAWAIIAN SPECTATOR.

This work is conducted by an Association of Gentlemen, and will be published quarterly at Oahu, Sandwich Islands. The work will be filled mostly with original matter on the following and other subjects.

I. The necessity of greater effort, in all its forms, to enlighten and christianize the world. Under this general subject, definite points will be discussed respecting the nature of the work—the obstacles to be overcome—the means of overcoming them, and the correction of such errors as exist in relation to the conversion of the world.

II. Importance and bearing of other efforts for converting the world, besides such as are generally termed missionary efforts; such as, a gradual change of their laws and political constitutions, to fit barbarous nations for practicing the religion of the gospel—the cultivation of the arts—the introduction of the usages of civilized life—a well regulated commerce—vehicles and means of rapidly and regularly conveying intelligence from place to place.

III. Intelligence respecting the geographical, political, moral, and religious, state of different sections of Polynesia, and the adjoining continents, with the good and evil that has resulted from communicating with foreigners.

IV. Philology generally—the genius and structure of the various dialects of the Polynesian language will claim special attention; and translations will be given of such articles in the native language as may be judged worthy of publication.

V. Scientific and literary intelligence respecting the geology, meteorology, botany, and other branches of the natural history of these islands, and other parts of Polynesia and the adjoining continents.

VI. An account of efforts now making to christianize, enlighten, and civilize, the islands of the Pacific—a full account of schools—of the efforts of the American Seamen's Friend Society—what progress has been made, and what remains to be done.

VII. A short space will be assigned to the current news of the islands, and such foreign intelligence as may be deemed interesting and useful; and also to obituary notices and biographical sketches.

VIII. The work will occasionally be enriched with engravings on copper and wood, illustrative of such subjects as may need illustration.

The whole influence of the work is pledged to the dissemination of truth and knowledge, and to the hastening of Christ's kingdom.

Conditions.—The work will be issued quarterly on the first of January, April, July, and October. Each number will contain from 96 to 112 pages, octavo; printed on good paper with a fair type.

The subscription price is three dollars, per annum; payable in all cases in advance. Communications for the work to be addressed to the care of P. A. Brinsmade, Oahu.

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Introductory Remarks.

THE Hawaiian Spectator will occupy an interesting position in the field of Periodical Literature. The range of its observation will embrace the whole extent of coast that borders the Pacific on the north and east, and the almost numberless groups of islands that are scattered through this vast ocean,—a geographical extent nearly equal

to one half the globe. Within these limits may be found every variety of climate and soil, the various sources of natural wealth, and all the elements of intellectual and moral greatness that are to be found in the other hemisphere.

The circumstance which gives peculiar interest to this wide sphere of observation, is, that all the illimitable resources embraced in it, physical, intellectual, and moral, are in the progress of developement. There is not a nation or tribe within the whole extent, that has yet made any thing like a complete exhibition of its natural capabilities, or settled upon any systematic direction of its active energies. No where is there an approximation to maturity in the arrangements of social order, or to permanency in the forms and institutions of civil government. The agitations of the political and moral elements, which have for the last few years been ebbing and flowing over the Western Republics of South America and Mexico, and which have filled an interesting page of modern history, have been for the most part superficial; and the current of events which has seemed, in passing, to have had a prospective tendency to the higher degrees of civilization, and to the establishment of free institutions and liberal principles, has not yet broken up the old foundations of military and ecclesiastical despotism. The virtue and intelligence indispensably necessary to give full scope to human activity and freedom, are yet to be realized and called into action throughout all these countries. The spirit of the age, the necessities of men, the onward movement of the world, are summoning up those indispensable moral and intellectual energies; and it will be matter of deep concern to notice the progress of their developement, and the results that may be consequently achieved, not only in the sphere of their immediate action, but to the world at large.

The western coast of North America, which has for years been the scene of active commercial enterprise, is now rapidly opening its facilities and inducements to civilized colonists and Christian philanthropists. The value of its hitherto unappreciated agricultural interests, is beginning to revive and push to a definite termination the questions of territorial limits, both on the north and south, between the governments concerned. Interests peculiarly weighty and lasting are involved in the adjustment of existing adverse claims—interests made more and more prominent by every movement in furtherance of Christianity and civilization in the Pacific. The civil and moral destiny of every portion of the vast territory between the rocky mountains and this western ocean, must of necessity be materially shaped by the government under whose jurisdiction it shall fall. That whole region of country cannot fail soon to be the theatre of measures and events, whose consequences upon the world will be as enduring as time. The prospect is full of exciting considerations, and every movement that may occur, either political or moral, will afford a subject of permanent interest.

Various regards, originated by commercial interest, political speculation, historical curiosity, or religious benevolence, have drawn

towards the coast and unnumbered people of Japan, the thoughts and inquiries of the civilized world. Almost all the purposes which control human pursuits are combining to effect an entrance into that and the adjacent prohibited portions of the globe, and there is a current of feeling setting upon those shores, proportionated probably in its force to the strength and obduracy of the barriers which have so long resisted foreign approach. Those separating walls of national pride or jealousy or selfishness, must, in the very necessity of things, sooner or later give way; and the present unparalleled stretch and energy of commercial pursuits, the prodigious improvements and facilities for international communication, and the awakening and expansive impulse of Christian goodness which mark the passing age, afford full intimations that the time is at hand. No measure of moral influence, great or small, direct or incidental, which can be made to further a salutary intercourse with other nations, and an effectual entrance for knowledge and truth, can be looked upon with indifference; for, whether that influence be borne along on the hum of a busy commerce, or in the lively oracles of grace and truth, so far as its tendency is to bring that large proportion of the human family into the community of Christian nations, so far it goes to augment the moral power and resources of a world redeemed to holiness and God. To whatever extent such influences, or the methods by which they may be conveyed, come under observation, they will be worthy of a most attentive notice.

It is now about three centuries since the discovery of Polynesia added to the world its sixth great division. The warm enthusiasm, with which the discovery was at first regarded, soon passed away; and till within a few years, little more notice has been taken of them, than that induced by considerations of curiosity or interest. Almost every successive year, new islands have been discovered, named, and their geographical position dotted on the chart; while the native inhabitants through their successive generations have been swept away by the wave of death, "alike unknowing and unknown." It can, however, never again be with this multitude of islands as it has been. Already there have been some valuable researches made through the more important groups, and the results given to the world. Some efforts have also been made to throw upon their midnight of intellectual and moral darkness the light of knowledge and truth. Here and there are stationed the living teachers of pure Christianity, and around them are beginning to be restored to the heathen the revealed principles of order and duty which are destined to pervade the world. The repeated visits of an extending commerce are bringing every tribe into more intimate contact with men of higher capabilities both of virtue and of crime, and there is now scarce a known island of these seas, that may not be easily opened to afford every desirable facility to the inquiries of the physiologist, or the philanthropy of the Christian.

We have taken this cursory glance around an almost new, and unspeakably interesting, portion of the world, to show the extent and

condition and prospects of a field of observation, in the centre of which we are providentially to stand spectators. With a local situation that affords facilities for concentrating intelligence, probably superior to any other spot in the Pacific, the purpose of our Journal will be, to gather from all the sources of information that may be opened upon us, and to combine correct intelligence upon the topics connected with the topographical, political, and moral geography of the islands of this ocean and its surrounding continents,—to afford a channel through which the facts that may be evolved in the various departments of natural history and science may be communicated to the world,—to furnish philological information relative to the genius and structure of the various dialects of the Polynesian language, and notices of native literature that may be originated in these dialects, in the progress of the means of education already in use or to be instituted,—to show the extent, facilities, and modes through which commercial enterprises may be conducted, and the means that may be put in operation to pour through the various channels of commerce a salutary moral influence, and the results realized from such measures,—to notice the forms of government that may be organized by the various islanders, and the relations and terms of intercourse instituted between them and foreign powers, and the tendencies of such intercourse upon the destinies of the weaker parties. It will also be our steady and prominent object, to furnish accurate and definite statements of the efforts in progress to enlighten, civilize, and Christianize, the benighted on the islands of the Pacific, and on the western continent of America, showing what has been accomplished, and what remains to be done; and from the deeply affecting view of the character and condition of the heathen in their remote alienation from their Maker,—a view derived from actual observation,—we shall earnestly set forth the imperative necessity for vastly greater efforts, in all their forms, than have yet been projected, to enlighten and redeem the world. We shall endeavor to throw light upon the nature of the work to be achieved, the obstacles to be overcome, and the means of overcoming them, and shall exert our last ability to correct and drive out of being the egregious errors which prevail in relation to the world's conversion.

A vast portion of the moral machinery which embodies the "power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation," has not yet been brought into the field, nor do we see how it can be set in motion, while the views of heathen condition and Christian responsibility prevail, under which the present plan of operations is sustained and directed by the churches. Merely didactic lessons either in literature or religion, to beings who have been sinking for eighteen hundred years from the condition in which Paul described the heathen to be in his day,—could such lessons be taught by all the angels of light,—would never effect the moral revolution of the world contemplated in the prayer of its Redeemer, "Thy will be done on earth as in heaven." There is not a spot within the broad survey we have taken, where religion, as God has revealed it, could be pr :d in its high-

est and noblest and unrestricted exercises, until other influences than those of preceptive instruction, shall be brought into action. Improvement in the employment of physical agencies is the cue of the age; and yet the last improvement that the combined ingenuity of men shall arrive at will act upon the springs of nature as the Creator formed them. And why should men, moving under God's commission in achieving the world's conversion, shrink back with awe from attempting improvements in the use of moral agencies, when the final discoveries of every finite mind will only disclose the omnipotent energies of a moral engine, whose adaptation to its end reveals a "God over all blessed forever?" There is no reason why. The condition of guilt and woe and death, in which most of earth's millions are, without it, hopelessly involved, demand the attempt, and our Savior's last law of love, "Go teach all nation," adds to that demand the authority of all heaven.

With this brief view of the field from which it is expected that the subject matter for our pages will be derived, and this general statement of the topics proposed to be illustrated, we commend our work to the literary countenance and coöperation of those scattered over the wide field, whose opportunities of observation and research will enable them to contribute to its interests, and to the pecuniary patronage of those in every land who may favor our purpose.

ART. V. *Translation of a letter from Syed Bin the sultan of Muscat, to the president of the United States of America.*

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN.—To the most high and mighty Andrew Jackson, president of the United States of America, whose name shines with so much splendor throughout the world. I pray most sincerely that on the receipt of this letter it may find his highness, the president of the United States, in high health, and that his happiness may be constantly on the increase. On a most fortunate day and at a happy hour, I had the honor to receive your highness's letter, every word of which is clear and distinct as the sun at noonday, and every letter shone forth as brilliantly as the stars in the heavens. Your highness's letter was received by your faithful and highly honorable representative and embassador Edmund Roberts, who made me supremely happy in explaining the object of his mission, and I have complied in every respect with the wishes of your honorable embassador, in concluding a treaty of friendship and commerce between our respective countries, which shall be faithfully observed by myself and my successors, as long as the world endures. And his highness may depend, that all American vessels, resorting to the ports within my dominions, shall know no difference, in point of good treatment,

between my country and that of his own most fortunate and happy country, where felicity ever dwells. I most firmly hope that his highness, the president, may ever consider me as his firm and true friend, and that I will ever hold the president of the United States very near and dear to my heart, and my friendship shall never know any diminution, but shall continue to increase till time is no more. I offer, most sincerely and truly, to his highness the president, my entire and devoted services, to execute any wishes the president may have within my dominations, or within any ports or places wherein I possess the slightest influence.

This is from your most beloved friend

SYED BIN SULTAN.

Written on the twenty-second day of the month, Jamada Alawel, in the year al hajra, 1249, at the royal palace in the city of Muscat.

This letter is to have the address of being presented to the most high and mighty Andrew Jackson, president of the United States of America, whose name shines with so much brilliancy throughout the world.

[*Note.* We have inserted the foregoing letter by the request of a friend. The treaty with the sultan we have not seen. The narrative of Mr. Roberts' mission has been published in America, we suppose, long before this time.]

ART. VI. *Ophthalmic Hospital at Canton: Seventh Report, being that for the term ending on the 31st of December*, 1837. By the Rev. PETER PARKER, M. D.

Two years of this institution are now completed. During this period 4575 patients have been received, 1225 of whom have been admitted during the last term. Besides these, a number of old patients have been treated, who had relapses, or new diseases. This report includes the period from the 4th of May to the 31st of December, of which two months were spent in a voyage to Japan, and subsequently illness caused a suspension of the operations of the hospital for another month. It was reöpened on the 1st of October, when it appeared, that a considerable number of patients, who had come a long distance, had taken up their residence in the city, and had waited, some a fortnight, and others a month or more, for the opening of the hospital.

The expenses for the current year are $1,692.24, viz.:

For native assistants - - - - - -	$341.21	
For medicines, instruments, &c. - -	543.33	
For board, fuel, &c. - - - - - -	261.80	
For repairs - - - - - - - - - -	45.90	
For rent. - - - - - - - - - - -	500.00	
		$1,692.24

N. B. The donations to the hospital are included in the acknowledgments of the contemplated Medical Missionary Society, whose organization, unanticipated causes have delayed.

Diseases presented both during this quarter and since the biginning of the institution; 1st, of the eye; 2d, miscellaneous.

1st. Diseases of the eye.	*	†
Amaurosis	33	145
Acute ophthalmia	74	336
Chronic ophthalmia	125	380
Purulent ophthalmia	23	111
Scrofulous ophthalmia	1	3
Rheumatic ophthalmia	1	8
Ophthalmitis	6	35
Ophthalmia variola		29
Choroiditis	3	7
Conjunctivitis	4	40
Granulations	100	100
Hordeolum	2	28
Cataract	118	382
Entropia	215	526
Ectropia	2	8
Trichiasis	16	81
Pterygium	90	271
Panis	5	5
Opacity and vascularity of the cornea	60	472
Ulceration of the cornea	10	89
Nebulæ	100	271
Albugo	7	138
Leucoma	4	27
Staphyloma	48	177
Staphyloma sclerotica	3	15
Onyx	3	18
Iritis	8	53
Ptosis	2	2
Lippitudo	60	151
Night blindness	2	8
Day blindness	1	4
Synechia anterior	24	69
Synechia posterior	8	32
Myosis	15	53
Closed pupil with deposition of lymph	3	46
Procidentia iridis	7	22
Glaucoma		9
Exophthalmia	1	5
Double vision	* 2	† 2
Injury of the eyes	3	2
Atrophy		62
Hypertrophy	3	17
Hydrops oculi		2
Complete loss of one eye	110	231
Loss of both eyes	91	199
Mucocele	4	18
Muscæ volitantes	8	19
Weak eyes	5	23
Xeroma	5	7
Malignant ulcer of the upper lid		1
Encysted tumor of the upper lid		6
Tumors from the conjunctiva	3	3
Quivering lids	1	3
Adhesion of the conjunctiva to the cornea	1	9
Adhesion of the tarsi	1	1
Disease of the caruncula lachrymalis	6	12
Fungous haematodes	1	5
Nole me tangere	1	1
2d, Miscellaneous.		
Abscess of the ear	1	10
Abscess psoas	1	4
Abscess of the thigh		2
Abscess of the parotid gland		2
Abscess of the arm		2
Abscess of the hand	1	3
Abscess of the head	4	6
Abscess of the face	2	7
Disease of the lower jaw	2	11
Luxation of the lower jaw		1
Otitis	1	2
Otorrhœa	2	24
Deficient cerumen		9
Deposition of cerumen	2	8

* Aggregate for the term. † Aggregate for the two years.

Malformation of meatus		2	Aphonia	1	1
Imperforate auditory foramen		2	Pneumonia		4
Deafness	2	20	Ichthyosis	1	5
Nervous affection of the ear		8	hereditary	2	
Polypus of the ear		1	Herpes	1	5
Dropsy	1	25	Impetigo	3	5
Ovarian dropsy	3	11	Psoriasis	1	1
Cauliflower excrescence of the uterus		1	Acne	1	1
Hydatids of the uterus		1	Burn	1	1
Scirrus of the uterus		1	Disease of the antrum maxillare	1	5
Amenorrhœa	1	4	Diseased gums	1	3
Cancer of the tongue	1	1	Hare lip	5	6
Cancer of the breast	3	10	Opium mania	2	15
Cancer of the face	1	4	Paralysis of the arm		2
Goitre	5	15	Hydrocephalus		2
Ranulae	1	5	Dyspepsia	3	6
Enlarged tonsils	1	3	Urinary calculus (removed 3)	3	7
Polypi of the nose (benign)	1	7	Stone in the bladder	2	5
Polypi of the nose (malignant)		2	Deaf and dumb child	1	5
Obliteration of nares	2	2	Dumbness	1	7
Polypus of the ear		1	Hepatitis		3
Hernia inguinal	2	7	Fungous haematodes	1	6
Hernia umbilical	1	4	Ulcers	3	11
Chronic cystitis		1	Needle thrust into the body below the sternum		1
Enlargement of the spleen	4	7	Needle thrust into a child's hand, &c.		1
Abdominal tumors	3	7	Double thumb	3	5
Encysted tumors	2	11	Aneurism	2	2
Sarcomatous tumors	5	25	Wart filling one nostril	1	1
Tumors from each ear	5	5	Worms (Lumbrici)	2	6
Curvature of the spine	6	9	Haemoptisis	1	1
Curvature of the ankle	1	1	Rheumatism	2	4
Paraphlegia		2	Arthritis	5	5
Phymosis (natural)		3	Hydrops articuli		5
Paraphymosis	1	1	Palpitation of the heart	2	2
Fistulæ in ano	1	6	Thrush (ulcerated mouth and lips)	2	2
Tinea capitis	1	4	Diabetes melitis	1	1
Scrofula	6	13	Caries of tibia	1	1
Enlargement of parotid gland	2	5	Epilepsy	2	2
Asthma	1	3	Elephantiasis	2	4
Croup		1	Enteritis	1	1
Bronchitis		1	Disease of the heart	1	1
Bronchial flux		1	Distortion of the hand from small-pox	1	1
Phthisis		1	Whitlow		2

No. 3320. May 1st. Artificial joint of the forearm. Chay Ahing, aged 27, of Canton. Eleven months ago he fractured the radius and ulna of his right arm. An artificial joint had been formed, which admitted inward motion to an angle of perhaps 60°: it was without pains or tumefaction. On the 27th May, the ends of the fractured bones were grated upon each other for some minutes. The arm was then extended and the bones brought into their proper place, and confined by splints and a roller. The following night the patient complained of much pain, and urged the removal of the splints. They were continued, however, for three days, when, to his great delight, the bones were united and the arm was straight. Short splints were then substituted, leaving the hand and wrist free. These were worn two months more. The man has now a useful right arm.

No. 3362. May 12th. Injury from torture. Aching, a gardener in the vicinity of Canton, was accused by an envious relative to the government, as a smuggler and concealer of stolen goods. Accordingly he was seized, and kept in the city a fortnight, sitting at the door of an officer, as a culprit, and in the mean time was examined by torture, made to kneel on sharp spikes, and beaten upon his face and above his knees and ankles, in a most cruel manner. His foreteeth were knocked out. Twenty persons of his native village coming forward and testifying to his upright character, and offering their own heads if he could be proved guilty, the innocent and industrious poor man was liberated, but not till after he had paid $300! His ankles and knees were in an ulcerated condition from the previous application of the bamboo. The wounds presently healed, and the man is again well. This case illustrates the *baseness* of his relative, and the *cruelty* and *injustice* of the officers of government.

No. 3488. May 22d. Cartilaginous tumor. Woo Pun, aged 41, a shoemaker of Pwanyu, had been afflicted seventeen years with a large unshapen tumor upon the left side of his neck. It hung pendulous from the submaxillary, extending backwards over the external jugular vein and carotid artery, forwards to the opposite side of the trachea, and downwards to the breast. For the last ten year its growth was rapid, and from its magnitude it had become very cumbersome. It was as large as the man's head, and so hard as not to yield to the pressure of the thumb. Centrally it was diseased, and having been perforated by the escharotics of a Chinese practitioner, it emitted a most offensive discharge. The aperture was half an inch in diameter, and as regular as if formed by a drill. The patient kept it closed with a stopple, every morning evacuating some ounces of offensive fluid. His constitution had begun to suffer. On the 19th June, assisted by Messrs. Cox, Cullen, and Jardine, the tumor was removed in about five minutes. Several veins of considerable size were divided. In making the inferior horizontal incision, an inch of the integument, above a large superficial artery, was not divided till the dissection of the tumor was nearly completed, and then, by compressing the artery before dividing it, very little blood was lost. The tumor was two feet in circumference, and weighed 7 lbs. The patient scarce uttered a

groan. In twenty minutes he was comfortable in bed. This was about 1 o'clock P. M. At 3 o'clock and at 5 o'clock his symptoms appeared favorable; and there was but little oozing of blood. At 9 o'clock he complained of phlegm in his throat, and did not breath so easily as usual, yet made no complaint that the bandage was too taught. His brother was depended upon to watch with him, and to call me, if any change occurred. At 1 o'clock A. M., a servant called; and when I arrived at the hospital the poor man was apparently gasping his last. He was very bloody, and had evidently made a desperate struggle without success to loosen the bandage. The neck was instantly freed of the roller. His pulse was just perceptible; his extremities were already cold; he foamed at the nose, and breathed stertorously, as in apoplexy. His mouth was immediately cleared of phlegm, and his nose of blood; stimulants were applied and also administered internally, and bottles of warm water put to his feet. He soon revived and spoke, and his breathing became easy.

The dressing was loosely applied at first, but the incision being rather horizontal, nearly from ear to ear, the blood that settled upon the lower side, not escaping, acted as a wedge, causing suffocation. Probably the brother fell asleep, and awoke only by the almost dying struggle of the patient. Two or three minutes delay in coming to his relief might have been too late! After reäpplying the dressing, he had a comfortable night, and in one month was perfectly recovered. He has repeatedly visited the hospital. His constitution has wonderfully recovered from the inroads of the disease, and he again enjoys excellent health, and evinces unbounded gratitude. He seems to regard the favor received, as conferring on him full liberty to introduce any and all his diseased friends. This is very uniformly the case with such as have received any especial benefit. I know not upon what principle of human nature to explain it, unless it be that of implicit confidence.

No. 3556. May 22d. Scirrous breast. Mo She, aged 48, of Pachow, near Whampoa, an artificial flower maker, had been afflicted with a cancerous breast for six years. The diseased gland was about four inches broad, six long, and two or three thick. She had long experienced lanceonating pains. There was some enlargement of the veins, and the part nearest the axilla was soft and just ready to burst. The axillary glands were not affected. The patient complained of pains in the region of the kidnies. The tongue was a little foul, and the pulse natural.

On the 21st of June, the breast was removed. The adhesion of the integument to the gland, protracted the operation to twenty minutes, which the patient endured with the fortitude characteristic of her sex. Her husband and son were present, who commanded their feelings remarkably, and spoke cheeringly to their suffering friend. The most painful sensations were caused by dividing the nerves at the base of the gland. Considerable febrile symptoms occurred the following day, but they soon subsided. She rapidly and perfectly recovered, and on the 1st of August was discharged. In October she returned

in good health. This is the first instance of the extirpation of the female breast from a Chinese, and few operations could exhibit in a stronger light their confidence in foreign surgery, yet it was submitted to with the utmost cheerfulness, both in this case and another hereafter to be noticed.

No. 3763. June 19th. Ascites. Wang Yuen, aged 23, a weaver, had had an accumulation of fluid for four years: cause not ascertained. The abdomen was about six feet in circumference. On the 21st of June, in the presence of several medical gentlemen, twelve gallons of fluid were drawn off, weighing sixty catties, equal to eighty pounds avoirdupois. After the water was discharged and the walls of the abdomen collapsed, the liver, stomach, heart, and uterus, were felt distinctly. The ribs and sternum were spread out of their natural position, forming an immense cavity, bounded by the diappragm and natural integument. This was filled with cotton pledgets, and a bandage applied around the thorax and abdomen, which was tightened daily, gradually bringing it to its natural place. It seemed incredible that, with such a bulk and weight, the young woman could walk at all, especially as her feet were as much too small as her body was too large. It required some practice, after its removal, before she could walk comfortably alone. She appeared in health, independent of this immense reservoir of fluid. She experienced no inconvenience from the operation, and in one week was discharged. Since my return from Japan, she has visited the hospital, and was in fine health. She was so altered that it was necessary to refer to the records of the hospital to identify her. There is no reäccumulation.

No. 3790. June 19th. Sarcomatous tumor. Yang She, aged 20, of Hwayuen, had a tumor pendulous from the chin and larynx. It commenced ten years since, and the last six years had been very cumbersome. The attachment beneath the chin was five inches in circumference. Centrally and horizontally it measured two feet three inches, and vertically three feet two inches. It extended below the umbilicus, but not so as to rest in the lap; consequently its weight was sustained by the attachment, and the patient had to sit constantly in a bracing posture, to prevent its drawing down her head. The natural features were distorted, the cheeks being drawn tense by the weight of the tumor. The muscles on the back of the neck were preternaturally large, having been in constant action. A native practitioner had applied a ligature which remained sufficiently long to produce a permanent circular scar. Probably, while the ligature interrupted the return of the blood in the veins, it did not compress the arteries, nor benumb the nerves: the pain must have been great and the result doubtful, had the destruction of the tumor been effected.

Being in her fifth month, her case was the more critical. It was at this time determined to take a voyage to Japan; but whether she was apprized of this or not, and feared I might not return, she and her friends were urgent to have the tumor removed then, though the objection to it was distinctly stated. Perceiving the confidence of the patient and anxiety of her friends, with the approbation of several

medical gentlemen, I complied with her wishes; and on the 21st June, the tumor was removed in 12 seconds, and the patient dressed and in bed in 24 minutes. Two arteries of considerable size required ligatures; the veins upon the lower side were very large, exceeding the natural size of the jugulars; the skin, fasciae, veins, and arteries formed the principal attachment. With the exception of a single point, an inch in diameter, the tumor was as distinct from the surrounding parts, as an egg from its nest.

Seldom has there been less apparent suffering from so serious an operation, as there was manifested by the young woman. The wound healed kindly without any unpleasant symptoms. Her first attempts to walk were awkward, having lost so much 'ballast.' In one week the healing process had far advanced, when, at my departure from Canton for Japan, Messrs. Cox and Anderson, resident physicians, most obligingly took charge of her and the preceding cases, and such others as were in the hospital, and required attention: they have also continued their assistance on each day for operations, weekly. In seventeen days she was discharged quite well. December 17th, she returned, in excellent health and spirits, bringing her robust little son, two months old. Her features have assumed very much their natural form.

On the 14th October, her grandfather returned to inform me of her health, bringing some trifling presents, with the following note accompanying them.

"The autumnal marigold emits its fragrance and reflects its fresh tints, whilst I bring some trifling articles to repay your kindness, for having, by your deep skill, restored my grand-daughter to health. May your name, sir, be transmitted to posterity for a thousand ages, and may the benefits bestowed last ten thousand years! My whole family join with me in wishing you the enjoyment of happiness, and that you may be permitted, by your extraordinary practice, to assist and protect mankind. I beg you will receive this present with a smile. Yung Yute of Hwa heën, knocks his head and pays his respects."

No. 4016. Extirpation of scirrous breast. Woo She, aged 43, of Whampoa, was introduced by Mŏ She, to be treated for the same affection, of which she herself had been relieved. Woo She had had a scirrous enlargement of the left breast for three years. It was about the natural size of a full breast of milk. The tumor was well defined and strictly a local affection. Her constitution was perfect.

On the 1st of November the breast was removed in eight minutes, and the patient in bed in twenty. Her fortitude exceeded all that I have yet witnessed. She scarcely uttered a groan during the extirpation, and before she was removed from the table, clasped her hands, and, with an unaffected smile, cordially thanked the gentlemen who assisted on the occasion. The breast consisted of masses of gelatinous matter, surrounded by dense cartilaginous substance, which, at the base was nearly ossified, quite beyond the power of medicine, *iodine* not excepted, to remove. She experienced comparatively little inconvenience during her recovery. The edges of the wound healed

chiefly by the first intention, but there was some suppuration of the parts beneath. An attack of dysentery upon the 10th day impeded the healing a little, but she soon recovered from it, and in about four weeks was discharged perfectly well. The natural amiableness and cheerfulness of this woman and her little daughter, twelve years old, attracted the attention of many who visited the hospital during her stay. *Surely, natural sweetness of temper exists in China.*

No. 4142. October 23d. Hare lip. Lo Asan, aged 8, of Heäng-shan, a very interesting and intelligent girl, the idol of her wealthy parents, who would not have withheld any moderate sum, had it been necessary, to remedy the unpleasant malformation. The division of the lip and roof of the mouth extended up into the nostril. The operation was successful. The second and third days, she had a considerable fever; as this subsided, the wound healed rapidly and perfectly in ten days. Her friends were greatly delighted, and sent presents of tea and fruits of various kinds, and a valuable crape shawl. These were declined in vain. "They are not for pay, but an expression of gratitude." Four persons were in constant attendance upon this little girl. She was amused by a pack of arithmetical cards, with red and black dots on them, by which she learnt to add and substract. She answered any question upon these cards, almost instinctively. Four operations for the same defect, have been performed during the term. In two instances, several teeth and a portion of the palate, were removed. In one case the patient was discharged quite well in one week.

No. 4186. Nov. 20th. Steatomatous tumor. Yuen Aking, aged 35, of Kaouyaou, had a tumor on the left side of his neck, originating near the vertebræ, and passing out between the scaleni muscles; it was partially covered by the trapezius. It had attained a troublesome magnitude, nearly spherical, and six inches diameter, and was yearly increasing. November 29th, the tumor was extirpated. A portion of the anterior edge of the trapezius was necessarily removed, and also of the scaleni muscles. The tumor lay between successive layers of muscular fibres and fasciae, which became more indistinct as they approached its centre, several of the transverse processes of the cervical vertebræ were exposed, covered only by the tendinous aponeurosis of their appropriate muscles, when the tumor was removed. The wound kindly healed by granulations in five weeks. There was much suppuration from the division of the muscles. The removal of the tumor affects slightly the raising the tip of the shoulder, and the bringing the hand over the head. The patient became quite robust, and left a few days since, with the most unequivocal manifestations of gratitude.

No. 4370. Staphyloma. Yĕ Maouchang, a youth of 16, had lost his right eye entirely, and had also a staphyloma of the left. A part of the cornea protruded so far as not to be covered with the lids, yet a portion was clear and admitted light. He was introduced by a hong merchant with a particular request, that, if it were possible to benefit him, he might be treated. He was encouraged to expect the eye

might be reduced to its natural size and the degree of sight still be retained. With this, he and his friends were satisfied to have the operation performed. The staphylomatous part was removed, the aqueous humor only escaped. The wound soon healed, the eye came to its proper size, and the vision was increased rather than diminished. His uncle, a literary gentleman, remained with him until he was nearly well, and, on leaving, presented two scrolls, on which he had written some account of the case, with a stanza of poetry. The scrolls are about four feet long, and ten inches wide; and the poetry is written in large characters in the middle, perpendicularly, with the explanation on each side of it. The following is a translation, which may be interesting as a specimen of Chinese taste and customs. The comparison bewteen the celestial luminaries, appearing from behind the clouds that had concealed them, and the blind restored gradually to a sense of light, is happy.

"Dr. Parker, of the flowery-flag nation, sailed over the ocean, and came to Canton, with healing medicines. All men feel gratitude towards him. My nephew, Yĕ Maoushang, had been blind ten years. With a metallic instrument, he opened his eyes, and gradually restored vision. Therefore I have prepared these scrolls to record his deed.

(Signed) Chang Kwŏkin of Lingkang.

"The clouds and vapors rolling off,
Quickly appear the sun and moon.—
His art's true badge, the knife, he grasped,
And therewith op'd the way to sacred light."

Death from Epilepsy. Aking, 38 years of age, of Koauyaou, was found nearly dead in the street. He had been in an epileptic fit three hours when I saw him. Many hundreds of his countrymen had seen him, but all 'passed by on the other side.' After explaining to the by-standers and one of the police, the nature of the case, and the uncertainty of his recovery, judging from his symptoms, I offered to take him to the hospital, provided his body should be removed without trouble in the event of his death. This was acceded to. The usual treatment in similar cases was adopted. The severity of the paroxysm was soon mitigated, and in fourteen hours he had so far recovered his senses that he was able to give intelligent answers. In a short time, some of his friends came and expressed grateful feelings for the care taken of him, but soon left, though requested to remain with the sick man. The next day a brother came, who said he had been subject to these attacks for about a year, and that they usually lasted twelve hours. Upon the second and third days he had some fever; on the fourth and fifth, he was able to walk about the house, and to take congee, and his recovery was expected; but a few hours after my leaving the hospital on the fifth day, he had a relapse and died suddenly. His brother and friends came the next morning, and were grateful for the care bestowed on the deceased. A rude coffin was soon provided, and without change of apparel he was borne to his rest in the grave.

No. 4565. A second instance of death occurred, in the case of a young woman, aged 27. Her own account of herself was briefly as follows. She had not enjoyed good health since the birth of her first child, two years since. More than a year ago she had a small swelling of the size of a duck's egg, just beneath the false ribs, on the right side, and at the same time commenced a curvature of the spine. In May last, an abscess formed in the lumbar region, which burst of itself. The discharge was great at the time, and since. When she came to the hospital, her case appeared hopeless, but her emaciated form, and the affecting narrative of her sufferings, early bereft of her father, enlisted my warmest sympathies, and I could not at once extinguish her last hope of recovery. She was told that she might remain a few days, when her case should be fully explained. Shortly the high fever, which she had had daily, subsided; the abscess was attended to; and tonics were administered; and she was gradually improving. But about ten days afterwards, I was called to her, early one morning, when, to my surprise, I found her dead in the arms of her mother. The parent was not aware of the fact, and was told that her daughter had better be laid on the bed. After reminding her that all must die, and that the Supreme Ruler would decide as to the best time, I informed her that her daughter was dead, and requested she would not yield to excessive grief. She commanded her feelings remarkably, and calmly said, her 'destiny is fixed.'

The deceased was a young woman of extraordinary intelligence, and unlike the majority of her sex in China, had read much. She was a dutiful child, and said that her desire of life was chiefly that she might provide for her parent.

The following are a selection of *incurable diseases*, which have been presented at the institution.

No. 3438. May 22d. *Aneurism.* Choo Akwei, a young man 20 years old, of Manchow in Pwanyu, has an aneurism of the superscapularius and subclavian arteries. It commenced five or six years since. At first, a slight tumefaction, widely diffused over the scapula of the left shoulder, was perceived. The aneurismal tumor is now two feet in circumference, at the base, and eight inches in its smallest transverse diameter. The pulsation is distinct in every part of it. Ignorant of its character, the native physician had applied escharotics, and nothing but the great thickness of the skin on the back, preserved the man from the fatal consequences of so rash an expedient. The rush of blood from under the clavicle is fearful, especially when heard through the stethescope. The passage of the blood is also very distinct to the touch. Pressure above the clavicle interrupts the pulsation in the tumor, which becomes sensibly smaller by continuing it a few minutes. It is impossible to determine the extent of the disease. Apparently, it extends along the subclavian till it is lost beneath the sternum. It appears as though this artery were dilated to the diameter of an inch or more. Under these circumstances it has been deemed judicious and humane not to interfere. The patient is of a slender constitution, his pulse is about its natural frequency but irregular, as is also the action of the heart.

No. 4099. October 23d. Elephantiasis. Tang Pahe, aged 25, has elephantiasis of the left leg, which, from the knee to the ankle, is nearly of a uniform size, and its average circumference about two feet! The young man enjoys good health, and his only suffering is from its great weight. It is but a few years since it began.

No. 4503. December 18th, a similar case of elephantiasis presented. Wang Teenpwan, 26 years old, a student from Sinning, came a journey of 21 days, to ask advice. He had been troubled, some years, with an enlargement of the left leg, which, from the knee to the ankle, was from 2 feet to 30 inches in circumference. The disease in this case seemed to be confined to the integument, and formed a large cylinder, freely moveable about the muscles and parts beneath. The motions of the leg were perfect.

Several patients with *enlarged spleens*, of a very aggravated character, have appeared. I am inclined to think, that affections of this class are numerous in China. In some instances the spleen entirely filled the abdomen. Partial benefit has been conferred in a few cases, but the long treatment required under the most favorable circumstances, much exceeds the perseverance of the patient.

Abdominal tumors. As the benefit of autopsy cannot be had in China, we cannot speak definitely of this class of diseases, which is most frequent in females. Some of these, also, filled the abdominal cavity, and much distended its parieties.

Scrofula, as might be expected from the filthy habits, and improper diet of some of the Chinese, is common, and sometimes exhibits itself here in its most frightful forms, affecting all the glands, the head, and indeed, the whole system, particularly the joints.

No. 4572. December 18th. Fungous haematodes. Tseĕ Ching-ho, 61 years old, a native of Nanhae, has a fungous haematodes of the left eye and face. Six months since it began with inflammation, and pain of the eye, which soon protruded so as to prevent the closing of the lids. Its expansion over the face now forms a disk six inches by four. There is a similar excrescence starting from the cheek beneath it, just over the antrum. Several others, not yet through the integuments, are starting out of the left cheek, and a small one from the nose.

A few minor operations may be here briefly noticed. Two young women had tumors, pendulous from each ear, in one case half an inch in diameter, and in the other an inch and a half. These were occasioned by heavy metallic earrings. Four or five similar cases have occurred, and the tumors have been removed, without destroying the natural shape of the ear.

A respectable young lady, 18 years old, from the city, had a small tumor in an ulcerated state upon the crown of the head. Unwilling, at that age particularly, to come to the hospital, her father requested me to meet her at the house of a friend, just without the city. She was prevailed upon to have it removed at the hospital. In one week the tumor was quite well.

A second encysted tumor, of the size of a hen's egg, upon a man's head, just above the mastoid process, has been removed; and a third, from a man 46 years old, situated below the left ear, rather deep-seated. There was a fourth case also, a lad, 16 years old, who had a sarcomatous tumor, four inches long, and two broad, attached by a loose peduncle of an inch in diameter, which was situated just below the left ear. These were all removed and the patients speedily discharged.

An unusual number of cases of ascites have presented. Besides the one above named, the following may be noticed.

No. 4173. Lesingyaou, a Tartar, who is connected with the hoppo's office, was relieved of 28 catties of limpid fluid. No. 4270. Lew Ayuen, aged 61, of Taeleih, had between five and six gallons of chocolate-colored fluid in the abdomen. After discharging it, a large and hard tumor was found, apparently originating from the liver. It was not very tender to the touch.

Here I close the review of the institution, during its two years existence. Of the 4575 patients that have been received, many are remembered, as well as their deep solicitude, and that of their friends as they have waited to know their prospects, and their joy when they have been relieved. The recollection of hundreds that will never more see light, has revived the sorrowful sensation previously felt. They were too late. Some of the latter class were just entering upon life; they were in perfect health, but, for the want of timely assistance, the orb of light has been to them early and totally extinguished. There is some mitigation, however, in the reflection, that, whilst various surgical operations have been performed, through the *divine blessing*, *none* have proved fatal; that many young persons have been saved from a life of blindness, and that others have regained the vision actually and (without some kind interposition) forever lost. It has often been delightful to witness parents again enjoying the sight of their children, whose prattlings and blooming countenances had never more greeted their eyes, had not the cataract been thrust aside. From many, those protuberences and incumbrances, which rendered their possessors monsters, and life a burden, have been successfully removed. The cancer, threatening its victim with death, has been once and again extirpated from a mother's bosom. The misplaced, and in some instances large, reservoirs of useless and cumbersome fluid, have been dried up, and health has again smiled upon the previously despondent sister and parent. To these results, the friends and benefactors, who have so promptly sustained the institution, are referred as their best reward, whilst the most grateful acknowledgments are tendered them, in behalf of the thousands whom their charity has benefitted. Especially thanks are due to the medical gentlemen, who have repeatedly and so cheerfully lent their important aid, particularly to Messrs. R. H. Cox, and A. Anderson, who have continued their valuable assistance each week upon the day devoted to operations. And also to William Jardine, esq., who, notwithstanding he has long ceased from practice, retains all his interest in his former profession, and, even in the pressure of business in one of the largest commercial houses

in Canton, has ever found leisure to attend to the calls of suffering humanity. Facts are constantly occurring, which show the increasing confidence of the Chinese in foreign surgery, and the widening extent to which the knowledge of the operations has spread. As illustrative of the former, Howqua, the senior hong merchant, has presented $300 to the institution; and in proof of the latter, numbers have come journeys of several weeks to avail themselves of its benefit. A district magistrate from the province of Hoopih, in the interior of China, has come a journey of six weeks to be treated for blindness, and is now an inmate of the hospital.

The importance of training young men for the medical profession in China was early felt, and I am happy to state, that three youth, of good promise, of the ages of 16, 17, and 19 years, are now connected with the hospital. They have already made respectable proficiency in the English language, and are of valuable assistance in compounding medicines and administering the prescriptions. The eldest is a responsible and active youth, and besides his tuition, receives $5 per month wages. Some minor operations upon the eye, as for entropia and pterygium, he has dexterously performed: he has served now more than a year. The second is the farthest advanced, of the three, in his own language, having been designed for a literary life, till the death of his father (who held an office in government), more than a year since, deprived him of the means of pursuing his studies. He is partly sustained by the Morrison Education Society. The third, who is a young man of good talent, is wholly supported by his father, and is to remain at least five years.

I cannot close this report, without adverting to another circumstance, not the least interesting to those who have at heart the best welfare of this empire. I refer to the opportunities constantly presented of exhibiting the spirit and principles of our most holy religion, of frequently pointing out to them the consequences of vice, and of inculcating principles of temperance and morality. Seasons peculiarly favorable occur of showing them the vanity and falsity of idols, and of making them acquainted with the true God. And these advantages will increase, as our knowledge of their language and religion increases, and as we are advanced in their confidence and obligation.

ART. VII. *Tsze Puh Yu, or Not the Sayings of Confucius: a Chinese book of stories; in eight volumes; without date.*

STRANGE and marvelous tales, feats of chivalry, acts of rebellion, and the conduct of the gods, were four classes of subjects on which Confucius never conversed: at least, so it is boldly affirmed by one of his disciples. His successors, however, who have lived in less virtuous times, have not been so circumspect in their writings, as

their great master was in his conversation. Probably, works of fiction are more numerous, voluminous, and varied, among the Chinese, than among any other people in the world. For the present, we will not attempt to canvass their merits, nor institute any comparison between these and similar productions in the western hemisphere. Sure we are, that if Cervantes, Lesage, and their compeers, were introduced to any valiant son of Han, he would not hesitate to declare that China has, or has had, their equals—nay their superiors. These writings are called, by the Chinese, *Seaou Shwŏ Shoo*, 'Books of Small Talk,' a term equally appropriate, perhaps, as that of Novel or Romance. The whole number of stories in the Tsze Puh Yu, is above seven hundred: the following, and others like them, are the themes of these stories, which are 'not the sayings of Confucius:' viz.: ghost of a fortune-teller, a stolen thunder-bolt, the literary fox advising men to become fairies, elves begging fish, the man with three heads, the devil turned matchmaker, a pig acting the priest of Taou, the enchanted tower, the ass of a Mohammedan lady, a demon buying children, Vulcan's tongs, &c. This book of stories has been brought to our notice by a resident sinologue—a lad twelve years old, who has been engaged in studying the language about fourteen months. The subjoined translations were made by him, and may serve as specimens of his scholarship, and of Chinese books of small talk.

The Sagacious Pig. In the district of Suhchow in Keängnan, a man was murdered and his body thrown into a well. One of the officers, having long sought in vain for the murderer, was riding by the well one day, when a pig came before his horse and set up a most bitter cry. His attendants, not being able to drive the pig away, the officer said to them, what does the pig want? Whereupon the pig kneeled before him, and made the *kow-tow*. The officer then bid his attendants to follow the pig, which immediately rose up and led them to a house, and entering the door crawled under a bed, and began rooting up the ground, and continued doing so until he had uncovered a bloody knife. The attendants immediately seized the master of the house, who, on examination, proved to be the murderer. The villagers, having deliberated on the case, took the pig and supported him in one of the temples of Budha; visitors came frequently to see him, and gave money for his support, saying, such a sagacious pig deserves to be rewarded. After more than ten years, he died, and the priests of the temple, having procured for him a coffin, buried him with due formality.

The enchanted box. On the banks of the lake Kanning, in the province of Yŭnnan, some husbandmen, while digging up the ground, discovered a small iron box, on which characters were written in the ancient form (used in the time of the Han dynasty). The husbandmen did not understand this writing, but the characters by the side of it were intelligible to them, and were as follow: 'Given by a fairy, in the first year of Checking.' The husbandmen, not knowing what the box was, broke it open, when they found a small *worm*, about an inch in length, apparently dead. The boys collecting, threw water

on it. The worm then began to stretch itself, until it became quite long, and then it darted into the air. A hurricane soon came on; the rain fell in torrents; the heavens and earth seemed enveloped in black clouds, in the midst of which appeared a horned monster, fighting with two yellow dragons. Hail, mingled with dew, descended; and the houses, and all property of the husbandmen, were destroyed.

The black pillar. Once in the district of Shaouhing, there lived a man, whose surname was Yen, who was married into the family of Wang, and was taken home by his father-in-law, who had no son of his own. After the ceremony, Yen returned to visit his family. His wife having been suddenly taken ill after his departure, a messenger was dispatched by his father-in-law to inform him of it. Yen immediately left his father's house, although it was in the middle of the night. By the light of a candle, he was proceeding along the road, when a black cloud, resembling the pillar of a temple, descended between him and the candle. If he moved the candle to the east, the pillar also moved to the east; if he moved the candle westward, the pillar moved with it, as if trying to obstruct the way, and not to permit him to proceed. Yen being very much frightened, entered the house of a friend, and having procured a servant and another candle proceeded, and the black pillar gradually disappeared, while he hastened to his wife's house. On entering, his father-in-law met him and said, you arrived a long time ago, where have you come from now? Yen replied, most certainly I have not been in before! Yen and the whole family fled in astonishment to his wife's room, where they found a man seated on her bed holding her hand. As he proceeded to his wife's side the stranger disappeared, and his lady soon expired.

Fidelity of cats. In Heängning, there lived a lad whose surname was Wang. His father had an old concubine, upwards of seventy years old, who, being extremely fond of cats, kept thirteen in her house, and loved and cherished them as children. Each one had a nickname, and came immediately at her call. In the reign of Keën-lung, this old woman died. The poor cats gathered round her coffin, crying bitterly, and refused fish, rice, and every kind of food; and after three days, they all died!

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences. Shipwrecked Chinese; insurrection in Szechuen; copper mines in Yunnan and Kweichow; gods of the Yellow River; the currency of Keängse; Changling; Hengan; execution of a robber; new commander-in-chief of the land forces; census of Canton; seizure of opium.*

ON the 30th of October, 1837, a supplementary memorial was laid before the emperor, from Chung Tseäng, lieut.-governor of Fuhkeën, respecting Le Chungke, a military officer belonging to his majesty's forces stationed on the Pescadores, between Formosa and the main. During the 8th month of last year, Le went to Formosa; and having obtained a party of soldiers, embarked with them in a merchantman for Pänghoo (the Pescadores). After a long time, his non-arrival

induced his superior, colonel Yen Kungheën, to report the case to the lieut.-governor of Fuhkeën. On the receipt of the information, his excellency caused diligent search to be made along the whole coast of his province. At length, he ascertained, that Le's father had received a letter from his son, informing him of his being at Singapore, and stating that, while on his passage to Pänghoo, during the night of the 8th of the 10th month, a violent storm arose, and carried away the masts and rudder, with seven of the soldiers. On the 6th of the 12th month, a foreign vessel took them from the wreck, and conveyed them to Singapore. The people there, seeing that he was an officer of the celestial dynasty, treated him with politeness, and promised that he should be returned to his own country by the earliest opportunity. This account of Le, the lieut.-governor says, was well attested. He deemed it right, therefore, to *command* that Le should be sent back to Canton, and from thence to Fuhkeën. He also sent a communication to the authorities in Canton, that they might make inquiry among the foreign chiefs there, and communicate to them the requisite instructions for their *obedience;* and, on the arrival of the shipwrecked officer, take all proper and lawful measures in his behalf, and duly report thereon.

An insurrection of barbarians in Szechuen has been reported by the governor of that province, who had succeeded in 'annihilating' the insurgents. Of these there were two parties—one called *e fe*, 'barbarian bandits,' the other *yay e*, 'wild barbarians.'

The copper mines in Yunnan and Kweichow are suffering a deficit, resulting from impure ore and other causes, amounting in value to 11,597 taels. The persons, who are responsible to government for this sum, and who ought to pay the same, are, according to the report made to the emperor by the governor of the province, either reduced to utter poverty, or have absconded, so that no part of the deficit is recoverable: his majesty, therefore, is requested by Elepoo, governor of the province, to cancel the debt.

The gods of the Yellow River, for their recent interposition in restoring its waters, have been presented with ten sticks of incense from the emperor, who has given orders to one of his ministers, the governor of Leäng Keäng, to offer the same with becoming formalities. Some local officers were also to be rewarded, for their assistance.

The currency of Keängse, the brass cash, the common coin of the empire, has so fallen in price, that the lieut.-governor of the province has requested, and obtained permission to stop the coinage, until its value rises, when he is again to report, that the operations of the mint may be resumed.

Changling. This aged statesman, at the commencement of this year, was declared by the emperor to be in good health, "retaining his energies in full force." He has since been sick; and on the 30th of October, his majesty favored him with a visit in person.

Hengän, about the same time, was appointed chief examiner of the students in Mantchou. Others were appointed to examine the translators in Mongol.

A notorious robber, Tsäng Akeën, was executed in Canton, on the 11th instant. A reward of $5000 was offered, some months ago, for the seizure of this man, which was at length effected by a brave lieutenant, E Hwaepun, a quondam pugilist. The robber had his trial, sentence, and execution, all in the same hour.

Kwö, the new commander-in-chief of the provincial land forces, arrived here on the 6th instant, from Peking: and entered immediately on his duties.

A census of Canton has been taken during the month; its object and results we have not been able to ascertain. It seems to have been an *extra* proceeding, having been taken out of the ordinary season, and by persons appointed especially for the occasion.

A seizure of three chests of opium, on board the 'Swift,' one of the European passage boats, was made on Wednesday night, the 10th instant, while the boat was at anchor in the river in front of the foreign factories. The three senior hong merchants called on the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, a few days before the seizure, expressing their regret at the practice of smuggling opium at Whompoa and Canton, and entreated the Committee to use their influence to stop it, since not only the whole foreign trade, but themselves personally, might suffer greatly thereby.

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ART. I. *Sketches of the Natural History of Macassar: the Mango tree; the Bread-fruit tree; the Namnam; the Bilimbi; the Tabu-tabu; the Tilepo; together with some meteorological notes.* By G. TRADESCANT LAY.

THE soil about Macassar is alluvial, the surface varied with very slight undulations, and never roughened by pebbles. The earth yielded by the disintegration of the rock, through the agency of meteoric causes among the mountains, has been swept by the streams and freshets towards the shore, where, as the result of successive depositions, a border is formed at their foot of many square miles in extent. This alluvium, though arising from causes that we can easily understand and appreciate, must nevertheless be looked upon as in a special manner the gift of Providence, since it affords the native an expanse of well-watered plain, in which, by means of dykes and terraces of raised earth, he can shut up the moisture, and allow the rice just so much of it as is necessary for the growth, while the superflux is treasured up, in some ditch or pond near at hand, against the exigencies of the future. But we do not see here the same degree of contrivance and economy in the use of water, nor the same ever wakeful assiduity in the work of irrigation, that we do among the Chinese. It is not often necessary at Macassar, where the rains are copious, the slope easy, and the plains broad; but it would not be amiss perhaps to have a little spare stock laid up in some deep pits against the chance of a dry season; when, if we understood our informers rightly, many of the poorer sort of people die for want of food. The soil contains a large proportion of clay, as it is derived from trap-rock, whereof clay is one of the principal ingredients. It has the power of retaining its moisture much longer than soils, where fine grains of flint predominate, and is for that reason among others far more productive, insomuch that you never meet with a barren spot, if we except the well-trodden pathway, or the beach where the

loose dark-colored grains of trap are washed by the alternations of the tide. Comparison in treating of natural objects often helps us to clearer views of the matter; we may, therefore, glance at the rocks of Macao and the neighboring coasts, wherein we find a few patches of feldspar, some sparkling flakes of black mica, with an enormous preponderance of flint. Soil yielded by this rock gets a tinge of red from the feldspar, and has a little clay from the reduction of the mica, but when taken up in the hand it seems to be mainly composed of whitish flinty grains. Barrenness is, as might be expected, the chief characteristic in the appearance of all such hills and mountains, where this kind of rock lies near the surface, just as productiveness is the principal feature in all the elevations as well as the plains of Macassar. As a remedy for this defect the chief aim in the husbandry of a Chinese is manuring, and though he is so poorly instructed in practical chemistry, that his manure loses one half of its effect in the management of a gratuitous process, he is perfectly right about the necessity of its application. In Macassar, nature seems not to stand in need of such assistance, and its expediency is consequently never thought of, for the soil receives the showers of heaven, which are beautifully styled in Scripture, the blessing of God, and by retaining their moisture, bringeth forth herbs meet for the service of man by whom it is dressed. Happy region! might we say, did the moral condition of man bear any resemblance to the beauties that clothe the ground on which he treads. But the Creator is unknown, and therefore the creature is unblest.

We touched at Macassar during the wet season, in February, when from the abundance of water, and the lowness of the land, that lay betwixt us and the mountains, it was not easy to travel even a short distance, except in one direction, which I had the melancholy satisfaction of not finding till the last day of our sojourn. The wind is then westerly or northwesterly, so that the stores of rainy deposition fall on the hither side of the hills. The atmospheric currents are cooled by their appulse upon the mountains; heat, the spring that keeps aloft the unseen vapor, is drawn off by the inferior temperature of the soil, and the vapor consequently descends in mists and showers. Elevated land is one of the great causes of atmospheric phenomena; the higher it is, the more frequent and the more violent are the rain, the thunder, and the wind. In any given latitude, or rather on one of those lines, which make a small angle with the parallels of latitude, marking an equality of temperature, and are on that account called *isothermal lines*, the intensity of meteoric changes, the quantity of wind and weather, bear a constant ratio to the altitude and the proximity of the hills. While the 'Blossom' was hovering about Pitcairn's island, where the mutineers of the 'Bounty' took up their final abode, she found little beside squalls, and the usual sequences of unsteady weather. But the prevalence of such an atmosphere formed only a small belt around it; for, when we lost sight of the island, we at the same time bade farewell to the troubles that confounded its sky, and entered again into a region of peace and serenity. This knoll of

earth, which is not more than six miles in circumference, and a mere mole-hill in the wide ocean, has often recurred to my mind as a lively example of what a hill can do in the way of influencing the state of weather. In level plains which stretch to a great distance from any high land, rains seldom or never fall to refresh the ground, as it happens in the deserts of Africa. In Egypt and some parts of Arabia, refraction may create the similitude of water, and dark clouds may rise above the horizon to amuse the thirsty traveler, but he can neither drink out of the fancied pools, nor be refreshed with a shower. But if a range of mountains were on a sudden to be upheaved on the Sahara, the Delta of Egypt, or in the desert of Arabia, a revolution in the character of the climate would ensue immediately — colds as well as heats would supervene, and rain or fair weather would succeed, according as the wind blew towards or blew from the newly formed range. On the windward side of the mountains the sky would be wet and lowering, while on the leeward side it would be fine and serene. On the former, the clouds would discharge their stores of moisture and electric fluid upon the plains; on the latter the thunder would be heard to rumble among the hills, and the clouds seen to overhang their summits; but, as if held there by some enchantment, they would seldom visit the ground that lay at any distance from their foot. This is the case in the Celebes, where, if we judge rightly, the mountains run from north to south, and thus divide the island between the two opposite seasons, winter and summer, wet and dry. One half enjoys fine weather, while the other gets only a little sunshine between thunder storms and heavy showers. Experience only could have taught us that two seasons of so diverse a character could have existed together at the same time, and that too within a very few miles of each other.

The barometric column continued to perform its semi-diurnal ascent and descent, being at its greatest height about four hours after sunrise, and at its lowest depression about two hours before sunset. I think there is a correspondence between the elasticity of the air thus ascertained and the degree marked by the thermometer, for this instrument, if fairly placed so as not to be affected by the heated currents, does not rise after ten in the morning, and first begins to descend about four in the afternoon. This I noted in my voyage to China, for the temperature of my cabin, which was large, and well defended by the thickness of the deck from any lateral communication of heat, never increased after ten in the morning. At Macassar, I lived in a house built after the substantial architecture of the Dutch, and well screened by bread-fruit and palm trees, and the mercury in the thermometric tube never rose after ten, though it had been rising from dawn till it reached its greatest height about that time. The thermometer and the barometer in the day time attain their maximum at the same time; the former remains stationary, while the latter descends to its lowest point at 4; the former then begins as if by some secret sympathy to fall, while the latter turns to climb again till 10 o'clock at night. The thermometer continues to go down till about four in

the morning, at which time the barometer is also at its lowest point for the night. It is beautiful to see how their motions blend sameness with variety, creating a mixture of chords and discords to complete the harmony. If, in the rough and showery days during the wet season at Macassar, we get any fine weather at all, it happens about two hours before noon, and a twenty-four hours is not often so steady as to pass without letting fall some rain towards four in the morning. Nor is this natural understanding and secret consent confined to the phenomena of the atmosphere, for those plants that shut their flowers at night generally begin to change about two hours before sunset, which in tropical climates is not far from four o'clock. Hence, the Mirabilis Jalapa is called by the Malays, *bunga pukul ampat*, the 4 o'clock plant. My servant, a native of Macassar, who, though not highly endowed in either mind or person, took an interest in flowers, was at some pains in seeking for examples to vouch the truth and uniformity of this circumstance. To get observations of sufficient accuracy, the thermometer should not only be placed at a distance from all bodies which heat the surrounding air above its natural temperature, but the instrument should be of the differential kind, and its altitude be registered every half hour during the twenty-four. With such observations we might draw a straight line and divide it into forty-eight equal parts, consider it as an *axis* or line of *abscissas*, and then, from the several points of division, erect as many perpendiculars, corresponding in height to the temperature noted at each of the half hours. It would be found that lines connecting the ends of these perpendiculars would not lie in one straight line, but would form the sides of a polygon, and might be regarded as the chords or tangents of a curve. When observations shall have become sufficiently numerous and accurate, the nature of this thermometric curve will be determined, or its equation found. And the same thing will be accomplished in reference to the barometer, especially if observations, with one wherein water was substituted for mercury, should be made with care for any length of time near the equator. We should then have a barometric curve, and thus, as far as knowledge is concerned, bring subjects, which at first seemed so unruly and excursive, within the domains of analytic science. The planetary bodies describe curves in their motions which we can investigate, and all their perturbations can be shown to be the effects of one invariable law. In the same way the changes that take place in the pressure and the elasticity of the atmosphere, and the variations of its temperature, will be found to take their periodical journeys in curves, that can be investigated with no less truth and certainty, and all their irregularities be such as can be reduced to the agency of steady and determinate laws. We shall thus be conducted into a new sphere of beauty and order, where the wisdom and power and goodness of the Creator are no less conspicuous, than they are in the planetary system. While the establishment of certain principles will wonderfully assist us in the elucidation of meteoric phenomena, incite and direct our researches, and in the end teach us, that the weather, which has be-

come a proverb and a byword for its apparent uncertainty, is governed by laws as intelligible and uniform as they are kind and beneficent.

In the day-time, the maximum height of the thermometer was 83 or 84, seldom 85; the sensation was often hot and sultry, owing in some measure to the moist condition of the atmosphere. It fell about five or six degrees during the night. Early in the morning of the 25th of February, it had fallen to a trifle less than 75, and accounted for the cold I had experienced during the night. The cool weather that succeeds a thunder-storm was observed here as in other places. Whether such eletrical discharges have any direct agency in the production of cold, or whether evaporation, encouraged by the clear sky that often succeeds, be adequate to produce this effect, future experience will enable us to determine. One of the severest flashes of lightning I ever saw, involved the heaven in a momentary blaze, one night about 11 o'clock, and was instantly succeeded by a clap of thunder so loud and so appalling, that a thrill ran through my whole system and filled me with a sudden and involuntary fear, though I am used to regard these phenomena with feelings of sublime emotion, not of terror. The day alternates between rain and sultry weather, and the nights are oppressive, but not always, for the latter were sometimes so chilly that I was fain to wrap my great coat about me in the absence of those accommodations, the sheet and the coverlet, which it was not my privilege to enjoy at Macassar. Such nights are most welcome and most friendly to health, since the bow kept tight by high temperature has its tension relaxed and is thus allowed to recover some of its natural elasticity. Good health is therefore every man's heritage at Macassar, and none seemed to suffer any inconvenience from the climate, except the Chinese — where the want of cleanliness was sufficient to account for the exception.

It is oftentimes our lot in traveling to remark, that certain trees not only prefer some particular situations, but that they have also their partialities in reference to country and divisions of territory. At Macassar, the favorite of every grove is the mango tree, *Mangifera Indica*, which is so common, that scarcely a clump of trees can be found without it. There are several varieties, which differ in magnitude, richness of foliage, and in the color and form of the leaf. The differences are so striking, that I have often walked two or three furlongs with the hope of inspecting a tree I had not seen before, when a cluster of them has lain at that distance from me. In the wet season the mango is neither in fruit nor flower, though like a multitude of other denizens of the tropic it is green all the year round. The leaf is sometimes nearly a foot in length, if we measure fiom the base of its footstalk to the tip, and its greatest breadth is about one fourth of this. The secondary veins are nearly parallel to each other, and as they issue in this manner from both sides of the midrib, we may compare them to the rays in the vane of a feather, while the midrib will come in the place of the shaft. The leaves stand upon the stem or branches without any obvious reference to order, though a well practiced eye can discover that their direction is spiral. At some

points we find three or four close together, which is a sign that a new branch is about to shoot out from that spot. As we find three or four leaves at one point, so, in compliance with analogy, we meet with as many branches diverging from the same focus. This is not a mere accident, or trivial circumstance, for in some of the natural families it is nearly constant, and in others never met with. It has been conjectured that some distinct species might be found among the many varieties of the mango, but perhaps not, for it is the nature of plants, as well as animals, to run into a great many varieties, when they are taken under the care and training of man, or subjected to a greater number of contingencies by living in his neighborhood. The fruit of the mango is generally larger than the largest turkey's egg, and nearly of the same form. As it ripens, the color changes from green to yellow, and the pulp becomes a grateful acid. The external film or rind has a strong taste and smell of turpentine, which affords an obvious reason for putting the mango among the members of the Terebinthaceous or turpentine-bearing trees. It belongs to that kind of fruit which botanists have agreed to call a drupe, that is, one having a hard nut in the centre of a soft or fleshy investment. The nut is covered with a tuft of delicate fibres, which, when dry, have a soft and silky appearance. In the land of our forefathers there is but one opinion about the excellence of many kinds of fruits, but this is by no means the case when their sons come out to the regions in the neighborhood of the equator, for there it is no uncommon thing to hear a particular kind of fruit highly extolled on one side of the table, and decried with equal zeal and warmth as a thing not fit to be eaten on the other. And the same difference of opinion exists in reference to their comparative wholesomeness; nor is this to be wondered at, for so much depends upon the state of the human frame and the quantity of fruit that is eaten, that very little like certainty can be inferred from the experience of many who have tasted it. Of the mango, I think, I may affirm this much, that if an individual traveling, as naturalists often do, in good health and spirits, were to pluck and eat the ripe fruit of the mango tree, he would find the flavor very agreeable, and never have any cause afterwards to regret that he had been enticed to partake of such a light and extemporaneous refreshment. When at home poring over my books and papers, I think it necessary to be a little circumspect in the use of nature's dainties, but when I am abroad upon any herborizing excursions, the system is so refreshed by exercise, and the mind so cheered with the delightful objects that woo it in every form, that I observe as little caution as the birds that warble in the nearest bush.

The bread-fruit trees are of a very lofty and magnificent kind, and seem to flourish exceedingly well in the alluvium of Macassar, but the fruit in variety and flavor comes very short of what we meet with in the Society Islands. My fellow-traveler was very anxious to taste them, in order that he might know how men fared at those celebrated places just mentioned. But I cautioned him against drawing any conclusions about the bread-fruit of the Society Islands from what he

had found it to be at Macassar. At Singapore we see here and there a tree, which would not attract our notice, were it not for the magnitude of its leaves, but we hear nothing of its fruit; at Macassar we behold a magnificent tree, whereof the fruitage is very handsome in size and shape, but of an indifferent flavor. At the Society Islands we have more than thirty varieties, all of them sightly fruit-bearing trees, and many yielding a harvest, which is in season ten months out of twelve, of the most wholesome and nutritious fruit. Its harmless nature and the readiness with which it may be digested are very note-worthy circumstances in its history. Experience has taught us that even after a long fast and hard labor, when the stomach is easily excited, it may be swallowed in any quantity. An uneasy tightness resulting from such excess ceases to be felt ten minutes after the meal, nor does any uneasy sensation recur afterwards to remind the eater that on a certain occasion hunger drove him into a forgetfulness of all the rules of regimen or diet. The shape of the fruit is elliptical, the transverse and conjugate axes bearing different ratios to each other in the several varieties. The outline of the form is very exact, and the surface is divided into cells in a kind of mosaic work, so that the whole appearance is such as one would not fail to recognise a second time. The little tesellæ which compose this natural mosaic are the remains of so many florets, which were placed so close together upon a common receptacle, that by the process of adhesion they had grown together and formed one uniform whole. There are two varieties in reference to the fertility of the fruit, one has seeds and the other is destitute of them, the latter sort is edible, the former is not. In the physiology of plants it is a curious fact, that in many instances the pulpy or edible portion of a fruit is in the inverse relation of that which is destined to propagate the species. The bread-fruit tree, which from the utility of its produce and the *incised* nature of its leaves is called the *artocarpus incisa*, stands as the head and representative of a family, which is known among botanists as the *Artocarpeæ*. This family includes the fig-tree, between which and the bread-fruit tree there is a very obvious affinity in the vernation or mode of leaf-budding. If we examine a branch of a fig-tree we shall find that it terminates in a little horn slightly inclined to one side. This little horn is made by the folding of the nascent leaf upon itself, just as one would roll up a piece of paper by twirling it between the finger and thumb. In the bread-fruit this horn is nearly three inches in length, and is at first inclosed within a sheath, which, after it has protected its nursling long enough, falls off, and thus gives it space to enlarge at liberty. All the branches terminate in magnificent tufts of leaves, and hang around in graceful curves like the feathers in the plumes, that are worn at the funerals of the great, while the bud just described prolongs in a striking manner the axis of the bough, and becomes the centre about which the foliage is disposed. When the tree is in fruit, these leaves range themselves at mid-day in such a way as to shade it, which is a kind provision of nature; for, while in the higher latitudes we cut away the leaves to

let the sun act, in order to ripen the juices, shade is necessary in regions near the equator to prevent their dissipation. The practice of clearing away the foliage to hasten the maturation of the fruit is finely alluded to in Isaiah xviii, 4, 5, where in the time of a 'clear heat' the sprigs are destined to be cut off with pruning hooks and the branches cut down and taken away. But in the hotter climes special arrangements are often made, that from the time in which the 'bud is perfect' the sun may never come at the fruit. Thus in the jambu apple of the Sandwich islands, in the jack-fruit and namnam of the Indian Archipelago, we must, in order to get a sight at the fruit, walk under the tree, when it will be seen clustering about the trunk or hanging from the larger branches. In the former part of these remarks, I spoke disparagingly of the bread-fruit at Macassar. I ought to add, that a native, who told me its name in his own language, spoke with great enthusiasm about the excellence of its taste and qualities.

The namnam, *Cynometra cauliflora.* As we have mentioned the namnam, it may not be amiss to say a few words by way of description, especially since it thrives as well at Macassar as it does in the peninsula of Malacca. It belongs to the leguminous or pod-bearing family, and produces a fruit which is said to be an exact counterpart of an apple. It has a grateful acid, and there is something in the flavor that imagination might liken to an apple, but I think, that any one who had not tasted this favorite of Europe even within the space of thirty years would perceive a wonderful difference between them. The pod, which enlarges into a fleshy pulp, is of a flattish and oval form, but so bent and contorted as to present a very fantastic and irregular outline. The surface is green and free from any kind of pubescence or roughness. The trunk of the tree is full of knots, which are studded with flowers and fruit. These knots are made up of incipient branches, whose growth was checked by the shade which the spreading top throws over them. But a circumstance, that was unfavorable for their developement in leaves and twigs, is highly favorable for the production of fruit. And thus the matter is very well parted between those dwarfish branches that rear the fruit, and those that unfold themselves into a lovely vault to protect it from the keener rays of the sun. The leaf of the namnam is somewhat peculiar, and is composed of two one-sided leaflets. This peculiarity is explained by a reference to other members of the family, where the leaflets range themselves in pairs upon a common footstalk. The tree is about twenty feet high, and has the trunk, in all instances I have seen, divided into two or more lesser ones. Loftiness of stature, if we may draw an inference from the average of general analogy, does not seem to be compatible with divisions or with much inequality in the trunk of a tree. The very tall trees which we see in Malacca, Singapore, and Borneo, are remarkable for the straightness of their stems. In the language of Macassar, the Malayan namnam is changed to *num*; and, with the addition of *leko* a leaf, the tree is called *leko num-num.* As we pass along the bazar, we often hear the word *leko* 'the

leaf' applied with emphasis to the siri or betel leaf. There is an item in the beauty of this tree, which I had forgotten till a note reminded me of it, in the fresh-red color of the shoots, which is beautifully set off by profusion of green in their elder companions. At first sight one would be led to think that the top was in full flower, so lovely and striking is the variety of red and green.

The *Bilimbi (averrhoa bilimbi,)* is common in the Archipelago, but in no place did it look more happy than it did at Macassar. The boughs form a most graceful hemisphere, the leaves stand in numerous pairs upon a common footstalk, and the trunk is garnished with elegant flowers that breathe a charming fragrance. Some trees excite our admiration by the grandeur of their size, some by their wild and diffusive shape, and others by the gaiety of their blossoms, but the bilimbi by the elegance of its form. It is neatly embodied throughout, but the foliage seems to have been touched with the nicest regard to accuracy. It belongs to the same genus as the carambola, but yields a fruit that is much smaller, and, though prismatic, has not the large projecting corners which distinguish that fruit. The fruit of the bilimbi has a smart acid, and is used among other acid fruits in the preparation of curry, the favorite accompaniment of rice. It is in this way that several kinds of fruit are used and highly valued, though when gathered from the tree they are by no means palatable. If in referring to them a stranger asks, if they are good to eat, a native will answer in the affirmative, and perhaps employ the best terms he is master of to set forth their goodness. If the stranger should then taste the fruit, he would be very likely to think the native a knave or a blockhead for his pains. The ground of this misconception would be, that one had a dessert in his mind, while the other was thinking of his curry.

Providence, in giving the islander his food, has also imparted a lesson of practical wisdom, so that he turns to account the acid fruits as well as the aromatic roots that are so beautifully scattered around him. The *Averrhoa bilimbi* belongs to the Oxalideæ or wood-sorrel family, and, though the Averrhoa is a tree, and the Oxalis is a little plant, there are many obvious marks of affinity between them. Among the rest we find ten stamens, divided into two sets, in respect of their length, or one short and the other long alternately, as they form a little circle of palisados within the flower. The rudiment of the seed-vessel or fruit stands like a small obelisk in the centre, and has five jutting corners. In the wood-sorrel the seed is contained in a peculiar coat, which is plaited, and thus bears some resemblance to the valve of sea-shell. By the contraction of this peculiar covering the seed is jerked to a considerable distance, and is often thrown at the face of the botanist while he is inspecting a ripe capsule. In the Averrhoa carambola and bilimbi this beautiful *arillus*, as it is called, is exchanged for a thick fleshy covering, which we should think but little of, did not analogy suggest it to our notice. It has been a matter of question whether it can be rightly considered an *arillus* in the carambola, but I think we may settle the matter in our own minds, by

defining the *arillus* to be the expansion of the umbilical chord or thread that connects the seed to the central pillar. Such an expansion covers the seed of the carambola and bilimbi, which ought not to go without its name because it happens in this case to be without beauty.

One of the prettiest plants that beautify the hedges at Macassar is what seems to be the *Plectranthus scutellarioides* of Robert Brown. The native name I was not able to ascertain, though I took some pains to find it out, by asking individuals who took an interest in flowers. But being deficient in reputed virtues it has not perhaps been honored with a name, though I think its great loveliness might fairly entitle it to such a distinction. The flowers are of a most charming blue, and in form very much resemble the pea-blossom or leguminous family,—a resemblance that is curiously supported by the union of the filaments with each other, and the keel-shape of the nether lip, which is long and has its two sides pressed close together. I was much interested with these two marks of similarity between the labiate and the leguminous families; that resemblance in the shape of the corolla may be deemed accidental, for there is a playful variety in this respect among the species belonging to the genus *plectranthus;* but the latter is remarkable, and deserving of further investigation. Between the two families there is a wide difference in the fructification; for in the leguminous family we have the well known pod, whereas in the labiate, we find the rudiments of four seeds devoid of any other covering than that which is provided by their respective integuments. In the latter family, the square shape of the stem and the aromatic scent of the uniformly harmless foliage are characters that distinguish it from other families, and are easily recognised by the most indifferent observer. The stamens, in the plant we are describing, are hid within the folded sides of the lower lip, just as we usually find them in the pea and French bean, and thus their position offers another affinity. The leaves are of a fresh green color and in the shape and serrature resemble those of the nettle. The flowers occupy the summit of the stem, and extend downwards more than a span. Their color is that of the *Clitoria Ternatea*, or *Bunga kalintat*, and they have the free parts turned upwards by two bends of a contrary flexure in the long tube in which they terminate. Each bract or floral leaf supports three or more flowers, which were carefully wrapped up within it during the infancy of the estivation.

Tabu-tabu. This is the name given at Macassar to the *Costus speciosus*, where it makes a very showy figure in spots—those places which are occasionally inundated by the abundance of rain that falls there. The nectary, as the third and most conspicuous part of the flower, has some imaginary likeness to the shape of a lady's bonnet when inverted. It is large and white, and is beautifully fringed at the edge. There is a peculiar freedom in the size, and such a delicacy in the nature, of this fringe, that we cannot help regretting to see how soon it fades even upon the stem, and much more when we have removed it from its natural situation. Each flower is supported by

two or three floral leaves. The cup or calyx is divided into three lobes and is of a prismatic form. The coralla consists of three petals with their edges sometimes adhering to each other, and forms the second tier, as we ascend in the process of examination. The third tier should in the usual order be composed of stamens, two of which in the instance before us exist under the form of the magnificent nectary just described, that is united at its base with the filament of the solitary stamen. About this filament the nectary is doubled at first in a complete manner, like a piece of fine linen just dried after washing. I have long regarded this nectary as the representative of stamens, which have not undergone the usual process of transformation. In this view of the matter, we consider the leaf as changed into a division of the calyx, after a second change it becomes a part of the corolla, and after a third, a stamen. In the scitamineous family, this process has been interrupted, and we find only one perfect stamen, and a fine petaloid nectary in the place of other two. Some have found fault with the term nectary, as if its use were loose and inaccurate, but we shall understand ourselves, if we define it to be that portion of a flower which is made up of stamens in their preëxistent state, before the necessary work of transformation had prepared them for assuming that former office, which they are usually destined to fill in the economy of the plant. The leaves of this plant are sleek, and have a very silky feel when the hand is passed up and down upon their surface. The juice which flows out when the stem is broken is used as a collyrium, and the use of instrument and preparation are dispensed with by holding the stem over the eye, and suffering the moisture to distil into it as the head of the patient is moved up to receive it.

Tilepo or *Damasonium Indicum.* The petals of this pretty plant are of a delicate white, and serve to ornament the floods and pools not far from the residence of the governor. The most remarkable feature is seen in the nature of its long calyx, which has three corners according to the ternary scale which obtains in this and kindred families, and each of them adorned with a long fringe gathered up into a kind of flounce or furbelow. The leaves in form and in the disposition of their vessels resemble those of the *Plantago major*, or wayside plantain, common in Britain. These do not make their appearance above the surface, for he, who weighed the hills in a balance, knows the specific gravity of water, and has so nicely adjusted that of the leaves as to keep them always submerged, while the blossom, being relatively higher than the medium last mentioned, rises above the surface, that it may display its beauties and ripen its seed under the influence of the vital air. It is delightful to reflect upon the simple way in which the laws of hydrostatics are brought into action and made to bear a part in the economy of vegetation. In the same waters we find a species of *Mimosa*, with comparatively large yellow flowers and a very long floating stem, covered between the joints with a cellulous substance of great thickness. But notwithstanding the large supply of moisture that is laid up in these spongy receptacles, existence out of

the water is not to be tolerated for a moment, for as soon as you attempt to lift up one end of the stem the leaves begin to fold, the nearest first and then the more distant in succession. When the plant is restored again to its native element, the leaves once folded from such an injury never revive and expand, teaching us that this sensibility is something beyond the ordinary range of mechanical causes. A French experimentalist found some nervous matter in the sensitive Mimosa: I think this would have yielded him a copious supply for examination. I have magnifiers fitted for every purpose, but there are so many objects demanding attention of far greater importance, that I should not have been able to manage so delicate a business with much likelihood of success. I was not able to learn the native name, though a person endeavored to put me off by saying it was called *bimbang*, which is a proper epithet for any thing that is fickle and inconstant, or irresolute—as the human heart, for example, in selecting the objects of its choice and delight. It might be very well applied to a shrub which seemed so sensitive, so hard to please, and so ready to take offense, though it was then used for the first time to satisfy my inquiries.

The foregoing are only a few of the remarks which I made during our stay at Macassar; but, as many of them are in the form of memoranda or were embodied in drawings and sketches, it would be necessary for me to add what I can remember with what I know, in order to fit them for publication. The Psalmist tells us that the merciful and gracious Lord hath so done his wonderful works, that they ought to be had in remembrance. Experience assures me that a patient and well-directed study of the Creator's handy works is not only calculated to exercise and invigorate the mind, but it has also a tendency, when we truly love God, to soften and mellow the affections and make the heart better.

ART. II. *Sketch of Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan, from its commencement in* 1542 *to their expulsion in* 1640.

[This article, and two others yet to appear — one on the Dutch and one on the English intercourse with Japan — were not written for the Repository; but as they embody many important facts, which are not to be found in our previous volumes, we are desirous of laying them before our readers. For information on Japan, see vols. i, p. 365; ii, 122, 318; iii, 145, 193.]

THE writings of Marco Polo gave the western world their earliest information respecting Japan. His account was, however, too little credited by his contemporaries to be made the basis of any adventures, commercial or political. It was left to accident to bring the Portuguese, the pioneers in eastern discovery and commerce, into actual contact with this remote empire. Fernando Mendez Pinto,

taking passage with his companions, in the junk of a Chinese pirate, from Ningpo to Lewchew, was driven by a gale to one of the western islands of the Japanese archipelago in 1542. It seems uncertain what degree of credit is to be attached to the account of Pinto, or whether the honor of the first intercourse does not belong as well to three other Portuguese bound to China from Macassar, who were wrecked on the coast of Satzuma in the same year.

The first reception of these strangers was favorable, and Pinto was sent to make his salutations to the prince of Bungo, whose power at that time extended over a great part of the island of Kiusiu. It is said that he acquired great favor by curing the prince of the gout and then had nearly lost it, together with his life, by an accident which befel his son in playing with his gun. The same year, the celebrated Xavier arrived at Goa, and began in India his apostolical career. Other Portuguese soon followed the track of Pinto, whether by his invitation or not does not appear; and a commercial intercourse began between the western parts of Japan and Macao,—or rather Lampaçao, the Portuguese settlement of that day, a few miles west of Macao. The rise and extent of this trade are only adverted to briefly and occasionally by the historians of the early intercourse with Japan. They were ecclesiastics, and the church, not the trade, naturally engaged their attention and occupied their pens. They tell us that a Japanese, who was suffering under horror of conscience for having committed a homicide, heard from one of the Portuguese traders of the sanctity of Xavier, and having left his home in search of him, found him at Malacca, about the year 1547; Xavier calmed his fears and placed him, together with one or two of his attendants, in the seminary at Goa. Delighted with his new convert, and assured by the Portuguese that the Japanese merited his best efforts, he determined to seek proselytes in that empire. He landed at Kagosima, with two companions and his convert, from a Chinese junk in 1549. The prince of Satzuma admitted him to an audience, and gave him permission to teach and preach the gospel in his dominions. The reason assigned for this reception is, that the prince saw the attachment of the merchants to the saint, and thought he should attract to himself, by these attentions, the resort of the Portuguese and a large share of their trade.

We must refer to Charlevoix for the detail of the miracles of Xavier, the opposition of the bonzes, and the fluctuating friendships of the Japanese princes of that day. It is evident, from all the accounts, that these princes were then almost independent sovereigns, consulting neither the daïri nor the seogun in their permission of foreign trade. The whole empire was then afflicted with all the evils of the feudal system, and a prey to frequent intestine commotions and civil wars. Notwithstanding the efforts of the prince of Satzuma to attract the Portuguese to his harbors, they appear to have had reasons for preferring the port of Firando, on an island to the northwest. Thither Xavier repaired, and was well received. He soon perceived, that if the favor of a petty prince was worth seeking, much more that

of the head of the empire. Miako was, at that time, the residence of the daïri and the seogun (kubo), but nevertheless deserted and in ruins from the disturbed state of the times. Thither Xavier determined to proceed, and, though hostile parties were traversing the country, the roads broken up and bridges destroyed, the zealous missionary accomplished his purpose. Unhappily, he could obtain no audience either of the spiritual or temporal ruler, and, unsuccessful also in his public preaching, he returned to Firando. Had we not been told of his possession of the gift of tongues, we could easily explain his ill-success in his public ministration. It would appear from the annals of those times, that most of the first Catholic missionaries, instead of being popular favorites, were very often the objects of public derision and abuse. Attention was, however, afterward awakened, and Xavier appears next as an object, at least, of general curiosity, complaining that crowds of visitors left him no time to say mass, or even to recite his breviary. His journeys through the principalities of Kiusiu, his public disputations with the bonzes, to say nothing of his miracles, added to his celebrity; and the faith he preached had acquired many followers before he left Japan, in November, 1551. He never returned, death putting a period to his labors the year after on the coast of China.

His successors in Japan relied chiefly for the building up of the church on private efforts, such as the relief of the poor, the support of hospitals, &c. These measures were eminently successful, and, in 1551, we find one of the ablest of the Jesuits preaching in Miako by permission of the seogun, and gaining friends if not converts among the higher classes, although opposed by the populace and the bonzes as before. Three years later, the prince of Omura became the firm supporter of the foreigners, opening his ports to the Portuguese, and his territories to the missionaries. From Omura, the faith spread into Arima and other principalities of Kiusiu.

In 1565, the friendly seogun was cut off by a rebellion, and the favors he had granted were revoked by his successor. It is recorded, that in the following year, the Christians at Firando sent a vessel to India for the decorations of their new church, from which it would appear that they were in possession of considerable wealth. The prince of Firando had now become unfriendly, and the Christians removed to a port in the principality of Omura. The fleet which arrived from China that year, followed to the new harbor, and this so enraged the prince of Firando, that he dispatched a squadron to destroy it, but without effect. The withdrawal of the privileges granted in 1559 lasted but three years, when a new revolution placed a new seogun on the throne, and the Christians were again taken into favor. These frequent rebellions against the chief authority correspond perfectly with the quick succession of quarrels on a lesser scale, which raged at this period between the feudal princes, and seem to have left but few spots within the empire at peace.

About this time, the Portuguese first pointed out to the prince of Omura the advantages of the harbor of Nagasaki over the ports they

had hitherto frequented. Their suggestions led to the formation of a settlement, which erelong became an important city, and retains an unhappy celebrity down to our own day. It may give some idea of the rapid extension of Catholicism at this time, to add, that the successor of Xavier died in 1570, having founded fifty churches, and baptized more than 30,000 converts with his own hands. Yet, mingled with these successes, we have accounts of the apostacy of one prince, and of the persecutions inflicted by order of another. A still happier era for the faith opened with the reign of Nobunanga in 1570. This monarch was the firm friend of foreign intercourse, and in his reign, so great were the additions to the church, that when the visitor-general came, in 1579, to inspect the establishments of the Jesuits at Miako, he was told that one of that order had baptized 70,000 converts within two years. The periods when Romanism extended itself seem also to have been those when commerce flourished; probably because the prosperity of both was built on the same foundation, the favor and protection of the feudal princes and the court. In these early times, we hear none of those complaints of the scandalous conduct of the mercantile adventurers, which are set forth in the wane of of Jesuitism as the stumblingblock in its path. We do not think this an unaccountable circumstance. Probably, in these first years of Portuguese commerce, cupidity itself was satisfied with the rate of profit, and the merchant and the priest, alike successful, had nothing to charge on each other. The merchant seems to have contributed liberally to the promotion of the designs and efforts of the priest, and to have had his reward in the favor of the Christian princes, until the Jesuit lost his influence, and both became the object of a common proscription.

One of the most interesting incidents in the history of this period, is the account of the embassy sent to his holiness by the princes of Omura, Bungo, and Arima. Three young nobles composed this mission, which arrived at Lisbon in August, 1583. The crown of Portugal was then on the head of Philip II. of Spain, and his splendid court was put in motion to receive these youthful converts to Catholicism from the farthest east. Extravagant attentions were lavished on them in the peninsula, which were renewed in Italy, until the young Japanese were at length carried to the feet of his holiness, and there paid their homage to the head of the church. They returned to their own country in 1586.

The union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, just adverted to, took place in 1580. Eleven years before, an expedition from New Spain, under Legaspi, had founded Manila as the future capital of the Philippine Islands, and annexed that valuable group permanently to the Spanish crown. It was a favorite idea with the founders of Manila, that it should be made the mart of the East. To realize this idea, it was required that all the commerce between the opposite coasts of Asia and America should pass through it. Its merchants, thus favored, soon became wealthy, and impatient to share with those of Macao the further profits of the trade with Japan. It does not

appear that they had attempted to realiset his desire so soon after the settlement of Manila as 1581. We do not find any mention of Spanish vessels in Japan so early as this, and, as the whole period from this time down to the common expulsion of the Spaniards and Portuguese, is covered by the union of the two crowns, we think better to treat of them together.

The example of Nobunanga was imitated by many of his courtiers, so that when he was killed in 1582, his successor Fide Yosi (the famous Taiko) found himself under the necessity of favoring the Jesuits, many of his best officers being their friends. He was visited in 1585 by the chief of the Jesuit missions, and at the audience which took place, Taiko granted all his requests. It is even said that this monarch's refusal to give up his harem was at this time the only reason that he was not himself baptized. It is more probable that this great but unprincipled sovereign never felt any interest in Christianity, further than it could be made to subserve his ambitious designs. Had nothing stood between him and open submission to Rome, but the obstacles above-mentioned, it is easy to suppose that it would have been got over, by men who seem to have absolved the feudal princes friendly to them from a commandment of at least equal authority—'thou shalt not kill.' The bright prospects with which the year 1587 opened were soon overcast. The seogun began to express his suspicions of the character and designs of the Jesuits, and this language was soon followed by overt acts. The refusal of a Portuguese captain to bring his ship to the port where Taiko was, that he might see it, is mentioned as one cause of this unfortunate change. Another reason was also assigned, the refusal of the ladies of Christian families to share the royal bed. Probably these were at most only occasions for a change of measures, suggested by political views. Taiko did not long conceal his determination, and the first edict for the banishment of the Catholic missionaries was published June 25th, 1587. They were required to retire to Firando within twenty days, and to depart for India within six months, on pain of death. The crosses they had erected were ordered to be thrown down, and the churches rased. The Portuguese trade was permitted to go on as before, but the merchants were forbidden to bring any more missionaries, or to speak on religious subjects with the Japanese. A hundred and twenty missionaries left their stations in submission to this edict, and retired to Firando. An order then came for them all to embark in a ship about to sail for India. This was the *test:* a few obeyed, but the greater number refused to abandon their flocks, and once more scattered themselves through the principalities of Omura, Bungo, &c.

It does not appear that this edict was carried into full effect; but the churches at Miako, Oösaka, and other principal cities were destroyed the following year. The seogun had now taken his side; and the Portuguese envoy from Goa, two years afterward, though admitted to an audience, could do nothing towards getting the fatal edict reversed. Taiko now declared war on China, and as an intermedi-

ate measure resolved on the conquest of Corea. The missionaries ascribed this step not so much to ambition, as to a secret design to rid himself of the Christians among his officers and troops, by sacrificing them in a foreign war. That he cherished the design of extirpating them is inferred from his after life, and that he was unwilling to accomplish it by domestic persecution, is shown by the fact, that of 200 priests and 1,800,000 converts then in his dominions, he put only 26 or 27 to death. Perhaps the monarch looked still farther, and aimed at the reduction of the whole feudal nobility, by permitting commerce on the one hand, and on the other by sending his nobles to perish in battle in China and Corea. However this may be, his vanity and ambition need not be denied; there is good proof of both, were all other wanting, in his demand made in 1592, that the governor of the Philippines should pay him homage, a claim which he prosecuted for many years. This demand appears to have been suggested by a Japanese, who had been at Manila, and who was employed by Taiko to enforce it. The history of this claim is interesting, not merely because it proves that the monarch was vain and ambitious, but as it shows something of the delicate and tangled state of the Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan at the time. A restless, worthless adventurer, to recommend himself to his sovereign, and to get employment, promises that the Philippines shall become an appendage of Japan. The missionaries are required to press the demand. Thus they become involved. The governor at Manila is embarrassed between the plain answer which his duty dictates, and the evasive one suggested by fear of compromising the trade with Japan. Several communications and envoys are exchanged, by whose tenor and language, the seogun is alternately pleased and displeased. At length, the truth comes out. The governor must declare that he cannot transfer his allegiance without the consent of his master, the king of Spain. The agents of Taiko, implicated in the failure and falsity of their assurance, charge the Jesuits with exerting their influence against them; and the irritated monarch issues new orders that their churches and houses be demolished.

In order to understand the subsequent history of the intercourse we are tracing, it must be remembered, that the Jesuits and all the early missionaries reached Japan through Portugal and Macao, while the later friars of other orders came through Manila, and mostly from Spain. Priestly emulation and commercial rivalry were not to be prevented so easily as by a union of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns. The Spanish friars and the merchants of Manila would not be excluded from the parishes and ports of Japan. The Jesuits and the traders from Macao were no less desirous to maintain their prior claims. The governors of the two places seem also to have taken sides, as masters of separate colonies, rather than as servants of the same crown. A new difficulty then arose. The Jesuits, from Xavier down, had been politic men. It does not appear that they were chargeable with any deviation from those rules, calculated to bring Christianity into disrepute. When the sad reverse in their situation

came, they yielded to the storm, their visitor reminding them that 'their business was not to rush on martyrdom, but to win souls to Christ.' The Dominicans, Augustines, and Franciscans, came too late to share the first triumphs of the Jesuits, but imbued with principles which precipitated, while they involved their holders even more deeply in, the reverses of the church. The late comers seem to have preached more boldly, but generally to have acted with less wisdom, and consequently with greater hazard and diminished success. Both, however, appear to have agreed in understanding the direction — 'when persecuted in one city flee ye to another'— to mean that the fugitive should not pass beyond the bounds of the persecuting state. They did wrong in misrepresenting each other, and in throwing on each other the blame of the changes from worse to worse, which succeeded; but when the hour of danger arrived, instead of escaping or even yielding, they laid down their lives with equal constancy, if their own accounts be true, at the same fire, or in the same fosse.

The war with Corea and China terminated in favor of the Japanese, in 1593. An army of the victors remained in garrison along the eastern coast of the conquered peninsula, and under the protection of its friendly officers, Christianity made considerable progress there. Meanwhile the breach between the Jesuits and the other priestly orders was widening. The king of Spain and the pope had taken part with the former; but their joint edict — that none but Jesuits should go to Japan — failed of the intended effect. Others continued to come, as the messengers of the governor of Manila, or under different pretexts, and from time to time exasperated the Japanese authorities by open attempts to celebrate mass and to preach.

New troubles arose from another source in the year 1596. The galleon for that year, on her way from Manila to Acapulco was driven near the Japanese coast, and enticed by the prince of Tosa to enter one of his ports. There she was embargoed, and her commander negotiated in vain for her release. In the course of his negotiation, one of the company sought to produce an impression by pointing out to the Japanese officers on a map the extensive territories of the king of Spain. The Japanese asked with surprize, 'how is it that your king has managed to possess himself of half the world?' The Spaniard replied, 'he commences by sending priests, who win over the people, and when this is done, his troops are dispatched to join the native Christians, and the conquest is easy and complete.' When this answer was reported to Taiko, he swore in his wrath that not one of them should be left alive. New edicts of banishment followed, and twenty-three priests (some say twenty-six) suffered martyrdom.*

* In the Franciscan church at Macao there is a painting commemorative of this event, and beneath it is the following inscription,

"Glorious martyrdom of the twenty-three saints, proto-martyrs of Japan, of the Seraphic Order of the Philippines, martyred by the order of emperor Taycosama at Nagasaki, on the 5th of February, 1597; and canonized by the most holy P. Urban VIII., in the year 1627.

"1. St. Peter Baptist, lecturer on arts, provincial ex-superior, H. C. majesty's embassador, provisional commissioner in Japan, and the first elected bishop

The annual galleon to New Spain was, in these days, the most lucrative part of the trade of Manila. Billets of permission to lade merchandise on board of it were of great value, and were distributed by a regular assignment to the officers, citizens, and public charities, of that place. The loss of the one confiscated at Tosa was not to be passed over lightly, and an envoy was sent to Taiko to reclaim the ship. He received the messenger; but, in an able answer, justified himself. He declared that the Spaniards had behaved like pirates, and that their property had been confiscated as such. He offered a safe conduct to all Spanish ships which should come without missionaries on board, and he authorized the governor of Manila to punish in the same way any Japanese at that place who should merit it; but as for the galleon, he would not give her up. We need not attempt, at this distance of time, to determine whether she was or was not a lawful prize.

The new persecutions gave rise to mutual recriminations, and the merchants, the Jesuits, and the priests of other orders, alike charged each other with the present disasters. As to foreign commerce, it seems always to have been regarded with favor by the Japanese. If the feudal chieftains were ever, at any time, ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he would *not* come to *their* ports. The emperor seem never to have forbidden any importation, except that of priests. If commerce contributed at all to the late edicts, it did so through the mutual misrepresentations of the rival traders of Manila and Macao, and perhaps through some few instances of personal misconduct. The idea of protecting domestic interests by the discouragement of commerce seems never to this day to have entered into the head of either a Chinese or Japanese. As to the Jesuits, the charges laid against them were rebutted by strong vindications at the time, and the king of Spain and the pope appear to have uniformly taken their part. Among other things they were accused of the possession

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native of Avila in Spain: aged 48. 2. St. Martin de Lugnes, native of Varangueza in Biscaya, aged 30. 3. St. Francis, native of Marte Rei, in Gallicia; aged 30. 4. St. Gonçalo Gracias, native of Bassain in the E. Indies. 5. St. Philip de Jesus, native of Mexico, a chorist. 6. St Francis de S. Miguel, native of Parrilha, a chorist. 7. St. Louis, aged 10. 8. St. Antonny, aged 12. 9. St. Thomas Cosague. aged 15. 10. St. Ibarque, of Dryerque. 11. St. Mathias, of Macao. 12. St. Leaö Caraiunmaro de Graä, brother to St. Paul Ibarque, and uncle to St. Louis. 13. St. Boaventura de Meaie. 14. St. Joaquim Tauaquaibara, aged 40. 15. St. Francis, *Medico*, aged 16. 16. St. Thomas Danoquedanque, 2d interpreter. 17. St. Joaö Chonouja. 18. St. Gabriel, of the kingdom of Iscade, aged 19. 19. St. Paul Surquevi, of the kingdom of Oara, interpreter. 20–23 natives of Japan.

Sentence of the emperor of Japan, Taycosama.

"I have condemned to death these prisoners for their having come from the Philippines to Japan under the pretended title of embassadors, and for their having persisted in my lands without my permission, and preached the Christian religion against my decree. I order and wish that they be crucified in my city of Nagasaki."

of great wealth. This led to an exposition of their means of support. It appeared that they started with an annual allowance of 500 crowns from the king of Portugal, which was afterwards increased to a thousand. The municipality of Macao invested them with one valuable right of citizenship, in allowing them the profits of fifty out of 1600 bales of silk shipped annually to Japan, a perquisite which was afterwards increased to the gain on ninety bales. This connection with commerce, the Jesuits defended by many precedents, particularly by the custom of granting the annual profits on a certain quantity of sugars shipped to Europe, for the mission in Brazil. Besides these moderate rations, the Jesuit missions were supported by their Japanese friends and converts. The triumph of the Portuguese over the Spanish party was, at length, assured by the superior influence of the former in Europe, and a bull was issued in 1593, requiring all religious of other orders, who wished to visit Japan, to go out viâ Macao under the Portuguese flag. All who had found their way thither through Manila, were required to return. As an additional justification of the Jesuits, it is recorded, that even an Augustine friar at Acapulco, published a vindication of their order, and that this was signed by a *great number of Japanese*, as well as Spaniards and others at that port.

It appears, therefore, more probable, that the zealous missionaries from Manila were the party, the least unjustly charged with bringing Catholicism into distrust with the Japanese. Perhaps no prudence on their part, however, would have prevented the suspicious Taiko from taking measures against any influence favorable to the king of Spain, from gaining ground in his dominions. But there is one count, however, from which neither Jesuit, Dominican, Augustine, nor Franciscan will, in our day, be discharged. They took no proper measures to make the true spirit and tendency of Christianity known. Though masters of the language, the Bible was never translated into it, and though admitted to the royal presence, their entrée was never used to teach that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The bearing of Christianity on the relations of ruler and subject were never shown. Their converts among the princes do not seem to have been ever taught, that war is no proper employment for the followers of the Prince of Peace. The Jesuit sought to gain his end by favor, and the noble his, by force. The sad result was, that, while the spiritual guide fell under the denunciation, 'cursed be the man who putteth his trust in man,' they who 'took the sword, perished by the sword.'

In September, 1598, Taiko died, and soon after the supreme authority was usurped by the prince to whom he had committed his infant son. The Christians breathed again. Yeye Yasou, or Gongin, the new seogun, fixed his residence at Suruga; and though some of the petty princes exercised the right of persecution occasionally, Romanism on the whole flourished for the first ten years of his reign. The return of many of the Christian officers from Corea, soon after the death of Taiko, was an accession of strength to the Catholic

cause. The Spanish party, however, became involved in troubles again as early as 1604. The seogun hearing that the governor of the Philippines was attempting the conquest of the Moluccas, ordered all the Spanish priests to be gone. A more general edict against the public preachers followed in 1606; but neither of these seem to have been acted on. The number of converts now amounted again to 1,800,000. Commerce was also in a flourishing state, its profits set down at 100 per cent., and the returns enriching Macao especially with an annual import of two or three thousand chests of silver, and several hundred tons of gold! Manila too enjoyed its share of these precious returns. These statements of profits are, however, too imperfect to be relied on, nor do we know that there are any correct returns of this trade in existence at the present time.

In 1608, a sad casualty, fraught with the worst consequences, occured at Macao. The crew of a Japanese junk, in a riotous state, provoked a contest with the military, and twenty-eight of them were killed. The governor, Pessoa, by whose order they were fired on, conducted the annual ship to Japan the following year. The report of his conduct was not slow in following him, carried probably by the Dutch, who arrived there the same year in the first ship sent by their East India Company. The recent liberation of the Hollanders from the tyranny of Philip II., and their vivid recollections of the atrocities of the duke of Alva and his coadjutors, must be allowed to palliate their voluntary information, and their proposal to seize the ship of Pessoa, present her to the seogun, and in future to supply the country with the articles which the Portuguese had hitherto furnished. While the seogun hesitated, a Spanish vessel was wrecked on the coast, having on board the governor of the Philippine Islands on his way to New Spain. The shipwrecked governor was introduced at court, and asked if the Spaniards could supply Japan with silks, &c., if the Portuguese were driven away. The reply was, that Manila could furnish three times as much as Macao. Thus doubly assured, the order was given to seize the ship, behead Pessoa, expel the Jesuits, and give their establishments to the Spanish priests. Pessoa, informed that his ship was threatened, returned to defend her, and on the first attack the Japanese were repulsed. The seogun, in a rage, issued his commands that every Portuguese in Nagasaki should be put to death. But this was unnecessary; on the 9th of January, 1610, the attack was renewed, Pessoa and his crew overpowered, and the ship burned. Thus avenged, the monarch relaxed his fury, and permitted the Portuguese to continue their trade.*

A small vessel built by the Englishman Adams was sold to the shipwrecked Spanish governor, in which he proceeded on his voyage. To pay for this vessel, and to frame a commercial treaty, an envoy

* The destruction of this vessel is supposed to have given rise to the story of a Spanish ship having been cut off by the Japanese, after her three decks had been blown up in succession by the crew, and a vast number of the assailants destroyed. The chief points of the affair as related by Kæmpfer will be found in the Chinese Repository, vol. iii, page 209.

was sent from New Spain the following year. The seogun was offended at the importance which the embassador assumed. He required permission to build vessels in the harbors of Japan, which was not refused. But when he denounced the Dutch as rebellious subjects of his master, and demanded that they should be expelled, he was answered, that the Japanese sovereign had nothing to do with the quarrels of Europeans, and that no one should be driven from his dominions, who lived there in obedience to the laws. The same answer was made to the envoy's demand that all Spaniards who had no royal license to come to Japan should be given up to him to be conveyed to New Spain.

The papal regulation, that all priests should go to Japan only by way of Macao, was now annulled, very probably by desire of the Jesuits, who saw that of the two flags, the Portuguese was the lower in the seogun's esteem. A new influence was now brought to act against the Catholics by the establishment of an English factory at Firando, in 1613. The Dutch and English made common cause against the Spaniards and Portuguese. The representations of the former party appear to have been admitted; and when the other came to present their memorial, the seogun replied, that were the Dutch *devils*, they should be well treated so long as they behaved well in conducting their trade.

The influence of this contest was first seen in partial persecutions in 1612 and 1613, and its full effect became apparent in the edict of January, 1614. This was a sweeping 'order for the demolition of churches and the banishment of the priests.' A great number of these, accompanied by their most distinguished converts, retired to Manila and Macao. A thousand exiles are said to have betaken themselves to the former place, but many of them returned in disguise. But for another unfortunate event, Jesuitism might perhaps still have weathered the storm. The seogun now resolved to destroy the son of Taiko, whose authority he had been content hitherto to usurp, lest, after his own death, the existence of a legitimate claimant should frustrate his plan of leaving the crown to his own son. The missionaries took the side of legitimacy, the usurper was victorious, and to punish them for their interference, he renewed the persecution, and commanded that whoever harbored them, should be condemned to death. Their persecutor died in 1616, but they gained nothing by his demise. Fide Fada, the successor of Gongin, faithfully observed the last injunctions of his father to eradicate Christianity, and not to leave within his dominions a single priest. The edict of 1616, unlike most of its predecessors, was carried into immediate and severe execution; and for three or four years the persecuted Catholics languished in prison, or endured all the torments that cruelty could invent. The number of missionaries was soon reduced to fifty-six. In 1620, the search after the adherents of the obnoxious faith slackened, but the fires of persecution were again kindled in 1622, when the distinguished Spinola and many others were burned. These sufferings of the missionaries are said not to have touched the hearts of

their adversaries, the Dutch. Under this date, it is mentioned, that, having captured a Japanese junk from Manila with its owner and some priests on board, the Dutch denounced the unfortunate men, and gave the testimony on which they were condemned to death. It is necessary to call in the rapacity of the pirate, the avarice of the monopolist, and the vengeance of the fugitive from the cruelty of Alva, to account for so horrid an act.

In 1623, the son of Fide Fada was associated with his father in the administration of affairs, and the new besom was applied afresh to sweep Christianity from the land. A Spanish embassy arrived from Manila in the midst of the persecutions of 1624. It was rejected without a reception as the creature of the banished priesthood, and closely guarded until it was ready to depart. The persecutions of this year extended to the violation of the Christian graves. Before the year had expired, the Spaniards were banished for ever, and the ports of Japan closed against the foreigners, except Nagasaki for the Portuguese, and Firando for the Dutch. Severer restrictions were also laid upon the Chinese and Coreans. The part of these edicts which respected the Spaniards was soon after put to the test. Six vessels from Manila arrived at Nagasaki, but the port was shut against them, and proclamation made that if any more came they should be burned. A new expedient was now resorted to, which completely cut off the communications of the priests. A deputy of the governor of Nagasaki was placed at Macao, whose duty it was to examine the Portuguese vessels bound to Japan, and to send by them lists of all persons and effects on board. If when the vessel thus reported was about returning to Macao, there was but one person missing, all the company was held responsible in the forfeit of their lives. It is difficult for us to realize at the present day, that there ever was a time when the Japanese merchants traded from India to Acapulco, and when an agent of their government actually resided at Macao.

Persecution seems to have raged with little intermission from 1627, up to the death of Fide Fada in 1631. The boiling crater of Mount Ungen was now a common instrument of death. These cruelties appear at last to have made an impression even on the Dutch. Perhaps their horror was partly caused by the thought that they might come in for a share in the persecutions, as well as for a part in the restrictions on trade. The character of the vicious and cruel Yeye Mitsou, the successor of Fide Fada, was already well known. By his orders, Desima (a little islet off Nagasaki,) was constructed at a great cost, and to this new prison the Portuguese were consigned in 1635, amid the derisions of the shortsighted Dutch. The armaments of their ships were now taken away, no one was suffered to speak to a native on religion, nor to walk into the city without a guard. Their native wives, and the children by these connexions, were ordered to be shipped off to Macao. The following year was marked by the introduction of the ceremony of trampling on the cross.

The deathblow of Catholicism in Japan was now about to be struck, and we are told that the fury that dealt it, was roused by the discovery

of a conspiracy against the throne, formed by the native Christians and the Portuguese. Some papers found on board a Portuguese vessel captured off the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch, are said to have brought this treason to light. It is not, however, necessary to credit this tale. It is easier to fabricate a letter or the story of a letter than to conspire: forgery is less hazardous than treason. Besides the story has been denied most solemnly by the Jesuits, and their word cannot be worse than that of those on which its credibility rests. Moreover, another and a better cause for the wrath of the seogun was at hand. The patience, which had borne, with heroic if not Christian constancy, so many trials, was exhausted, and the native Catholics of Arima and Simabara flew to arms. A body, amounting to 38,000 men, fortified themselves in the latter place. The besieging army, 80,000 strong, could not reduce the fortress, and the Dutch director, Kockebecker, was summoned to its aid. He came. The walls of Simabara were battered by Dutch cannon, and its brave defenders perished to a man, fighting to the last. Some shadow of an apology might again be made for this coöperation at the siege of Simabara, had its defenders been the countrymen of Alva, or Requesens, or John of Austria, or Alexander Farnese. But truth requires that the measures of Kockebecker should be regarded as the alternative which he deliberately preferred to an interruption of the Dutch trade. Our sense of his guilty choice cannot be expressed in stronger language, than by declaring it unparalleled in the dark history of Dutch intercourse with the East. Henceforth, the residence of that nation in Japan can be regarded only as an Aceldama — its purchase a river of innocent blood.

Instigating to rebellion was now added to the charges against the Portuguese. Their ships were ordered away, and henceforth they were to be treated as enemies should they return. This intelligence caused great consternation at Macao. Four of the most distinguished citizens, who voluntarily offered themselves, were deputed to soften the rigorous proceedings of the government of Japan. They arrived at Nagasaki in July, 1640, and were immediately put under arrest. The edict condemning all Portuguese who should enter Japan was read to them, and on their confession that they were aware of its existence they were sentenced to death. The following impious inscription was placed over their common grave: 'So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that the king of Spain himself, or the Christians' God, or the great Saca, if he violate this prohibition, shall pay for it with his head.' The ship which carried the embassadors was burned, and the crew returned by another conveyance to Macao. The people of that city abandoned with horror all further attempts, on hearing their terrible tale.

The same year, a revolution separated Portugal from Spain. The new king of the house of Braganza determined to send an envoy to Japan. He arrived at Nagasaki in 1646. An audience was not granted him, but more fortunate than his predecessors, his coming

was not construed as a crime. Four years after, the seogun died. His successor Yeye-tsuma had no further work to do; Catholicism was extinct, and persecution ceased; but the laws which forbade the approach of its teachers, and made it a capital offense for any Japanese to go abroad, continued in force. The only instances, we know of, in which these laws have been contravened by the Spaniards or Portuguese, are the following, and with them we close this sketch.

In the fifth year of Tsuma-yosi, successor of Yeye-tsuma (1685), a Japanese junk was driven by a tempest to Macao. The crew were kindly treated and sent home. The vessel which carried them was admitted to Nagasaki, and it does not appear that any harm was done to the shipwrecked men, but the Portuguese were dismissed with an order never to come again. For some years after this incident, it is said that a few Catholics remained in the prisons of Japan. In 1709, the abbé Sidotti made the last known attempt to enter that empire. He had studied the language two years at Manila, and embarked thence in August, 1709. He was landed on a rocky part of the coast of Kiusiu at midnight, in October of that year.* His fate has never been known. Different rumors respecting him were afterwards received, and from them it is probable that he met a violent death.

'God only knows,' says Charlevoix, in closing his history, 'if a soil which has been tilled with so great labor, which has produced so many saints and heroes, and which so many martyrs have watered with their blood, shall ever bear fruit again.'

* We are told that the vessel from which Sidotti landed made her passage back to Manila in eight days.

ART. III. *Memorial from the governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, to the emperor, regarding the existing state of the contraband trade, &c.* Dated December 30th, 1837.

THE governor, lieutenant-governor, and hoppo, respectfully forward this joint memorial to the emperor, respecting the measures adopted against the receiving ships, the actual condition of those ships, and the repeated seizures made of sycee silver and opium, and of the boats which supply the ships with provisions,—in answer to imperial commands. They entreat his majesty graciously to condescend to examine this report.

In the month of October, we received, through the grand council of state, an imperial decree, of the following tenor:

"Tang and his colleagues (the lieutenant-governor and hoppo) have sent in a report, from which it appears that they had given orders to drive the receiving ships away, and had adopted measures to seize the opium-dealers and smugglers. The English receiving ships,

with those of other nations, under pretence of seeking shelter against storms, have of late years sailed into the inner seas. The hong merchants were therefore ordered to enjoin it upon the superintendent of the said nation, that he should make all the receiving ships, anchored at Lintin and other places, return to their country, and should not permit them, as formerly, to remain at anchor and loiter about. As soon as the receiving ships should get under weigh to return to their country, the hong merchants had orders to report the same.

"It is found, on examination, that an entire clearance of the fast-boats (a class of smuggling boats) has been made; but the various classes of vessels still engaged in smuggling are yet numerous, and their nefarious practices, as well as those of the opium-dealers, are such as cannot be permitted to go on. Therefore, orders have been issued to the civil as well as naval authorities, diligently to direct the cruisers under their command, in making careful search and seizing all such offenders.

"One of the greatest evils under which the province of Canton groans, is, that foreign vessels, anchoring in the inner seas, form connections for smuggling. The governor and the others ought to investigate carefully, whether the said foreign superintendent has indeed obeyed the injunctions, and the foreign ships have now sailed, or not: and they must, by all means, compel every one of them to return home without delay. If, however, they dare to compromise this matter, and I, the emperor, should afterwards, upon inquiry, hear of it, or any one should bring an accusation to that effect, I shall, in that case, only hold the said governor and his colleagues responsible. The most severe measures must be adopted against the smuggling craft, that their seizure may be effected; and my expectation is, that they may be extirpated, root and branch. After having made an occasional seizure, let it not immediately be said, that the whole are annihilated, and room so be left for continued illegalities and crimes.

"Acquaint with these orders Tăng and Ke, and let them transmit the same to Wăn (the hoppo). Respect this."

[Here ends the quotation of the imperial order to which the authorities make the following reply.]

We, your ministers, read this, in a kneeling posture, with the deepest veneration, admiring the care bestowed by your majesty upon a corner of the sea, and the earnest desire shown for the removal of the existing evils.

Having carefully examined the charts of the inner and outer seas, we find that the Ladrone islands constitute their boundary. Beyond them is the wide and boundless ocean, the black water of the foreign seas, which are not under the control of the central territory. Inside of them, at the offings, for instance, of Lintin, the Nine Islands, and other places, are the 'outer seas,' which are under the jurisdiction of Canton. Where the sea washes the shores of the interior districts, it is called the 'inner sea,' and of such inlets Kumsing Moon affords an instance. Foreign ships, since 1830, under pretence of seeking shelter from the winds, have sailed frequently into Kumsing

Moon, during the fourth and fifth months, and have remained at anchor there until the ninth. As soon as the north wind set in, they removed to Lintin and anchored there. In the winter of last year we prohibited this most severely, and also erected a battery at the entrance, whilst we stationed there a naval squadron, to prevent most strenuously the ingress of the ships. No foreign craft therefore entered, but they continued to anchor at Lintin and the adjoining places. Whilst, thus, no receiving ship now remains in the 'inner seas,' it is nevertheless a fact that they still exist in the 'outer seas.'

Formerly, in regard to the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas, the commanders of the cruisers always stated, that their coming and going were so uncertain, that their actual number could not be ascertained. We, your ministers, however, conceiving that the names and the number of the receiving ships were generally known, and that it was requisite to obtain accurate information regarding them, before adopting measures against them, would not permit them thus to conceal the facts and refrain from speaking out freely—thus 'to close the ear while the earrings were being stolen.' We, therefore, last year gave orders to all the naval cruisers, to ascertain their exact numbers, and whether from time to time any arrived or went away, and to present reports regarding their movements every ten days. They communicated the result of their investigation, having found, after due examination, that there were altogether twenty-five sail which had stayed there for a long time. The greater number were English country-ships; and there were besides, under the American, French, Dutch, Manila, and Danish flags, of each from one or two to three or four. Some came, and others went; but their average number did not exceed this. These, then, are the facts as to the existing number of the receiving ships.

When, in obedience to the imperial orders, we had issued, this year, our strict injunctions to the said hong merchants and the superintendent Elliot, to send these ships back to their country—a naval captain subsequently reported, that, in September, one single ship, a Dutch one, had lifted her anchors and sailed out beyond the Ladrones. The truth of this we have ascertained by inquiry. Since, however, only one vessel had left, we could not then report the circumstance; for the remainder, although they also had hoisted their sails and lifted their anchors, yet, moving some to the east, and others to the west, they had none of them proceeded beyond the Ladrone Islands. Though unwilling to offer contumacious disobedience, yet they cannot refrain from lingering about, indulging hopes and anticipations. For these are not matters of one year alone, nor are the vessels from one country only. Though the opium is contraband, yet to them it is a property highly valuable, and these depraved barbarians, hankering after gain alone, are therefore unwilling to throw this commodity away, and use every possible expedient and means to obtain some temporary respite. This is the true cause why it is yet a fact, that all the receiving ships have not within the allotted period sailed away.

We, your majesty's ministers, are under the highest obligations, for having been vouchsafed the great and high favor of being entrusted with the command of the sea coast; and our duty is to eradicate every corrupting and vicious practice. We received, on a previous occasion, the expression of your majesty's pleasure, enjoining us to issue orders to the hong merchants in regard to the sending home of the receiving ships. We have now again received a proof of your majesty's condescension, in investigating these matters; and, burning with the deepest anxiety, we are filled with fear and trembling. Having again issued severe orders to the hong merchants, Howqua and the others, to command the instant departure of these vessels, they reported to us, that the superintendent Elliot would not give them a precise answer to this requirement, and that, in reply to their inquiries addressed to the foreign merchants, they were told, that the receiving ships were not the property of those merchants, and it was therefore out of their power to drive them away. Thus they, on all hands, make excuses, and again seek for delay.

We, your ministers, have found, on examination, that, according to law, whenever foreigners prove refractory, the trade ought to be stopped, in order to give a fair warning and merited punishment. As they are thus determinate in pursuit of gain, and can come to no resolution (to send away the ships), there ought to be a temporary stoppage of the trade, in order to cut off their expectations. Yet so many nations participate in this commerce, while the receiving ships belong only to a few states, that due investigation ought to be made, so as to distinguish between them, and to prevent good foreigners from suffering by this measure. We have, therefore, ordered the hong merchants to inquire how many nations have hitherto had commercial intercourse,— how many amongst them have traded honestly, and had no receiving ships,—and how many there have really been possessed of such ships. We directed them to send in a distinct and clear statement of these matters for our guidance in adopting measures.

We at the same time gave the strictest orders, that they should again enjoin your majesty's strict commands upon the resident foreign merchants, not permitting them to make excuses to obtain delay and extricate themselves from this dilemma; but threatening, if again they should prove dilatory, and still should nourish hopes, that the hatches shall be immediately closed, and a stoppage of the trade ensue. We desired those foreign merchants to consider fully, whether it be better that they suffer these receiving ships still to exist, or that they should continue to reap forever the advantages of a free (legal) commerce,— to weigh well, which of these two things will be the gain, and which the loss: we desired that they should carefully make their election,—and that they should no longer, by persevering in their blindness and refusing to be awakened, bring upon themselves cause for bitter repentance.

We find, on examination, that every nation earns a subsistence by this trade. All the merchants run together, bringing hither their goods to exchange for our commodities. They certainly will not consent

to throw away their property by waiting here at a ruinous loss of time. The rhubarb, the teas, the porcelain, the silks, and other articles, of this country, are moreover necessary to those nations. On account of disturbances created by barbarians, in 1808, and in 1834, the hatches were closed, and afterwards they earnestly supplicated to have them reöpened. Hence it appears, and past events fully prove it, that the various nations cannot withdraw themselves from looking up to the flowery, central, land. If they be now intimidated, therefore, by the stoppage of trade, they will probably no longer allow the receiving ships to remain, lest by such contumacious conduct they effectually damage their means of livelihood. And, if in this way they be indeed aroused and awakened, and the vessels be sent away by them, then matters will fall into their former quiet course, and there will be no need to take any further measures. If, however, they, with inveterate obstinacy, still offer open defiance to the laws, it will then be for us to adopt new expedients, and to propose to the court other measures for their punishment.

We have, while suggesting this course, written at the same time to the naval commander-in-chief of the province, that he may, in concert with the captains of the cruisers, himself adopt measures for expelling the receiving ships; and we have earnestly desired him to watch carefully their movements, and to instill into them a wholesome terror and dread; not to allow any to be careless and neglectful of their duty,—nor yet to commit such blunders as may give rise to affrays and strife. It is our confident expectation, that these steps will be attended with advantage.

We call to mind, that the receiving ships anchored in the outer seas need a daily supply of the necessaries of life, for which they are dependent on our country. Worthless vagabonds from the coast are accustomed to embark in small boats, pretending to go out fishing, whilst they in fact put a variety of provisions and other articles on board, and go to the ships to sell them: these are called 'bum-boats.' The depraved barbarians, while they can look to these supplies, are thereby enabled to prolong their stay; but if these supplies were cut off, we might succeed in getting rid of them. We, your ministers, have for some time past, made seizure of opium-dealers, and of smugglers of every description, without mercy, in order to prevent the exportation of sycee silver and the importation of opium, and thus to put a stop to this contraband traffic. We have now also given orders to capture these bum-boats, and not to permit them to have communication with the ships on the outer seas, in order that we may cut off the supplies of those vicious men. The said barbarians will then have nothing to hope for, their expectations will be groundless, matters will come to extremes, and circumstances will then necessarily be changed, so that thus the fountain may be purified—the stream of impurity being in fact arrested.

According to the reports forwarded by the officers of the Tápang, and Heängshan stations, four of these bum-boats, with some cargo, and twenty-eight vagabonds, in them, had been taken, and sent to

the provincial city, where the men will meet with a most severe judgment. Lew Tszeliu, Chin A'urh, and Ting Asán, together with other scoundrels, formerly taken with sycee silver and opium, have been repeatedly examined, and their sentence has been forwarded for the imperial approval. During the present year, according to the report transmitted by the military and civil authorities and other official persons, they have made, from the beginning of spring until the close of December, thirty seizures,—in all a hundred and forty-four offenders,—of silver, eight thousand six hundred and sixty-one taels in sycee, and three thousand and twenty-seven taels in foreign money, —and of opium, three thousand eight hundred and forty-two catties. The criminals were all severally judged, the money was given as a reward to the captors, and the opium was burnt. The haunts of opium-dealers have also been found out, and, after investigation, the public seal was placed upon them, while orders were issued for the apprehension of the persons frequenting them. The above particulars are all authenticated by entries on the records.

Your ministers have now been earnestly engaged in these measures for one year. They dare not yet say that their efforts have had the full effect to be desired. But, with regard to the existing state of things in the provincial city, it may be observed, that the price of sycee silver is at present very low;—and that opium, one ball of which on board the foreign vessels formerly cost the traitorous natives about thirty dollars, brings now only from sixteen to eighteen dollars. Of the smuggled silver, too, that has been seized, a large portion has been foreign money, which would seem to imply, that, to export silver is now comparatively difficult. The proofs of the foreigners having to sell at reduced prices, and of their receiving payment in foreign money, being thus clear, the course that has now been adopted, if pursued with vigor and firmness for a long period, and if followed up by the seizures of sycee silver, and the capture of the bum-boats, as measures of the first importance, will greatly tend to increase the wealth of the port, and to remove abuses, and will thus prove extremely beneficial.

But, there being many crafty and cunning devices which fail of success, numerous complaints have arisen, proceeding from malicious tongues, that these failures are brought on by the measures now adopted. Some there are, babbling scandal-mongers, who represent, that we, your ministers, if besought by those who bring rich offerings in their hands, are not unwilling to accept gifts. Others, speculating men, of ruined fortunes, declare that the civilians and the military officers, when bribed, liberate,—and apprehend only when unfeed; that, in searching (for contraband articles), they contrive only to annoy the (honest) merchants, and that, if they, perchance, do make a seizure, they then cause it to appear that the contraband goods have been sunk and are lost. Others, again, there are, anxious, fearful-minded men, who lament these proceedings, saying that, since these urgently preventive measures have been adopted, the foreign merchant vessels that have come hither have been but few,—and that

the circulation of capital and interchange of goods has been far from brisk, so that the merchants cannot preserve themselves from overwhelming embarrassments, and that part of Canton province must be reduced to wretchedness; further, that, since search is now being made in every place for idle people and vagrants, in order to seize them, many of the boat people are, in consequence, thrown out of employment, and it may justly be feared that they will be driven to plunder, and that robberies will daily be multiplied. These and similar rumors are confidently circulated. But they are all the slanderous assertions of the credulous or the malicious, intended to trouble the minds of us your ministers, to disturb the steadiness of our hearing, and confuse the correctness of our vision.

Though we do not venture to be wholly wedded to our opinions, nor to act as if we heard nothing, and though, therefore, we seek to examine with the greatest impartiality every well-founded rumor, and all well-authenticated accusations of abuse, with the hope of preserving the whole system of affairs free from taint or imperfection;—yet will we not give way to apprehensions, which would render us fearful to begin anything, or afraid to carry it to an ending, and would reduce us to the condition of him, who, having a hiccough, left off swallowing food. We will faithfully, with our whole heart and soul, discharge our duty in managing these affairs, and will allow in ourselves no remissness in the issuing of orders to that end. Having received such great and abundant favors from your majesty, we dare not screen ourselves even from the malice of rancorous slander, and never will we incur the guilt of acting deceitfully. Thus we would hope to meet your sacred majesty's most earnest wish, that we should make TRUTH our motto.

We have thus minutely represented matters to your majesty, and have united in preparing this memorial, in reply to your majesty's commands.

ART. IV. *On a system of orthography for the Chinese language: introductory remarks; vowels; diacritical marks; diphthongs; consonants; marks to denote the tones.*

WE proposed, in the first number of our fifth volume, that for May 1836, a system of orthography for Chinese words, intended to remedy the defects of that of Morrison's dictionary. It was then our request, that we might be favored with opinions on the subject, in order "that, with the different views of many to assist us, we might be enabled, before the close of the year, to consider the subject more maturely, preparatory to introducing an accurate system of orthography in the next volume." A few communications were in consequence received, but not such as to afford us a knowledge of the views of a majority of

our fellow-laborers in the field of Chinese literature. And, deeming delay preferable to a hasty adoption of a system subject to future alteration, we have from time to time deferred the amendment of that system of orthography which we have hitherto followed—the system adopted by Dr. Morrison. We are, however, too deeply impressed with the importance of the subject to allow it to pass into forgetfulness: and we therefore desire again to call attention to it, and to renew our request, to all who are engaged in the study of Chinese, to unite with us in the adoption of a system which may be uniformly adhered to in expressing the sounds of Chinese words. And whatever is best adapted for uniform use in this respect, will also be found the best calculated for those who entertain the desire, to introduce among the Chinese the use of Roman letters, in place of their own symbolic characters.

Our reason for wishing to deviate from the system adopted by Dr. Morrison in his Chinese dictionary has been before stated to arise from the fact, that this system is inconsistent in its several parts, while at the same time it differs from other systems adopted by Dr. Morrison in his other works, both of an earlier and of a later date. This fact, and that of the entire want of conformity among different writers on the Chinese language, are too well known to all whose attention has been turned to this subject, to admit of any hesitation in regard to the desirableness of taking the step that we propose. We will, therefore, at once proceed to unfold, a second time, our plan; referring for some of the more minute details to our former paper on the subject. In one or two minor points a slight discrepancy may be found, but in the main, our views remain unaltered.

Vowels.

In regard to the vowels, of all the languages in which the Roman letters are used, the Italian is the most definite. In Italian we do not find, as in English and French, and to some extent in other languages, the same letter used to represent two or more perfectly distinct sounds. The Italian vowel sounds are those, therefore, which we would adopt, as the ground-work of our system. It must be remarked, however, that each vowel sound is capable of being enunciated with so many varying modulations, that two adjoining vowel sounds will, in consequence, often be pronounced with a very close resemblance to each other, and by one of unpracticed ear may even be placed one for the other.

We will not here enter into a philosophical investigation of the manner in which sounds are enunciated by the human voice, or of their relative order. We will confine ourselves to an enumeration of those variations of vocal sounds which are to be found in the Chinese language, giving the signs used to express them in the order of the Roman alphabet. Where it is necessary, from the number of the letters being less than that of the vowel sounds, to use the same letter for two resembling sounds, diacritical marks must be made use of to distinguish them. To these we will advert in the sequel.

The aspirations, as distinguished by the Greeks, form the first steps towards the utterance of sounds The spiritus lenis, or gentle emission of breath, is little beyond an ordinary breathing. It holds however an important place in the Chinese language, there being several classes of words which are enunciated without any distinct vowel sounds—a gentle emission of breath alone following that arrangement of the vocal organs which we distinguish by the word consonant. Thus, in the words *tsz'* and *'rh*, or *'lh*, in the general language, the insertion of any vowel would infallibly mislead as to the real sound; whereas if the attempt be made to enunciate these words without a vowel, it can hardly fail of success. To mark this imperfect vowel sound, or breathing, we would adopt, then, the spiritus lenis of the Greeks (’). This breathing also often supplies the place of a nasal *ng* at the commencement of words.

The spiritus asper, or aspirate, holds likewise an important place in the Chinese language. As an initial, it is most conveniently denoted by the well known character *h*; but when occuring, as it often does, between the consonants k, p, t, the double consonants *ch*, *ts*, and their succeeding vowels, it is best expressed by a mark resembling the Greek spiritus asper (‘). Or, if the insertions of an *h* should be considered desirable for the sake of uniformity, no objection can be raised to it, provided that the spiritus asper, or some other mark, be introduced between the preceding consonant or double consonant, and the *h*. This we deem necessary to prevent the reading of *ph* or *th* as these combinations are pronounced in English.

The vowel sounds that are fully enunciated are the following,

1. { A, sounded short as in *quota*.
   { A´, sounded long as in *calm*.
2. { E, sounded short as in *met*.
   { E´, sounded long as in *where*.
3. `E, sounded long as in *they*.
4. { I, sounded short as in *sin*.
   { I´, sounded long as in *marine*.
5. { O, sounded short as in *lot*.
   { O´, sounded long as in *lord*.
6. `O, sounded long as in *sow*.
7. { U, sounded short as in *put*.
   { U´, sounded long as in *rule*.
8. `U, sounded long as in *l'une (French)*.

We will briefly notice some objections that may be advanced against the use of any of these letters with the powers that we have given to them—objections which have either been stated by others, or have occurred to ourselves.

The use of *a* to express the sound in the last syllable of *quota*, has been objected to; and we must confess, that one accustomed to the English language, in reading *sang* in Chinese, would be unlikely to pronounce it as he does the word *sung* in English. But the same sound is often expressed in English in many different ways, and even

by two vowel letters conjoined, as in the words *none, fir, merchant, young, heard, &c.* Nor is the Chinese sound precisely that of *u* in *sung:* it is a modulation approaching more nearly, at times, to the sound of *a* in *sat;* again to that of *e* in *sent*, and even to that of *i* in *sing*. By Dr. Morrison this vowel, as a medial, was expressed by *ă*, the same letter we have used, with a short prosodial mark over it; but as a final it was expressed by *ih,*—the *i* denoting the sound of that letter in *fir*, and the *h* denoting the abrupt termination of the syllable. The French sinologues have used *e*, with the sound which that letter has in *de, se, le, &c.* If general opinion should be found against the use of *a*, as we have given it, the *e*, as used by the French, might be adopted, with a diacritical mark to distinguish it from the short sound of the second vowel on our scale; or, this last might be thus distinguished — say by the short prosodial mark.

To the long sound of *á* in *calm*, which, in common with all the other long sounds, we would distinguish by a d acritical mark from the shorter sound, we believe no objection has been raised. The same sound, with an abrupt ending (the Chinese juh-shing, entering or abrupt tone), may be distinguished from the more gradually-ending sound, by the addition of an *h* at the end of the syllable; thus *kiá, kiáh.* In place of these abrupt terminations, in the dialects of Canton and Fuhkeën, a *k*, a *p*, or a *t*, is added. Thus *kiáh*, above, would be, in the dialect of Canton, *káp.*

The second, third, and fourth, vowels are, we believe, free from objections.

The fifth vowel might otherwise, and with, perhaps, a greater degree of precision, be classed immediately after the first, and written *ă* for the short sound, and *ā* for the longer sound, being that of *aw* in *law*. It was so written by sir Willian Jones, when he first published his system of orthography. We have been induced to give to this sound the representative sign, and consequently the place, it holds in the system which we propose, partly because it has previously, by almost universal consent, occupied that place, and partly because it is occasionally pronounced with a great degree of resemblance to the sound of *o in sow.*

To the three following vowels, on the preceding list, we are not aware that any objection exists.

Diacritical Marks.

In regard to the diacritical marks, which we would use to distinguish the varying lengths of the same sound, or to distinguish one sound from another where the same letter is, from necessity, used to designate both, we have sought the utmost degree of simplicity compatible with precision. Our rule has been, to leave the short sounds unmarked, to use for the long sounds corresponding to these the acute accent (´), and for the three vowels which have no corresponding short sounds, *e*, as in *they*, *o*, as in *sow*, and *u*, as in the French *l'une*, to use the grave accent (`). In this, we have not attained, as we desired, complete conformity with the system of diacritical marks used

in India. But we deem consistency of one part of the system with another to be of prior importance to any other consideration. And the difference, being confined to two or three of the marks, is too slight to be the occasion of any inconvenience.

It may be objected to our diacritical marks, that they will interfere with the system of notation of the *tones* now in use. This is true. Yet we see no force in the objection. If it be deemed undesirable to make any alteration in the *signs* themselves, as now used to denote the tones, at least their *position* may be changed, and they may without inconvenience be placed at the beginning or end of the word. We will advert again to this subject in its proper place. We now proceed to the —

Diphthongs.

These being necessarily dependent upon the vowels above given, of which they are mere compounds, an objection has been raised to their being admitted into the orthographical system at all. We think, however, that the objector, if he reflect for a moment on the difficulty of clearly distinguishing the exact sound where two sounds are rapidly slurred into one, will perceive, that it is of the first importance, accurately to examine the real composition of such combined sounds, in order that their pronunciation may be carefully laid down, and that so any one, who does not enjoy the best opportunities of examining for himself, may not be exposed to deceptions that would render futile our present efforts to attain uniformity of system. Therefore, those diphthongs, at least, which are peculiar to the Chinese language ought to be enumerated; and it will be found convenient to have a table of reference, in which *all* of them may be included. The number of the diphthongal sounds which we are able to distinguish in Chinese is ten. They are the following:

1. { AI, short, nearly as in *aisle*, or as *i* in *white;*
   { A'I, long, as in the word *ay.*
2. { AU, short nearly as *ow*, in *how;*
   { A'U, long, nearly as *ow* in *howl.*
3. EI, pronounced nearly as *ey* in the words *Bey, Dey.*
4. E'U, pronounced distinctly as two syllables.
5. I'U, pronounced nearly as *ew* in *pew, few.*
6. OI, pronounced nearly as in the word *gître.*
7. `OU, a very protracted sound of the *o* in *sow.*
8. { UI, short, nearly as the French word *pluie;*
   { U'I, long; the *i* is short, and the *ŭ* very much protracted.
9. UE, the two letters slurred together, the combined sound protracted.
10. UA, the two letters slurred together, the sound of *a* alone protracted.

On these our remarks will be but few. The first and second of these diphthongs are familiar to us, but the short *ai* and *au*, in Chinese, are much more close than the sounds of *i* and *ow*, ever are in English; and the long *ái* and *á'u* are also more broad than any

similar sounds in our language. The short *au* might be, and often has been, written *eu*, approaching somewhat to the sound of *ú*, or of *oo* in fool. The third diphthong is also more close in its pronunciation than any English sound. The fourth diphthong, *éu*, was written by Dr. Morrison *eo*. It does not occur in the general language, but is common in the dialect of Canton. Practice and viva voce instruction can alone render the *precise* modulation of sound of this and the six following diphthongs familiar. A near approach to the correct pronunciation will be made, if each vowel, while receiving its proper pronunciation, is slurred into close combination with the one that precedes or follows it. In many instances triphthongs are formed by prefixing the short sound of *i*, or *y*, to the diphthongs above enumerated, as *kiái, kiáu.*

Consonants.

Several of the consonants familiar to us cannot, without great effort and long practice, be enunciated by the Chinese; and very few of our combinations of consonants are at all known to them. On the other hand, one or two pure consonants, and a like number of combined ones, are in use among the Chinese, of which it is with great difficulty that a European can learn the correct pronunciation. There are in Chinese, nineteen simple consonants, and six combined ones, as follow:

19 *Simple Consonants.*

B, boy; F, for; G, go; H, he; J, jet; *J'*, jamais (French); K, kick; L, let; M, maim; N, none; NG, singing; P, pop; R, our; S, so; SH, she; T, ten, V, vow; W, way; Y, yew.

6 *Combined Consonants.*

CH, chair; HW, or WH, what; NY, or NI, union; SZ, and TSZ, peculiar to Chinese; TS, at-sea.

The use of the consonants *b*, *g*, and *j*, is confined to the dialect of Fuhkeën, and some of the dialects of Kwangtung. Neither these consonants, nor the finals *k*, *p*, *t*, and *m* are to be found in the general language; but they are common in the dialects just mentioned; and the four last-named consonants are common, as *initials* in the general language. *V* is only used in some districts in the place of *w*. The interchangeableness of several of the letters, as *f* and *p*, *h* and *sh*, the aspirated *k* and *ch*, tend to show the sameness of the sounds which those letters are intended to denote with the sounds designated by them in Europe. We are not aware of any objection having been raised to the use of any of the above letters; but in reference to a few, some brief remarks are requisite.

J' as in *jamais* in French, or as *s* in *pleasure*, is a sound confined to those provinces where the general language is spoken. It is subject in some places to a singular alteration, receiving a pronunciation similar to *r*,

Ng is a sound common in English as a final, but as an initial pronounceable only with difficulty. A little practice will, however, soon render it familiar. This sound was by sir William Jones written *ṅ*, a sign which he considered to be preferable to the double letter *ng*. The Dutch sign for it, in their system of writing in Roman letters used among the Malays, is a combination of the letters *n* and *g* in one. In place of the *ng*, Dr. Morrison made use of the hard *g*, but this pronunciation does not at all obtain among those by whom the general language is spoken in any degree of purity. Many, however, dropping the sound of *ng* altogether, use the Greek spiritus lenis, and in some instances *w*, in its place. In the dialect of Fuhkeën, there is a nasal sound, a half-enunciated *ng*, or *n*, occurring alike as an initial, a medial, and a final, to denote which Mr. Medhurst, in his dictionary of the Hokkëèn dialect, has made use of *n*, or *ng*, raised above the line. This mode of representing it is offensive to the eye, and very troublesome to the printer. We would propose as a substitute, a diacritical mark, for instance this mark (°) resembling the Sanskrit *anuswara* or *ng*, to be placed over the vowel of the nasalized syllable. Some objection has been made to this, but we do not see the force thereof.

R denotes a sound generally supposed to be unknown to the Chinese. The class of words designated, in Dr. Morrison's orthography *urh*, and in the French orthography *eul*, will perhaps receive their most correct pronunciation, if we prepare the organs to enunciate *r*, but check the voice as soon as the rumbling sound occasioned by the agitation of the tongue commences. It is a sound between an *l* and *r*, and we have heard some give their opinion that it is pronounced more like *l* than *r*. The result of attentive listening to men whose pronunciation was the purest has, however, been, the belief that of the two *r* is the more correct. It the dictionary of Kanghe, the spelling given, according to the awkward method of Chinese orthography is *ǰe*. This is in some measure explained by the circumstance, that in Tibet, through which the Chinese derived their system of spelling, *ǰ* and *r* seem to be sometimes confounded.

The conjunction of *s* and *z* has been objected to. In the French orthography, a double *s* supplies the place of this combination. It occurs only in the syllables *sz'* or *sze*, and *tsz'* or *tsze*, which are to be enunciated by a hissing, not followed by any distinct vowel sound.

MARKS FOR THE TONES.

A word or two on the intonations by which the Chinese and Shán, and their cognate languages, are distinguished, will conclude for the present our remarks on the orthography. The system of marking these tones has hitherto been, to use diacritical marks over the vowels, these marks being the acute, grave, and circumflex, accents, and the long and short prosodial marks. The system of orthography now proposed necessarily interferes with this mode of noting them, at least that part of it which relates to the diacritical marks. In Burmah and A'sám, marks under, instead of over, the letters have been

adopted to denote the tones; but these have not met the approbation of Chinese philologists. Two other methods have been suggested. the one is, to use the present marks, at the beginning or end of words, instead of on the vowels occurring in the words, thus *¯pan ´pan pan` pa˘*; the other is, to use, in lieu of these marks, small semicircles, such as the Chinese themselves employ, on the corners of the words, thus: *˛pán ˘nán nán˘ ná˛*. Being in doubt ourselves which mode to prefer, we request others who have turned their attention to the subject, to favor us with their opinions. And, in regard to the whole system proposed, we would suggest its early adoption, with such alterations as meet, after due consideration, the approbation of a majority of those who are able to confer on the subject. Our earnest desire is to see a good and uniform system of orthography adopted as a standard, to which all future works on the Chinese language and nation may conform, and needless confusion be prevented.

Art. V. *Notices relating to the British war with Nipál, and the communications which passed between the British and Chinese functionaries on that occasion.* From a Correspondent.

The deputation of a mission from the supreme government of India to the capital of Bútán, may, at the present moment, give a more than ordinary interest to the following notices, which have been derived from sources of undoubted authenticity. The point of view in which they will be found to offer the greatest interest to the foreign residents in this country, is that of affording illustrations of Chinese character and policy in positions, and under circumstances, which differ so essentially from those, in which we have hitherto had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with them in this neighborhood. Constitutional pride, an affectation of lofty arrogance, and an habitual wariness of conduct, appear to be the prominent characteristics of Chinese foreign policy. These are the struggling elements, which, as the one or the other predominate for the moment, give their color to the proceedings of the government, and which mutually act as checks upon, and correctives to, each other. These leading features of character will, I think, be found portrayed in a very lively manner in some of the incidents, which are about to be detailed.

The early events of the war with Nipál were little in accordance with the sanguine expectations of the British government; but in the early part of the year 1815, the progress of our arms became more steady and satisfactory: the forts of Ramghur, Jhurjhúri, Taraghur, and Chumbull, were successively surrendered; and the rájá of Gorkha already abandoned to despair, was ready to make every concession that could be required for the restoration of peace; it was

only the undaunted spirit of his general Umr Sing, who despite of the attempts to tamper with his fidelity, continued to exhort his sovereign to prefer a glorious struggle even to death, rather than consent to a dishonorable treaty, which would forever impair the sinews of his strength, that presented any real obstacle to the adjustment of preliminaries. "When our power is once reduced," writes that doughty chieftain to the rájá from his camp, "we shall have another Knox's mission,[1] under pretence f concluding a treaty of alliance, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccompanied with troops, they will not comply; they will begin by introducing a company; a battalion will soon follow; and, at length, an army will assemble for the subjugation of our country. Do not trust them; besides the present is no time for treaty and conciliation; these expedients should have been resorted to before the murder of the British revenue officer;[2] or they must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation would be interpreted as the results of fear, and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy would respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, I say, let us confide our fortune to our swords." We learn that numerous solicitations had, during th progress of the war, been addressed by the Górkha rájá to the emperor of China; and in 1815, we find Umr Sing strongly recommending his master to make an urgent appeal to the court of Peking for assistance, and submitting the proposed draft of an address to that effect. In this he invokes the active coöperation of the high and mighty emperor,—on the grounds of the insult that had been offered to his supremacy by the English, in daring to invade a country owing allegiance to, and enjoying the protection of, the Chinese government. The attack upon Nipál is declared to be only a preliminary step to the invasion of Bútán, and Tibet, and to securing the passes into the frontiers of China. The wealth and military resources of the British, the facts of their having conquered every prince in the plains, and having afterwards seated themselves on the throne of the emperor of Delhi, are duly dwelt upon. In conclusion, he points out the readiest means of affording effective aid to their cause, to be the immediate advance of a loan of money for the maintenance of the Górkha army, and the sending a force of 200,000 to 300,000 Chinese troops, through the Dharma territory, into the lower provinces of Bengal, "to spread alarm and consternation among the Europeans." "Consider," says he, "if you abandon your dependants, that the English will soon be masters of Lassa."

We have said that repeated solicitations had been addressed, during the war, to the court of Peking. The ordinary, or rather the only, channel of communication, between the Nipálese and that court, lay through the Chinese officers who resided at Shigatsze (Deggarchi, or Cháshi-lumbú), the seat of the tishoo lama, all these applications, it appears, were, at first, suppressed; whether from a fear, on the part of

those officers, of shocking the ears of his imperial majesty with intelligence of the advance of the English; or whether from a politic disinclination to place their court in the predicament, either of being drawn into collision with the Europeans, or of denying protection to their suppliant tributary; or whether, as those officers themselves asserted, when subsequently challenged upon this head, under the belief that it was a casual and unimportant struggle about a disputed border, in which their government could feel little concern, will be differently interpreted according to the tendency of individual opinions. One point, at any rate, is clear, that the mere fact of a memorial addressed to the emperor being delivered into the hands of a Chinese officer, is, of itself, no sufficient security, as has sometimes been imagined, for its transmission to the imperial court.

After the commencement of hostilities, a communication from the governor-general cautioning the Chinese, in common with all other neighboring powers, against aiding or abetting the enemies of the British government, reached the Umbas at Shigatsze;[3] and awakened considerable apprehension in their minds. The original document was immediately forwarded to Peking, and with it, for the first time, an application (stated to have been the 13th) from the rájá of Nipál, for assistance against the invaders. The emperor is reported to have been highly indignant at the tone and the language assumed by the marquis of Hastings, and after listening to the memorial of his officers, to have exclaimed, "These English seem to look upon themselves as kings, and upon me as merely one of their neighboring rája's." Orders were forthwith issued for a commission, composed of a tseängkeun, and two other tajin, to proceed, under a military escort, into the vicinity of the seat of war, to institute inquiries: and an army was ordered to march with all speed after them, for the protection of the frontier line. This must have been the force to whose arrival on the confines of the Chinese territory, allusion is made in an official letter from Titalya, dated June, 1816.

About this time three Chinese officers, who styled themselves the governors of Arzung,[4] addressed a letter to the governor-general of India, through the medium of the Sikkim rájá, a prince who was closely connected with the Deb rájá, and the lama of Lassa, and who had shown himself a staunch ally of the British government. In this address, the Chinese officers, after stating the insinuations regarding the ulterior views of the British, that had been made against them by the Górkha rájá, proceed thus, "Such absurd measures appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English; it is probable they never made the declarations imputed to them: if they did *it will not be well!* An answer should be sent, as soon as possible, stating whether or not the English ever entertained such absurd propositions: if they did not, let them write a suitable explanation to the tseängkeun, that he may report to the emperor."

By the same opportunity was received a letter from the ikkim rájá, who stated, that "the Górkha rájá had been trying to mpose on the Cheen rájá, with a story of the Europeans having united with

him to attack and conquer Nipál and China, and that this was the sole reason of the Cheen (Chinese) rájá writing to the governor-general.

In reply, the governor-general explained the real facts in which the war with Nipál had originated, disclaimed all intentions in any degree militating against the interest or well-being of China, or injurious to her relations with the Górkha state; as to the notion of seeking a road to China, through the Nipálese territories, he left it to the intelligence of the Chinese to judge of the truth of such an argument from the justness of it. The receipt of the governor-general's letter, in conjunction with the explanations derived from the láma and the Sikkim rájá, seem to have removed all disquieting apprehensions from the minds of the Chinese commissioners. Hostilities had, in fact, been suspended in the mean time; but the insertion in the treaty of peace of an article, which provided for the residence of a British agent at Kathmandú, was with difficulty stomached by the Górkha cabinet; and it was hoped that the Chinese government might be prevailed on to exert themselves to prevent the establishment of European influence in their neighborhood. The following narrative of an audience given to the Nipálese sirdárs, who visited Shigatsze for the above purpose, shows clearly enough, that, having once got rid of their alarm regarding the advance of the English troops, the Chinese authorities had now become mainly solicitous to uphold the honor and dignity of their country, by stopping the mouths of these men, who appealed to them for protection, and pointedly inquired what the world would henceforth say, if the emperor of China should abandon his tributaries and dependants to their fate? The narrative proceeds thus:

Scene—Shigatsze; a garden-house, near the city—

"With the tseängkeun (generalissimo) were the two tajin seated in chairs, and all the subordinate officers of various ranks stood around them, with their hands joined before them, as if in the act of supplicating. The Nipálese sirdárs, having previously obtained permission to be attended by their armed escort of 111 men, proceeded to the residence, marching by files, in slow order. When they approached the tseängkeun, the whole saluted him after the Chinese manner, by falling on their knees, from which position they rose by an order. During the visit, the Chinese brought out a painting, containing likenesses of several of the old officers of the court of Nipál, and compared them with those present, but only found the likeness of one of the chieftains now before them. The tseängkeun asked, "Where are your Pundys and your Parsarams fled to? And who are these thapas,[5] that I never before heard of?" Entering into the subject for which they had met, he soon got exceedingly angry, and said, "You are great rascals: you have always been playing tricks, and have been the ruin of many rájás. You once[6] plundered Shigatsze without provocation, and when you went to war with the English, it was under the impression that you could act the Shigatsze scene over again. Why did you commit a breach of faith, and murder a thánahdár, after agreeing that hostilities should be suspended? You have now received your punishment; you first wrote to us of war having been

commenced; you then apprized us of your having made peace; and now you come and ask aid of us! What kind of a peace is this? But you were never to be depended on!" To all this, the Nipálese sirdárs simply replied, "If you cannot afford us effective aid, give us a letter to the English, that will induce them to quit Nipál." The tseängkeun rejoined, "You have already told us that the English first entered your country for the sole purpose of *establishing a warehouse* there, and upon what plea can I attempt to remove merchants, for such people are not molested in any country whatever?" One of the sirdárs answered, "If they were merely merchants, it would be of no consequence, but they are soldiers, and commanders; and what connection have troops with merchants?" The tseängkeun resumed; "The English have written to inform us that they sent their resident with your consent, of what then have you to complain? As to what your rájá stated about the English having demanded of him the roads through Bútán with the intention of penetrating into China, it is false; and, if they had any such views, they would find less circuitous routes." The sirdárs remained perfectly silent, and the tseängkeun then addressed himself, in a strain of irony, to Runbeer. "You Górkhas think there are no soldiers in the hills but what are in Nipál. Pray, at what do you number your fighting men? And to what amount do you collect revenue? The former, I suppose, cannot exceed two lakhs." Runbeer replied, that the number of their soldiers was about that mentioned by the tseängkeun, and that their revenue amounted to about five lakhs of rupees per annum. "You are, indeed, then," said the tseängkeun, "a mighty people!"

It was soon after intimated to the Nipálese mission, that it was time to take leave. They were honorably dismissed, and presented on their departure with silver to the value of 20,000 rupees, together with furs, silks, &c.

Unable to ward off the infliction of a British resident, and unwilling to break off their connection with the Chinese government, the envoys returned to Kathmandú, little satisfied with their reception, and apparently harboring some vague apprehensions of the designs of the "Cheen mahá rajá." These seem to have been subsequently strengthened; for, not long after we find the Nipálese minister applying to the British resident for a promise of support in the event of an attack from the Chinese. 'The Chinese,' says the document from which we quote, 'are understood to be highly incensed against the Nipálese, whom they regard as their tributaries, for having, for some time back, discontinued those observances which its dependent relation required, and having engaged in war, and concluded peace, with the British government, without the sanction of the government of China. This dissatisfaction, it is apprehended, involves a doubt, whether the pacification may not have been on such terms, as to transfer the allegiance of Nipál from the Chinese to the British authority; and in this emergency the rájá of Nipál has solicited the advice of the British resident at Kathmandú, and has expressed an earnest hope of support from the British government against the Chinese, who are believed to be menacing his territories.

It is not difficult to account for the haughty bearing, and language of menace, that may probably have been adopted at this time by the Chinese, who never bluster so loudly as when a point of honor is to be conceded, and their position requires to be bolstered up. The fears of the Nipálese, we cannot believe, for a moment, to have been otherwise than groundless.

Notwithstanding the language which the Chinese commissioners used to the Górkha sirdá'rs, at the audience above described, it is very evident, that the establishment of a British officer at the court of a prince, who owed allegiance, and paid homage, to the emperor of China, was a source of considerable vexation to them: the recognition of their supremacy was in a measure compromised, and they were quite prepared to act upon the prayer of the Górkhas, and to use their best endeavors to procure the withdrawal of the newly appointed resident, provided always, that this could be accomplished without their committing themselves with the English, or placing their government in a position which might, on a future day, lead to collision. Accordingly in the December following, we hear of a deputation of fifty sirdá'rs from the Sikkim rá'já', escorting a letter from the tseängkeun and his colleagues to the governor-general,— together with a box of presents. After stating the high degree of satisfaction they had derived from the frank explanation of the governor-general, their dispatch proceeds as follows. "His imperial majesty, *who, by God's blessing is well informed of the conduct and proceedings of all mankind, reflecting on the good faith and wisdom of the English Company, and the firm friendship, and constant commercial intercourse which has so long subsisted between the two nations*, never placed any reliance on the calumnious imputations put forward by the Górkha rája'." The letter concludes with these words: "You mention, that you have stationed a *vakíl* in Nipá'l, this is a matter of no consequence, but as the rá'já' from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the circumstance, has imbibed suspicions, if you would, out of kindness towards us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your vakíl, it would be better; and we should feel inexpressibly grateful to you."

The governor-general replied to the above letter, by pointing out the necessity of stationing an officer at head quarters, who could always be ready to afford explanation upon matters which might otherwise lead to misunderstanding and create ill-will. He attributed the late war to the absence of such a person; and then continued, "The habits of the borderers both of the Nipálese and the British territory are rough and violent,— hence frequent outrages may occur; but, if there were stationed at Kathmandú any accredited agent of the emperor of China, to whom this government could with confidence recur upon all matters of dispute arising between it and the Nipá'lese, we should be relieved from the necessity of keeping a resident there at a considerable expense. As the case actually stands, the presence of a British officer is the main security we have for avoiding differences: this officer will be instructed to restrict himself to the single care of

preserving harmony between the two states, and to abstain from all other interference in the internal or foreign affairs of Nipál." This latter paragraph was acknowledged with great satisfaction, in a subsequent communication from the Chinese commissioners, but the notion of introducing any permanent relations between the British government and a Chinese agent was very differently received, "We advert," say they, "to that part of your letter which desires us to urge our august sovereign, the emperor of China, to the appointment of a minister at Kathmandú, to whom your people and those of Nipál could refer their affairs, and thus prevent disagreements. Be it known to you, that the Górkha rájá has long been a faithful tributary of the Chinese government, *and refers himself to it*, whenever occasion requires. There is, therefore, no need of deputing any one thither from this empire: besides, by the grace and favor of God, his majesty, possessing the sovereignty of the whole kingdom of China and other parts, does not enter the city of any one without cause. If it so happen that his victorious forces take the field, in such case, after punishing the refractory, he, in his royal clemency, restores the transgressor to his throne. We have not thought it our duty to represent the point to the court of China, as the matter in question is opposed to the custom of this empire. The frequenters of the port of Canton, which lies within our territory, can inform your lordship, that such is not the custom of China. For the future, a proposition of this nature, so contrary to usage, should not be introduced into a friendly dispatch."

In perusing the above paper we cannot fail to be struck with the penetration and judgment of character evinced in the counter-proposition which was here offered to the Chinese commissioners. The alternative suggested with so much moderation and reasonableness on the part of our government, was eminently calculated to silence all further attempts at remonstrance against the establishment of our resident at the Górkha court; any arrangements tending to draw the Chinese authorities into immediate relations with our government would doubtless be viewed with the utmost abhorrence; and, rather than run the risk of ever being involved in such perplexing considerations, they dropped the subject altogether. In the insinuations, conveyed in the picture which the commissioners draw, for the purpose of contrasting the mode in which the emperor of China proceeds towards rebellious neighbors with that which the English government had pursued, are sufficiently traced the workings of wounded pride, suppressed by considerations of cautious policy; the reference which they make to the merchants at Canton for corroboration of the assertion they had advanced, regarding the custom of China, clearly proves, if proof be wanting, that the connection between the rulers of India and the English residents at Canton has long since been well known at the court of Peking: the only inquiry, however, which appears to have been made at Canton, throughout the whole war, was a message from the viceroy, delivered through Pwankhequa, requesting that the seat of war might be pointed out on a Chinese map, sent for that purpose.

Comparing some of the foregoing sketches with those close at our own doors, we are forcibly reminded of the answer given by one of the principal hong merchants to the chief of the English factory in 1829–30. After listening to the announcement of the viceroy's wrathful determinations, the gentleman inquired what the ultimatum would be, if he still persisted in his opposition, "Then," was the reply, "Then no can!" Who, with this in his memory, will fail to remark the identity of the language used by the residents at Shigatsze in their letter to the governor-general?" "If they (the English) did so, (if they should have designs upon our country,) it would not be well!"

The behavior of the Chinese generals towards the Nipálese sirdárs, during the interview at Shigatsze, is in the main, the very counterpart of a scene before the gates of Canton, when foreigners have appeared there armed, and in considerable numbers. "How many are you? What do you fancy you can do? We are many, you are few!" &c.

And how frequently is the argument, adduced by the commissioners for not wishing to send a Chinese resident to Kathmandú, echoed by all classes around us, in the local phraseology of—'Cheena no cayzhun.' At the same time we may glean sufficient evidence, from the above notice, to satisfy us that, notwithstanding the profession of immutability, Chinese policy, like that of all other states, is susceptible of modification; that the officers of the Chinese government can trim to the times, and modulate their voices to the tones of civility and politeness towards foreigners, when it suits their purpose; that they can, upon occasion, appeal to the ties of friendship, and base their claims to the favor of a British governor, upon considerations of the constant commercial intercourse which has existed between the two nations.

C

1. Rána bahádar, the ruler of Nipál, having abdicated the throne in favor of his son, and retired to Benáres, incurred a considerable debt to the British government whilst living there. He entered into a treaty with them for the gradual repayment of it, and for the residence of a British officer at Kathmandú. Capt. Knox was, in consequence, appointed resident at the capital of Górkha in 1801. He had previously accompanied captain Kirkpatrick on his mission to Nipál in 1792, as commander of the military escort. The residence was given up after two or three years' duration.

2. For some years previously to the breaking out of hostilities, disputes had from time to time arisen between the Nipálese and British governments, relative to the right of occupation of certain border districts. The Nipálese at length agreed to appoint commissioners, to meet a deputation of British officers, and investigate the claims upon the spot; the result of their investigations was pronounced to be in favor of the British government; but the Górkha rájá could not be induced to retire from the lands which he had usurped, and eventually it became necessary to introduce an armed force, for the establishment of the British authority. The rainy season came on; and the troops had been but a short time withdrawn, when on the 29th of May 1814, three of the police stations in Bootwal (or Butaul) were attacked by a numerous body of Górkhas; the British officers driven out; and 18 of their number killed. The thánahdar of Khilwan surrendered himself a prisoner, but was murdered in cold blood, in the presence of the Górkha commander. All hopes of an accommodation being now at an end, it was resolved at once to suspend all commercial intercourse with Nipál, and to commence vigorous hostilities so soon as the season should admit of troops being moved.

3. Tibet appears to have been finally reduced by the Chinese in 1720, (59th year of Kanghe); but the government was continued in the hands of native princes till 1750, (15th year of Keënlung) when Giurmedh Namghial, who had succeeded his father Pholonai in the government, attempted to establish his independence. The attempt terminated unsuccessfully, and Giurmedh lost his head: the royal dignity was thenceforward suppressed in Tibet, and the administration of affairs vested in the dalai láma,—assisted by a cabinet of officers,—who received their commissions and instructions from the Lefan Yuen, colonial office at Peking. At the same time, two Chinese generals were appointed residents at Shigatsze, who, in connection with the dalai láma, exercised the supreme control in all state matters. These arrangements appear to have continued in force ever since. The Chinese residents are usually styled, in native works, pansze tachin, or choo tseäng tachin. I am indebted to Mr. Morrison for a detailed account of the Chinese establishment in Tibet, translated from a Chinese standard work, the Ta Tsing Hwuy Teën, or Statutes of the Ta Tsing dynasty. The paper is appended.

4. Under the Ming dynasty, Tibet was called Oustsang; a corruption of the names of two provinces into which it was divided. Tibet is now commonly divided into anterior and ulterior. Is it not probable that the residents styled themselves, in addressing foreigners,—the rulers of the Two Tseäng, Urh Tseäng? adopting a form analogous to that used by the governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, when he issues an edict, as Leäng Kwang tsungtuh.

5. It would appear, says Dr. Hamilton, that when the princes of the mountaineers were persuaded to adopt the doctrines of Brahmah, many clans followed the example of their chiefs, and thus have established tribes called Thapas, Ghurtis, Karkis, &c. Umr Sing who commands the Górkha army is a Thapa.

6. From 1789 to 1791, the Górkhas were engaged in continual quarrels with the states of Bútán and Tibet. In the latter year, they marched a body of 7000 men upon Shigatsze, plundered the láma's treasury, and carried off prisoner one of the principal officers of Lassa. As soon as intelligence of this outrage reached Peking, an envoy was dispatched to Nipál, to demand restitution of the booty and the noble prisoner. The imperial message, however, met with no very courteous reception from the Górkhas, who refused to surrender any part of the spoil, and bade the Chinese do their worst, if they were not satisfied; upon this, the emperor becoming highly incensed, poured an army of 70,000 men into the Nipálese territories, resolved, as he expressed it himself, to 'chastise the robber." The Chinese forces, after defeating the Górkhas in several successive engagements, advanced to within twenty-five miles of their capital. Here negotiations ensued. The Chinese general consented to retire on receiving a supply of grain for his army; and fifty virgins as a homage to his sovereign, with a promise to pay tribute to the emperor; but no stipulation was made for the restoration of the plunder of Shigatsze. The Górkha rájá in his distress applied to the governor-general for support, and captain Kirkpatrick was deputed to Kathmandú to confer with the Nipálese court, and thence to proceed to the head quarters of the Chinese army; but the treaty had been concluded with the invaders before he could reach his destination.

ART. VI. *Translation from the Statutes of the Ta Tsing dynasty, relating to the system of government in Tibet, and forming an appendix to article fifth, Note* 3.

GREAT ministers (tachin) are appointed as residents in Tibet to hold general control over the anterior and ulterior provinces of that country, and to direct the affairs of the lámas.[1]

It is also the duty of these residents—by regulating what relates to the official dignities,[2]—by arranging the military divisions of the country,[3]—by preserving the discipline of the troops,[4]—by strength-

ening the defenses of the frontier,[5]—by supervising the financial affairs and taxes,[6]—by maintaining equity in punishments,[7]—and by sustaining the laws and ordinances,[8]—throughout the two provinces, to give peace and security to the Tángúths.

All tributary offerings from Tibet are made at stated periods,[9] On each occasion, rich presents are conferred in return. The same is the case with the Górkhas.[10] All bearers of tribute, entitled kánpú, on their entrance into, and departure from, China, are attended by an escort.[11]

1. The great ministers resident in Tibet are two in number. They have under them a secretary; a writer; three commissariat officers; and eight men, able to write the Mantchou language, sent from the garrison of Chingtoo foo (the capital of Szechuen): also, one writer acquainted with the Górkhali language, and one interpreter able to speak that language, both from among the Tángúths (or Tibetans.)

They have also attached to them a military body, from the provincial force of Szechuen, as follows:

1	Lt.-colonel - - - - -	Yewkeih.
1	Major - - - - -	Toosze.
3	Captains - - - -	Showpei.
2	Lieutenants - - - - -	Tseëntsung.
4	Sub-lieutenants - - - -	Pátsung.
8	Serjeants - - - - -	Waewei,—and
646	Rank and file—stationed in the cantons of Lassa, Cháshilnubú, Tingri, and Kiángmin:—again	
1	Lt.-colonel - - - - -	Yewkeih.
1	Major - - - - - -	Toosze.
3	Captains - - - - -	Showpei.
2	Lieutenants - - - - -	Tseëntsung.
7	Sub-lieutenants - - - -	Pátsung.
9	Serjeants. - - - - -	Waewei,—and
782	Rank and file,—stationed along the commissariat posts, between Tatsienlú, on the frontiers of Szechuen, and Lassa.	

2. The native officers of the two provinces were formerly appointed by the heads of those provinces—the dalai láma, and the bantchin erdeni (or teshoo láma)—respectively, the higher appointments being announced to the residents, that they might report them to the emperor. Since the year 1794, the official dignities have been settled by the Chinese government, and officers above the seventh rank are now appointed by the lámas aforesaid in conjunction always with the residents.

3. The country is divided into encampments, 124 in number. To each, one or two officers are appointed for the subordinate control of natives—not soldiers—living within the encampment.

The number of the native troops in Tibet is 3000, one third in the canton of Lassa, one third in that of Chashilunbú, and the remaining third in the cantons of Tingri and Kiángmin. Half the number are practiced in musquetry; and the remainder in the use of the sword and spear.

5. The following frontier tribes are named, as lying on the southwest: the Brukbá? the Simanghing? the Tsámláng? the Lomintáng? and the Górkhas. The approaches are by Tingri and Kiángmin, which are guarded by Chinese troops, and are every year visited by the residents in the course of their annual tour of review.

6. The taxes are paid by the nearer districts in kind, and consist in grain, a woolen manufacture called p'hrúh, Tibetan incense, silk, cotton, tea, salt,

and a few other articles of food. The distant places pay in money — which is of native coinage, and in value about a mace: there are also pieces of half that value. All their money was brought formerly from Nipál; and it is since the year 1793, that this money has been coined in Tibet. The flocks and herds are taxed, at the rate of a mace for ten sheep or goats, and the same sum for two heads of cattle. There are also some minor and peculiar taxes, as on the decease of an individual, &c. Fines and ransoms add to the revenue; as also duties on imports and exports. These last are simple. Rice and salt, are taxed at the rate of one measure of each paid in kind on every package. And other goods are charged one mace for every package. The financial affairs are entrusted to native officers, under the supervision of the residents.

7. *Punishments.* These are all in the shape of fines, the sentences of the native officers being always reported to the residents.

8. *Laws.* These refer almost exclusively to eligibility to office, and order of promotion,— tending to overthrow the ancient aristocracy and exclusive privileges; they have reference also to freedom of travelling; and restraints thereon.

9. Tibet sends an annual envoy to Peking. The two lámas take it in rotation to send one. Several lámas of rank, and nobles, send their offerings direct to the emperor, at the same time, that the chief lámas send their's.

10. The Górkha tribute-bearer proceeds to Peking once in five years. The offerings from the "Górkha erdeni king," are elephants, horses, peacocks, ivory, unicorn's horns, peacock's tails, &c.

11. The escort joins and leaves the envoy at Sening, in the district around Kokonor. It consists of two civil officers of rank, and a body of troops under a military field-officer. The envoys are allowed from 120 to 160 asses, supplied by the government; besides which, they are allowed to engage for themselves eighty more; and to have forty followers, with goods, for sale, in proportion.

Art. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Disturbances in Tungkwan; military reviews and literary examinations; European passage-boats; imperial tombs; anniversary of Changling's birth day.*

Disturbances in the district of Tungkwan, a few miles east of this city, were reported here early in the month; they originated in a quarrel between two clans; the contention running high, the parties had recourse to arms, and bloodshed ensued. A party of troops were ordered from Canton, and the disturbances are reported to be 'finished'

Military reviews and literary examinations have occupied the attention of the local functionaries, since the opening of the public offices on the 13th instant, the 19th day after the Chinese new-year. The governor has just left the city for a military review in 'the wide-western' province, Kwangse, which forms a part of his jurisdiction.

The European passage-boats have again fallen under the ban of the great men, whose duty it is to restrain foreigners; and again they are forbidden to sail on the inner waters. Out of one of those boats, the 'Alpha,' twenty-three chests of opium were taken by the Chinese, off Macao, about two weeks ago. Other seizures have been made; but the traffic continues.

The tombs of the imperial family have recently been embellished with a new shade *tree*, and all the formalities of planting it are duly recorded in the Gazettes.

Changling's eightieth anniversary occurred on the 15th December. He is a Mongolian, has served under three emperors, has risen from the lowest to the highest offices of state, and has held the gubernatorial reigns in eight provinces.

THE

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ART. I. *Application of the powers* of the consuls of the United States of America for China, to the amelioration of intercourse with the Chinese.* From a Correspondent. [Continuation of article iv, number ii of the present volume.]

IN the Repository for June last, we gave an outline of a new consular system for Eastern Asia, such as should, in our view, commend itself to an early adoption on the part of the government of the United States. We therein requested, that our countrymen at the southward would fill up this outline as to the regions around them; a request which we still have to repeat, nothing amounting to a modification of our plan, or which would afford important hints to the government of the United States, having yet reached us.

The return of the Himmaleh from her cruise in the Archipelago, has however put us in possession of evidence of what was before assumed, that the independent belt of country lying between the Dutch and Spanish claims, *is* open to commercial and official connections, and that good service would be done by an immediate appointment to our third consular district.

New proof has also been furnished, since our former paper, that it is the steady policy of the Dutch colonial authorities, to bring a great portion of the Archipelago under the closest bondage, and to extinguish all commercial, political and benevolent improvement, whether springing from domestic sources or from foreign interference.

Over the Spanish colonies, the same uncertainty hangs as to their future destiny, and though much may be hoped from the men who

* It will be borne in mind, that we speak of the *powers* of consuls under a *new* system, our demand for which proceeds wholly on the ground, that the ablest officer under the existing system, is deprived of the authority and the instructions requisite for the accomplishment of any useful purpose.

now govern them, the time may be near, when the presence of an efficient officer will be absolutely necessary for the protection of the lives and properties of the American residents.

Nothing has occured, that we are aware of, to lessen the desirableness of some attention to the eastern shores of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula, while it is daily more evident that the western coasts of that island, though without our plan, ought not to be left beyond the regard of the American government. Impressions made on half civilized men are not ineffaceable, and though the Sumatrans will not soon forget the destruction of one of their towns, and the massacre of its inhabitants, yet there is a point beyond which, "remember Quallah Batoo,"— cannot safely be used by the American traders, as a means of intimidation, and a hush-word for all remonstrance. If reports be true, this point will be reached and passed at no very distant day, unless a second interference on the part of the United States, of a different kind we trust, anticipate and avert it.

The interest lately shown by the Siamese in nautical improvements, the uninterrupted residence of American missionaries at their capital, and the probability that the regal power will pass erelong into more liberal hands, make it more and more desirable, that the American executive should still keep an eye to the country, with whose 'magnificent king' it has already formed a treaty. Of Cochinchina, we have no later information either favorable or unfavorable.

We still press the application to these regions of a new system of political agencies, which, while it retains an unpretending name and economical basis, shall elevate the consular officer from a local notary, to a public representative, having his distinct and ample field of official inquiry and action. We do not doubt, that we shall erelong be able to place our readers (including we hope some members of the government in question) in possession of the best information extant, on all these countries. Meanwhile, we devote a few pages to a brief and imperfect application of our proposed consular system, to the empire in which we dwell — to China. In doing this, we proceed upon the conviction, that it is the interest and duty of governments to follow their people in their farthest wanderings, and to watch over the impressions their conduct may convey of the national designs and the national character. It is their interest; for if a long series of acts however petty, are suffered to awaken contempt or suspicion, the after removal or restraining of these sentiments, may cost the negligent government (to say nothing of blood) much time and trouble and treasure. The barriers which have been already raised, under these very circumstances almost all over the east, can be compared to nothing else so well as to the solid and destructive walls, which have grown up in the way of the navigator, in the ocean around us, under an instrumentality which is equally unnoticed and apparently just as contemptible. It is their duty moreover to protect the men, whose honorable exhibitions of the national character, are producing happy results abroad, as well as to check and counteract impressions of an opposite nature.

While a government holds itself bound to discharge this duty, it has however a right to claim from its absent citizens a clear definition of their position, their wishes, and the measures, if any, which they would have it adopt, for their benefit or protection. And when measures have been fairly planned and put in execution by it, on their behalf, either in their silence or by their direction, it should be held to have done its duty, whether successful or unsuccessful. In all such cases, to judge by the event, to use wisdom and success as synonyms, to denounce what time has proved injudicious, is unfair, and especially is it a gross departure from the duty of frank and grateful acknowledgment, which the absent citizen owes to an unforgetting government. This is more particularly true in cases and circumstances where the action of a government is surrounded by unwonted difficulties, when its first efforts are necessarily experimental, and the true path to success can be determined only by having walked in it. To lose sight of all these difficulties, to taunt the government whose representatives have failed in their first attempts to secure the desired protection or relief, is as unjust and cruel as to jeer the enterprising merchant, whose ship may have struck a rock, in seeking its way across an ocean never before traversed. It should in fact, be no more wonder to any, that a new diplomatic field be found full of unforeseen occasions of official failure, than that a new sea should be discovered to abound with hitherto unknown dangers. The track of political missions to the one, may as naturally be expected to be marked by mistakes on either hand, as the charts of the other to be dotted over with the names of the unfortunate ships, whose keels have ascertained its hidden shoals and reefs of coral. The gratitude of the political world, is not less due to those governments, which have contributed by their unsuccessful embassies, to beacon out the way to diplomatic triumphs — in China for instance — than is that of the commercial world to the less fortunate predecessors of Columbus and Vasco de Gama. While an end like this is pursued, through many temporary failures, it is also to be expected, that both governments and their citizens will often owe some indulgence to each other. The citizen will be tempted to complain of the apathy or qualified interposition of government, and the government be annoyed to have to bear with the discordant opinions, which bewilder where they should guide, or to regret the silence which leaves it without any direction whatever. These observations, though they arise on the bare mention of diplomacy in connection with Eastern Asia, are however quite prospective, when applied to American intercourse with China; and this, we wish to be understood, is the only construction to be put upon any remarks contained in this paper.

From the opening of our intercourse with this empire, in 1784, down to the present day, it has been left to itself, the merchant asking no national protection, and the government never affording any. The hasty visits of a few public vessels, have been well received by the American residents at Canton, and their repetition invited, though not productive, as it would appear, of any good whatever. The burden

of a consular system, empowered to tax, but impotent for every other purpose, has been borne with, quietly and patiently. The government has been well content to leave the merchant to his own resources, and has trusted him to make what use he has pleased of its name and character. But if we have interpreted aright the spontaneous effort of the executive to form new treaties in the east, and its demand for a legislative revision of the consular system, the times of this ignorance are nearly past, and we are more than justified in seeking to anticipate and aid the movements, by which we, if any, are to be benefitted or injured. Unless we are mistaken, the only alternative left to our choice is, whether government shall go with us or without us, whether or not we will join 'our partial movement to the master wheel,' and we have therefore hastened to prevent the foreclosure of any deed, which might, if unnoticed, shut us out from some local right or prospective privilege. But we would do more than this, we would offer our conduct to the scrutiny of our fellow-citizens and our rulers, and invite rather than shun the examination, which, if it detect many errors, will at least give new clearness to the definition of duty, and new strength to the motives to discharge it.

Our government is also welcome to our views of its position toward the east, to our estimate of its plans and purposes, and to all the aid which we can lend to the grand end — the amelioration of every form of intercourse. Our first recommendation to it was — provide yourself with, at least, one intelligent correspondent in each of the great divisions of Eastern Asia — possess yourself of the means of information, and be assured that the measures which from time to time present themselves for adoption, will not fail to conduct, if wisely pursued, to an issue equally useful and honorable. To render this recommendation less indefinite, to enforce and exemplify it, we now proceed a step farther, and attempt a brief application of the system already proposed, to our first consular district — to China.

If the United States have no successful or unsuccessful negotiations with the Chinese to look back to — if they have no merits in retrospect — they have at least one consolation. Their backwardness has thrown the burden of discovery on other nations — 'they have no official mistakes to retract, no *faux pas* to recover.' This fact would, however, cease to be a matter of gratulation, were no avail ever to be made of it: if no approach to better terms with China is ever to be attempted, the path thus open might as well be closed forever. But this negative advantage is by no means the only one possessed by the United States: there are other and higher ones. Above the suspicion of any design of territorial usurpation, the American government approaches the nations of Eastern Asia with claims to confidence, which no colony-grasping power can ever offer. It is not only free from embarrassing alliances with other nations, and unencumbered by suspected ecclesiastical establishments, but it has also the still more important advantage of being able to clear itself from all connection with the opium trade, and thus to disarm the Chinese of their great argument, against the freedom or even the desirableness of

foreign intercourse. These advantages belong to the government in its own right, while it has at the same time, in the active and wide benevolence of its citizens, a farther property, which no nation of the European continent can command, and which, even in the case of England, is diverted from China, by the prior obligations her people unquestionably owe to their own fellow-subjects in the colonies. The value of this subsidy must be apparent to every one, who sees in national benevolence the highest commendation of national character and intercourse. It will be illustrated perhaps more clearly than ever before, when the people of America come to regard Eastern Asia, as it is—the grand coliseum of the moral world—the especial arena where their strength should be concentrated and exhausted.

We assume, in this paper, that the government of the United States has become sensible, in some degree, of its happy position for acting on Eastern Asia, and that on the revision of its consular system, it has furnished its agent in China, with instructions to devise and carry out a series of measures, for the amelioration of intercourse between the two countries. We suppose him already at his post, and receiving from the Chinese authorities, not such an acknowledgment as he could wish, but such as brings him into direct or indirect communication with them. Here we suppose him to pause, and before he attempts a direct attack on the Chinese policy, or breaks off from friendly relations on a point of honor or etiquette, we imagine him to sit down to a serious inquiry into the causes of the singular exclusion, under which his countrymen labor, in common with men of other nations. The common law of cause and effect requires this course, and in fact, no rational hope can be entertained of accomplishing, in any other way, the object of his appointment.

The domestic history of China furnishes him with the first clue to the discovery he is in pursuit of. From this it appears, that from a very remote period, China has always stood higher in the scale of civilization and power, than any of the neighboring countries, and that its relations with them have consequently been those of a superior with inferiors. Even in the two instances, when the eastern and western Tartars have taken advantage of falling dynasties and civil distractions to impose their yoke upon the Chinese, the conquerors have been in turn subdued, as the northern barbarians were by the milder skies and higher civilization of Italy. The 'valor of the south' has in both these cases borne out the preference of Confucius, and proved at last triumphant.*

When the consul takes up, in turn, the history of Chinese intercourse with European nations, he will be immediately struck with the apparently exaggerated accounts, given by foreign authors themselves, of the institutions, civilization, wealth, and power of this empire. To

* "To teach men with a patient mild spirit, and not to revenge unreasonable conduct, constitutes the valor of the south, and is the constant habit of the man of superior virtue. To lie under arms and fearlessly meet death, is the valor of the north, and the element of the valiant man." Chung Yung, Sec. 10. This extract throws some light on, what is commonly called, the pusillanimity of the Chinese.

account for this style of expression, he will have to remind himself, that China was in many important respects far in advance of Europe, at the time when these descriptions were written. If he can satisfy himself, that it is because the one has been stationary and the other advancing with rapid strides in every noble reform, for two or three intervening centuries, that their relative positions are now so reversed, no more will be needed, but to bear in mind that early impressions are with difficulty effaced, in order to account to himself for the Chinese hallucination, as to their present superiority, as an empire, over every other people.

A further examination of the same accounts, will conduct him to a like conclusion as to the claims of the foreigner to personal superiority, and explain the pertinacity with which the Chinese refuse to admit any such pretension. The best evidence on this point, when summed up, is, that the mercantile character of the 16th and 17th centuries, as exhibited in Eastern Asia at least, was a compound, in which the mean and sordid, the gross and rapacious, were the predominant ingredients. The quiet industry, the sound principle, the sacred regard to promises, the mutual confidence and support, which characterize the modern merchant, if anywhere met with at that time, were the virtues not of the profession, but of the individual. Nor was the clerical character, the remaining form under which intercourse with the Chinese was then conducted, much, if at all, better. The excellencies of Xavier, Ricci, Verbiest and others, were splendid exceptions, and as such were admired and rewarded. But there is little doubt, that the few among the Romish clergy, whose characters bore the impress of science and sanctity, were far outnumbered by the mass, who, on the other hand, were remarkable for nothing, unless it were for ignorance, ambition, and sensuality. This was the character of that priesthood, at the era of the reformation, and again at the breaking out of the French revolution, and such perhaps it is, though in a less degree, at the present day, in Italy and the Peninsula. Nor does the colonial history of the 16th and 17th centuries favor the supposition, that the clergy abroad were better than the clergy at home — or that it was only the self-denying and the pure, who left the church and the convent, and followed the flags of Spain and Portugal around the Cape and across the ocean, to America and India. To some other causes than truer views, or higher toleration, or purer piety, must it be ascribed, that the forced conversions, so frequently enacted in America, were never attempted in China. When we add to those private and now forgotten wrongs,—those causes of hatred or contempt,—the more public contentions and open ambition of papal legates and rival monastic orders, the Chinese conclusion was natural enough —since these are the teachers and patterns of the Europeans, there are none to contest with our own sages, the prize of universal admiration, the reward of preëminent personal excellence.

If such a conclusion was natural as to the individual, two centuries of such intercourse were certainly enough, to bring into use, those epithets of 'crafty,' 'gain-seeking,' 'turbulent,' 'dangerous,' which

were then first stereotyped *in usum imperii*, as characteristic of the mass, and which have ever since been profusely employed by Chinese officials, in the description of foreign character.

In the course of the 18th century, the evidence against the foreign character disappears in a great measure, and it may even be admitted that it worked in its favor. The improved bearing of the merchant, the silenced contentions of ecclesiastics, and the impress o... made by friendly embassies, may be taken to have more than ... weighed the opposite evidence, and to have gained for the foreign name more respect than it had acquired at any prior period. Could the amelioration, which has since gone on so happily in European morals and character, have been fairly shown, and no new spring of suspicion and distrust have been opened, perhaps the estimate made in earlier times, would have yielded at last, to a later, more just and happier one. But before that century was closed, another thorn was planted in the unhealed side, and Chinese statesmen found a new exemplification of the unchanged mercenariness of the foreign character. It then first attracted their notice, that the foreigner was offering the 'vile dirt of other countries, in exchange for the commodities and money of the celestial empire.' From that time to this, no efforts have been spared, on their part, to eradicate this rankling weapon; but so unsuccessful have they been, that the import of opium, which then did not exceed a few hundred chests, has now run up to 28,000, constituting, in value, more than half the whole foreign imports into China. The great majority of the foreign merchants engaging freely in this prohibited traffic, its nature again afforded a false standard whereby to estimate the foreign character, the Chinese seeing, in the opium smuggler, the lineal descendant of the rapacious merchant, and unholy priest of by-gone centuries. The imperial benevolence interposed, by edict upon edict, in favor of the morals and happiness of the subject; the moral sense of the well disposed, and even of the criminals themselves, became the ally of the throne; and the foreigner, his character, and his intercourse, had no adherents left, but the appetites of the most debased and profligate, whose propensities had overmastered conscience.

This direct line of causes, extending down to the present day from A. D. 1500, will, we imagine, conduct the consul to the real question, now at issue between China and the west, and to the means of an early and satisfactory adjustment of it. Were the point at issue one of national rank — of comparative greatness — of just precedence, — the way to arrive at a settlement would be a trial at arms, or rather a joust at statistics. But the ultimate end in view, is not to settle preëminence, but to ameliorate intercourse; and the natural way to do this, is first to quiet all distrust of the party seeking this grant, by satisfactory evidence of the purity of his designs, and then to press the suit, by proving the mutual advantages of the desired intercourse If hereditary testimony and present experience concur to fill the Chinese with distrust of the foreign character, no blockade can hinder the circulation of those opinions, and all displays of superior military

prowess, must necessarily tend to convert suspicion into terror. If foreign intercourse be restricted or belied — to prove it a blessing, or to make it such — is the first great preliminary to the demand for its appreciation and freedom.

If these views be just — if the question before the American consul be such as we have represented it — his course will be a clear one, and he will feel bound to address himself, first of all, to the vindication of the name and character of his country, and then, to the acquisition of the desired amelioration. Nothing will induce him to delay or slight this his great duty, the highest service for which he is appointed. The measures he takes for these ends — the immediate and the ultimate — must be strenuous and unremitted. They must be seen to be official acts, emanating not from individual disposition, but from superior direction, bearing the stamp of national policy, and not merely the marks of personal virtue. The truly patriotic and noble object which he has in view, gives him the highest right to the coöperation of his countrymen abroad, and at the same time, the unwonted difficulties which beset his path, claim for him the indulgence of his government. So far as concerns the early intercourse of western nations with China, their errors or their crimes, from 1500 to 1784, he can, as the representative of a new people, disclaim all connection with or responsibility for them. His earliest communications with the Chinese government should contain his protest against any such traveling out of the record, or any transfer to the American account, of charges with which his country has no concern, however justly they may be imputable to other nations. The same communications might also embody a brief sketch of the course of the American trade, and call the attention of the authorities to the proofs exhibited through all this time, that the national characteristics are not 'rapacity, craftiness, and ambition.' These, and many other general elucidations of the policy of the United States, he may have opportunity to offer, without unduly pressing a subject, in itself of no great interest to Chinese statesmen.

It is not our purpose to follow the consul's steps through all the vexed questions, which are still to be settled with the Chinese government. Our object is rather to enforce this principle, to which we have brought him — first place the national character on its proper elevation, and *then* demand that it be respected,—first make the national intercourse purely beneficial, and then insist on its perfect freedom; and we feel assured, that though he may err in the application of it to particular measures, addressed as they must be to a nation whose social and political maxims are as unique as their language, the general influence of his exertions cannot but be highly beneficial.

To bear out this assertion, and at the same time to illustrate the working of the principle assumed, we will proceed to make an application of it to the consul's course, in reference to three instances, now calling for his prompt attention, viz.; to the affairs of the cohong at Canton; to the illicit trade with or without the connivance of the local officers; and to the great 'embarrass' of the day,—the opium traffic.

It is well known to most of our readers, that responsibility is a favorite idea with Chinese officers, and that one of the forms which this theory has taken, is the appointment of thirteen privileged merchants, who are at the same time the chief conductors of the foreign trade, the guaranties to the foreigner for the payment of debts due him from any insolvent member of their body, and the securities to the government both for the good behavior of the barbarian merchants and seamen, and the due collection and payment of the customs accruing on the commerce intrusted to them. The local authorities are the more attached to this system, as it shields them in part from the troublesome claims of foreign creditors, and still more as it affords a good mark for exactions; while the security it lends to the revenue, and its apparent benevolence toward the 'far traveled stranger,' commend it to the supreme government. With the domestic grounds and operation of the cohong system we are not concerned, and shall confine our remarks to its bearing on the foreign, and especially the American, merchant, as it purports to be a guaranty for sums due to him from any hongs coming insolvent. It is proper to premise, that these so called privileged merchants are not one monopoly, in the ordinary sense of the word, but rather *thirteen distinct monopolies*, or polypi of a monopoly. They are, in fact, many of them, more closely connected in feeling with their foreign friends than with each other, and as there is no cohesion among themselves, no *esprit du corps*, it follows that there is no collusion to squeeze the foreigner by the maintenance of monopoly prices. On the contrary, they are, as a body, too regardless of their own interests, content with inadequate profits, so that there is probably no native trade of equal magnitude with theirs, conducted in any part of the world, by any set of commercial agents, however free, for so small a compensation. Moreover, it is, and has long been, the custom with them to permit their friends to share their ill guarded privileges, by trading for their own account under the hong protection; and one, at least, of their body, may be said to keep open doors for any man or number of men, doing business with foreigners, who choose to use him as a shipping broker, for a trifling *kumshaw*, a mere fraction over and above the imperial duty. Under such conduct, and with many exactions and many expenses to boot, it is quite natural that insolvencies should often occur in this body, the members of which have no vote on new appointments, and no right of inspection or control over the transactions of each other. In such cases the understanding is, that their private property is not bound for the debts of the insolvent; and in practice, the local government, instead of looking to their estates, authorizes a special tax to be levied on the general trade for the satisfaction of the claimants. Now common sense, as well as political economy, teach. that though such a tax may for a little while bear injuriously on the commercial agent, it falls at last entirely on the consumer of the taxed article.

The Chinese are not supposed to be adepts in political economy, but they are not deficient in common sense, and moreover, it has been well said of them, that they have a good deal of *art*, though not much

science. We will not undertake to say, that the present is a case in point, but somehow it is found by them that tea and silk are the most convenient articles for taxation, and the result is, that a great proportion of the duty levied to meet the claims on insolvent parties—say four fifths—falls on the exports. Meanwhile the foreign claimants petition against the delinquent hong, his doors are officially closed, the claims are presented, the petitioners insist upon their rights, they demand the benefit of the guaranty assured them by the Chinese government; the local authorities demur, and upbraid them with their sordid neglect of its warnings, in accumulating enormous balances by practicing on the necessities of hard-pressed merchants; at length benevolence and compassion sway its indulgent councils; the claims are admitted, and the petitioners are got rid of by an order from the hong merchants for the larger part of their demands—on whom? On their own countrymen, or rather on the consumers of tea wherever they can find them.

But to cut short our remarks, we foresee that the American consul will be compelled to take up this subject, not only or so much because it touches that sensitive point, the pecuniary interest of individuals or of his country, as because it stands in his way as a vindicator of the national character. His investigations will, probably, lead him to these conclusions. The idea of responsibility running through the whole Chinese polity, and the cohong affording moreover a capital mark for official exaction, it is not probable, that any mere request of a foreign consul will affect its stability, or that the government will throw the market entirely open to the foreigner, unless compelled by the force of irresistible circumstances. While the government interferes so far as to designate certain men with whom only the Americans should trade, it is right that it should furnish some guaranty for their probity, and while the commercial habits of the men, so designated, forbid the idea of their accumulating large profits or even keeping above water, it may be necessary that this security be drawn ultimately from the only solvent party, the consumer. Were the cohong a united body, a *bona fide* monopoly, it would settle this question, by elevating its members far above all fear of insolvency, at the expense of the foreigner. It is not desirable that the members should be liable in their private property for each other's debts, for in such case, their industry and enterprise would be destroyed, by the destruction of all hope of personal reward for their labor. Were Chinese courts, courts of justice, and open to the foreign claimant, as they are in Europe and America, no further guaranty, than the right of action, would be needed by the merchant for the safety of his property. So that, as matters stand in China, it is perhaps best that the merchant have some specific security, some recourse, though it be to the consumer, for the ordinary balances which large transactions must leave uncovered between buyer and seller, and which it is not easy for the foreigner to keep always in his own favor. But at the same time, and for all this, the operation of the guaranty, as it now exists, is a serious grievance, demanding reformation for many and weighty reasons.

It is injurious to the small merchant who dares not incur risks, or cannot lay out of his capital, and is therefore compelled to deal only with the solvent hongs, while his richer competitor is receiving, in the shape of higher prices or interests, a premium of insurance on the sums he intrusts to the weaker hongs, the loss of which, if lost, he expects not to bear, as an assurer, but to throw on the unpaid consumer. It is more or less injurious to other parties, for instance—to the importers of goods, usually exchanged for native merchandise, as it affixes a further money-charge to articles which are intended to be disposed of in barter. It is unfavorable to the trade generally, by increasing imports and checking consumption. It is a personal injury to the consumer, who is the ultimate payer; and when the debts of men of different nations are confounded, as they usually are, it is a national wrong to the country whose debts are in the smallest ratio to its consumption. Its tendency is to do further harm by strengthening the consoo, and reviving from time to time its close control over its members. It is, moreover, a public evil, as it exhibits the foreign character in an unhappy light to the Chinese authorities. This is, perhaps, the main evil, as it gives the authorities just the opportunity they like to have, to throw suspicions on the prudence or the probity of the barbarians—to represent them in fact either as breaking through all the warnings of the government, and the restraints of common prudence in the accumulation of vast claims, or as presenting demands which have no just foundation. And when the adjustment of an insolvency case is made, and both merchants and consuls acquiesce in a settlement of the claims, by a tax on exports without distinction of flags, it may be interpreted by the authorities, for aught we know, that the barbarians must really be as deficient in intelligence, or as regardless of the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, as they have always described them.

If the consul come to conclusions like these,—if he see that the guaranty, like a bad poor law, has made the evil tenfold worse than it found it,—converting a private loss into a public injury,—he will endeavor to devise some remedy. He will represent to his countrymen, that the guaranty is to be regarded by them as a security for the necessary current balances of the trade, and not as a motive for augmenting them; that the Chinese regulations are to be observed, both as respects the limitation of the amount to be trusted, and the time when such credits are to be canceled. To the authorities he will make it plain, that he understands the working of the hong system, and treats it, with its pretended guaranty, as it deserves,—as a creature of their own,—useless to the foreigner, serving only their own purposes. Until it can be exchanged for a better system, he will see that it do as little harm as possible, and, if just claims arise from any quarter, he will insist that they be satisfied out of a tax on the imports from the country, to whose citizens the debts are owing. If all discrimination between flags, and between exports and imports be refused or evaded, he will protest that there is very little benevolence or justice in the confusion, and refer the matter to his goverm-

ment. His interference will not have been in vain, if it clear, in any degree, the title of the American merchant to his true character, *haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei.*

The second instance, which we selected for the illustration of our views of consular interposition, was the illicit trade now carried on in the waters of China, partly in defiance, and partly with the connivance of the provincial officers. In this illustration, we leave the opium traffic out of view, and suppose that the trade, though illicit, is confined to an exchange of articles in themselves useful or not injurious. When the consul approaches this question, he will soon discover, that he has not merely to solve the easy problem, whether merchants resident in China ought to abide by the tariff of the country by law established. There is a previous question still open, and he will have conferred a great boon on the residents, when he has so adjusted it, as to leave them nothing but obedience to the sanctions, which, in every country, enforce the just demands of the civil government.

The true difficulty in the case is this—the supreme government, a long time ago, framed a tariff applicable to the foreign trade, and by so doing made the subject a matter of imperial concern and regulation. But this tariff is, and always has been, carefully concealed from the foreigner, by the officers in contact with him, for reasons best known to themselves; and, so far as its provisions can be ascertained, these original duties bear only the proportion of one to two, or one to ten, as the case may be, to those actually levied. Now the great question is, does the foreigner owe obedience to the imperial or to the provincial standard? Are the additions constitutionally made and therefore binding? Or, are they mere local exactions, unauthorised by the proper authorities, and to be treated as such? Does the concealment of the imperial tariff imply as much, and is the supreme government itself hardly less culpable than the provincial, when it abandons the foreigner to the local officer, without a standard for his guidance or protection? After suffering its fiscal laws to be concealed, is it right in prohibiting the study of the language in which they are written, and sending the subject of them to the exactor himself for their oral interpretation? Very various replies have been, and still are, given to these queries, as self-interest or scrupulosity chance to predominate in the answerer. A correct decision involves more than can now be known by the private man, of facts, of the constitutional powers of the provincial officers, &c., and under this uncertainty, it cannot be thought strange, if in our day, when the doctrine of passive obedience is out of vogue, and especially if amongst born and bred republicans, the line of duty be drawn a good way on this side of sir Robert Filmer. The residents at Canton act under these circumstances as men do everywhere, when the temptation is strong, the duty uncertain, the restraint weak, and the risk nothing. They smuggle, some eagerly, some complacently, some reluctantly, but in one or other of the forms to be described, justifiable or unjustifiable, they smuggle, or rather *we* smuggle. This is that *casus fœderis*, on which we, as Americans, claim the interference of our govern-

ment. If there be any possible case, in which that interposition cannot be refused, it is when it is called in to decide, as to the duty its citizens owe to the laws of other countries. From whatever obligations toward us our voluntary exile has discharged our country, from *such* it has not absolved her, nay she owes it to her own interests and honor. We do not ask the government of the United States to turn casuist and settle for us our cases of conscience, but, as the power to which we have delegated the adjustment of all matters of international right and duty, we say to it, ascertain for us what is our duty toward the government of China, relieve us from this uncertainty, which is as painful to us, as it is injurious to you,— and we declare, that, cost what it may, we will meet your requisitions or forfeit your protection.

A little investigation will show the consul, that the evasions of the Chinese fiscal laws differ considerably in character, and of course demand different treatment. The most frequent forms are the illicit storage and transhipment of goods at Lintin, evasion of duties by collusion with the provincial officers of some grade or other, and the smuggling by professed smugglers. These modes of evasion do not form a complete catalogue, but they are enough for all the purposes of illustration.

The first of these departures from Chinese regulations, the storage and transhipment business, though now lying under repeated interdicts, is the least objectionable. It is chargeable in great part to the Chinese ignorance of any debenture or bonding system, or, if such be known to them, to their refusal to adopt either the one or the other. In explanation of this prohibited business, it is to be said, that the commodities carried from China to countries west of the Cape of Good Hope, being much more bulky than those brought to it from the same quarter, it naturally occurs that many ships arrive in the Chinese waters with little or no cargo. Moreover the infrequency of direct opportunities leads to the shipment viâ China of goods destined to Manila, and which must be transhipped for that place on the vessel's arrival in the Chinese waters. The necessity which thus arises would be met, in any commercial country, by the provisions of a transit entry. And again, the great distance of the countries trading with China, the fluctuation of prices, or the misconception of what is suitable to a people of quite different tastes and habits, often result in the shipment of goods to Canton which are afterwards found unsaleable there, and must be reshipped to some other market, or returned to the place of production or manufacture. A further inducement to extensive transhipments exists in the regulation which admits vessels with rice cargoes under a port charge of $1200, while vessels bringing other merchandise, or even coming empty, pay $3000 to $6000. It is, therefore, the interest of vessels bringing but few goods, to tranship them, take in rice, and escape the higher port charge, which in the present day is paid on as few vessels as can carry up the river the merchandise imported. This motive to transhipment may be regarded as a weak one, but the case is much stronger as respects

goods which have been actually landed in Canton, and which it is afterwards found necessary again to reship. These not only do not get the benefit of a drawback, but they are loaded with an export duty, seldom lighter, and usually much heavier, than that paid on importation. Possibly the Chinese may not understand the working of the outside transhipments, as connected with the grace to rice vessels, or their edicts against the receiving ships may be pointed against them chiefly as depôts for opium, but they cannot be blind to the injustice which catches, as in a trap, the unfortunate importer of unsuitable goods, nor wonder if he compare their port to the cave in the fable, whose entrance bore many marks of the ingress of unwary visitants, but none of their egress.* In one view, the authorities which enforce such a regulation, in regard to foreign commerce, are, to say the least, quite as culpable, as the stranger who evades them; and when we call him a smuggler, we do not mean to assert that he is in the least degree criminal, but merely that he eludes a part of the fiscal system of the country. But the whole business is a grievance and a scandal, and therefore calls for the attention of a government careful of the interests of its citizens and of its own honor. The consul should use an early opportunity to bring before the provincial authorities the foreign estimate of the subject, explain the usages prevailing in all commercial countries on this point, the just and equitable grounds on which they rest, and suggest a remedy for the evils hitherto felt in China. The exchange of the kumshaw and measurement, or port charge referred to, for an equivalent duty on goods, would remove a part of the evil. The introduction of a bonding or debenture system would be a far more effectual remedy, and it is easy to apply it, under such checks as would render it on the Chinese part a perfectly safe concession. So long as their regulations detain ships twenty-four hours or more outside, waiting for pilot, they are bound to designate some safe anchorage. This anchorage (which should be Kumsing Moon) affords an unobjectionable opportunity to effect any necessary transhipment, or to bond goods destined to other ports, or which it is desirable should not be introduced immediately. Indeed, the whole bonding system might be carried out here under the eye of Chinese officers, and an entry for Canton, be considered an entry for consumption. Or, it may be required, that the entry for Canton be made within a given time, and the bonding or debenture be arranged afterwards through the hong merchants. The right of search, not being claimed by the Chinese in ordinary cases, it is not desirable that it be conceded, until proper checks can be obtained against its injurious operation. It is within the power of the consul to show, that it is the interest of the Chinese to dissociate the storage of lawful merchandise from the storage of prohibited goods, and since they have long permitted a transhipment of teas at Whampoa, whenever

* The Chinese prohibit the reëxportation of foreign metals, expect three tenths of the silver brought in any one vessel. In this fondness for metallic imports, and in the care with which they guard their native mines, they imitate the Japanese, or perhaps the national prejudice in both cases comes from the same origin.

vessels [illegible] overladen by mistake, it is only becoming that they concede to constantly recurring cases of equity, what they never refuse to accidental necessity. If the local authorities refuse all consent to these changes, the appeal is open to Peking, and in any event, the American resident will have the satisfaction of knowing, that he pursues his interest in these matters under the national protection, or that he sacrifices it in obedience to the claims of national honor.

The evasion of duties by collusion with the revenue officers goes on, at Whampoa, through the agency of the hoppo's boats, or tide waiters, appointed to guard each ship, and at Canton, by arrangements made between the linguists, hong clerks, and the custom-house examiners. In the former case, a hoppo-man agrees to land certain goods from on board the ship, at one half or one third of the provincial duty, or to buy them at a price so much above the market value. In this case the collusion does not probably extend beyond the very lowest grade of revenue officers employed on the river, and no money reaches the imperial treasury. In the Canton moral code, which is rather that of Paley than of Dymond, this is considered smuggling, while the second mode of evasion, through the linguist, is, we believe, regarded as a fair introduction. It has its advantages and its disadvantages. It certainly carries the goods entered through all the forms of a legal introduction, and breaks down only at the not unimportant point, that of payment into the treasury. To take an instance; four small bales of cotton goods, say each containing 25 pieces, are strapped together at Manchester, that they may pay one half-crown instead of four to the Liverpool shipping merchant, and are delivered, in the same state, over the ship's side at Whampoa, into the chop-boat or lighter. They are noted on the chop list as one package, and when landed at Canton, if an honest set of examiners are present, duty is paid on the 100 pieces. But when so good a chance presents, it is quite as usual to make one small bale do homage to the emperor for the whole four, and the duty on the remaining three is divided between the foreign merchant, the linguist, and some dozen more of his Chinese associates. When the settlement of duties on the ship's cargo comes to be made, the smuggled goods are suppressed, and the duties on those really entered are paid to the hong merchant directly, or sometimes, if the linguist be a responsible man, through the linguist. The foreigner, in this case, goes through the whole legal form of entry; he treats with the persons expressly appointed by the government to explain to him what the duties are and to collect them from him; he does not cause the revenue to be defrauded, only he is privy to and shares the spoils of the collusive entry. Some years ago, these arrangements were made so extensively, that we believe we are right in saying, that the general estimate of duties was the rate at which the linguist would introduce goods, and no one pretended to know what the real duty was, or what the linguist's arrangement was, but merely made the best bargain he could for the article to be entered. Afterwards, when the local officers began to examine and levy more carefully, the partial effect was as if the im-

port duty had been increased 20, 30, or 40 per cent., and parties who had always refused to introduce goods by smuggling boats, or through the hoppo-men, were tempted to do so, in order to save themselves from severe losses on articles thus suddenly subjected to an unexpected imposition. Now it will be admitted, on all hands, that the foreign merchant, kept in the dark as to the real tariff, subjected to numerous exactions, is strongly tempted to take his interest or his exasperation for his guide, and to seek in the corruptibility of the lower officers, a refuge from the cupidity of the higher. It is not always between interest and duty, but between two duties, that he is distracted,—between his duty to the government, and his obligation to his absent principal and employer. Comparing himself to a man who has fallen among thieves, he maintains that he has a full right to save a little of his property, by agreeing with the bandit especially commissioned to strip him, to go halves with him and conceal from the rest of the gang that he ever had any. Certain of nothing, but that he is made to pay much more than he ought, he comes to look on the sums extracted from him in times past, as a fund on which he may draw for plenary indulgence as to all present and future sins fiscal.

But whatever personal exculpations may be put forth in these cases, it is manifest that the whole system has a most unfavorable effect on the Chinese estimate of the foreign character. These evasions cannot but be known extensively, nor can they do less, wherever known, than awaken suspicion of the foreigner on the score of probity. Even the local officers, who share the spoils, cannot think very well of their associates, and if we suppose that any loftier spirits among them, ever rise to stations of influence, they must carry with them no good recollections of the strangers, from whose crafty evasions, it was their early exercise to defend the revenues of their imperial master. The foreign government which consents to bear the weight of such injurious impressions, to slumber over a system so unhappy, that the only parties that can have any interest in its continuance, urge that it be broken up, consents, not to say deserves, 'to suffer as an evil-doer.'

These reasons are enough: the consul must be instructed to demand a tariff and a copy of the custom-laws, under no less a sanction than the vermilion pencil itself, and if the provincial officers, to whom this 'glorious uncertainty' is worth perhaps $1,000,000 per annum, refuse to forward such a request, the United States will relieve it of that unwelcome office, and meanwhile register all sums paid by American citizens for duties, to be recovered back, if found to exceed the imperial standard. His declaration, that the United States would have all their citizens abroad bear an unimpeachable character, his disavowal of all sanction on their part of individual illegalities, must satisfy the supreme government, and if any injurious regulation now evaded, is revived against the merchant, it is a fair subject for further negotiation.

The last form of evasion which we have alluded to, is the running of goods in smuggling boats, or outright smuggling. This was extensively practiced not long ago, before 'fast crabs and scrambling

dragons' were destroyed by the exertions of the present governor. This mode of illicit importation may be less objectionable than the last, as to its influence in corrupting the native officers, or rather, as it makes the foreigner a less direct instrument in offering the temptation. But on the other hand, it raises up and maintains a desperate class of men in the bosom of the community, whose outlawed condition removes them from social restraint, exposes them to extraordinary temptation, and doubtless sinks them, in a multitude of instances, in crime and ruin. So long as their collusion with the officers of the preventive service is perfect, these final evils do not show themselves, but it is probable that neither here nor anywhere else can such a system prevail long, without involving collision and bloodshed. Our conclusion, therefore, is, upon full consideration, and we doubt not that the consul will arrive at the same, that no time should be lost in clearing the American community from all connection with this practice, by treating all such offenses against the Chinese laws as offenses against the American interests and character.

But the instances which we have thus far made use of all yield to the opium question, in intrinsic importance, and also as an occasion for the consular interposition. A fair, though not perhaps a full, view of its present position may be gathered from the following extracts, from some able Chinese official papers, lately made public, full translations of which our readers will find in the numbers of the fifth and present volumes of the Repository. From these documents it appears, that opium was an article legally imported at Canton, under a low duty, down to 1796, in which year, it first attracted the notice of the then governor of Canton, a member of the imperial family. This officer, 'regarding it as a subject of deep regret, that the vile dirt of foreign countries should be received in exchange for the commodities and money of the empire, and fearing lest the practice of smoking opium should spread among the people of the inner land, to the waste of their time, and destruction of their property,' besought and obtained its prohibition. This prohibition has been continued ever since, and the offense at length made capital on native parties; but notwithstanding this, the import, which then varied from 1000 to 2000 chests, has since run up to 28,000, and is still rapidly increasing. The domestic feeling in which this interdict originated is further illustrated in the proclamation of the governor of Canton, in 1820. 'As every region has its usages and climate proper to itself, the celestial empire does not forbid you people (of the west) to make and eat opium, and extend the habit in your dominions. But that opium should flow into the interior of this country, where vagabonds clandestinely purchase and eat it, and continually become sunk in the most stupid and besotted state, so as to cut down the powers of nature and destroy life, is an injury to the minds and manners of men of the greatest magnitude, and therefore opium is most rigorously prohibited by law.' It may be necessary to add here, as a further explanation of all this outward care on the part of the Chinese government for the morals and well-being of its people, that its ancient patriarchal constitution originally

invested its head with full paternal control over all these matters, and made it almost as great a crime for a ruler to license public vices, as for a father to sell the means of self-destruction to a son for money. The ancient maxims of Confucius breathe the same spirit when they say, 'Nourish the people as the mother does her tender offspring;' and, 'How delightful is it when a prince is the father and mother of his people!' Thus while the colonial governments, all over the east, are turning the vices of their subjects to great account as sources of revenue, the Chinese, instead of selling licenses to smoke opium, prohibit it entirely.

We return now to resume our examination of the documents referred to. After a long and ineffectual struggle carried on against the opium traffic, a party in the political circles, wearied with the contest, or secretly favorable to the drug, or regarding its legalization as the less of two evils, came forward (August, 1836,) to propose the removal of the prohibitions. The plan no doubt was, that a leading minister at Peking should move the measure, that it should be supported by the Canton authorities on its reference to them, and, coming back with their local approval, it was supposed that the imperial sanction would not be withheld from it. Heu Naetse, the vice-president of the sacrificial court, was the person selected to bring forward this important motion, and his able memorial, no doubt, produced among the Chinese, as well as the foreign residents, a considerable sensation. On looking over this remarkable state paper, the first thing which strikes us is, that it is not on any abstract ground that the proposed change of measures is recommended. Heu Naetse does not deny the evils resulting from the opium traffic, nor question that the existing prohibition is perfectly constitutional, nor does he argue that public opinion, or any other popular power, rather than official edicts, is the proper safeguard of the morals and wellbeing of the people. He rests his measure on grounds of expediency only. 'The nations of the west,' he premises, 'have had an open market in China for upwards of a thousand years, while the dealers in opium are the English alone. It would be wrong for the sake of cutting off the English trade, to cut off that of all the other nations. Besides, the hundreds of thousands of people living on the seacoast, depend wholly on trade for their livelihood, and how are they (in such case) to be disposed of? Moreover, the barbarian ships, being on the high seas, can repair to any island that may be selected as an entrepôt, and the native seagoing vessels can meet them there: it is, then, impossible to cut off the trade. Though the commerce of Canton should be cut off, it will not be possible to prevent the clandestine introduction of merchandise.' Taking all this — and it is an important admission — for granted, the vice-president adverts to the evils flowing from the opium trade, and proceeds to press the expediency of his measure of legalization. One argument is, that it will divest the traffic of all the objections peculiar to it as an illicit commerce, and relieve the innocent people, who now suffer under the abusive and extortionate exactions of the officers of the preventive service. But his main argument

is, that, if opium be legalized, while the export of silver remains prohibited, it will come to be exchanged for goods only, and thus more than 10,000,000 of money will be annually saved to the empire. Our readers are aware, that the Chinese currency is purely metallic, and that either the depreciation of their copper money, or the inadequacy of their circulating medium to the demands of an increasing commerce, or the close restrictions which guard the native mines, or the exportation of silver which has been going on for some years, at the rate of $3,000,000 to $6,000,000 per annum, or all these causes combined, have produced a real or apparent scarcity of that metal, and thrown the financial affairs of the country, for some time past, into as great difficulty, as if it had fallen a prey to some merciless bank-monster. Heu Naetse shares in the general anxiety; the idea, that 'the easily exhaustible stores of the central spring should go to fill up the wide and fathomless gulf of the outer seas,' occupies his mind, and the lives of the people, and the dignity of the government, are small matters with him, if 'perchance a plan may be devised to stop the further oozing out of the money, and to replenish the national resources.' 'It will be found,' he says, 'on examination, that the smokers of opium are idle lazy vagrants, having no useful purpose before them, andthat they are unworthy of regard or even of contempt. Although there are smokers to be found, who have overstepped the threshold of age, yet they do not attain to the long life of other men. But new births are daily increasing the population of the empire, and there is no cause to apprehend a diminution therein; while on the other hand, we cannot adopt too great or too early precautions against the annual waste which is taking place in the resources—the very substance of China.' And again he says, 'so long as the removal of restrictions on the use of opium is confined to the common and vulgar people, who have no official duties to perform; so long as the officers of government, the scholars, and military are not included, I see no detriment to the dignity of government.' Let none 'that are called on to fulfill the duties of their rank, and attend to the public good, or to cultivate their talents, and become fit for usefulness, be permitted to contract a practice so bad, or walk in a path which will lead only to the utter waste of their time and destruction of their property,' on pain of dismissal from the public service. But these exceptions made, he concludes, 'if we still idly look back and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are impoverished, and their wealth departed.' In short, the vice-president puts the 'lazy vagrants,' along with the 'empty dignity' into one scale, and the 10,000,000 into the other, and exclaims, 'on which side is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance.' The silver is the heavier.

The memorial of Heu Naetse was accepted by the emperor, with all the indifference of Adam Smith's 'impartial spectator,' and referred to the provincial officers of Canton, who returned a very favorable

report, along with a set of provisions for the regulation of the opium trade, after the removal of the prohibition. But at this stage, a new and apparently unexpected opposition to the proposed measure arose, on the part of two statesmen, no less able than Heu Naetse and his Canton supporters. Choo Tsun, member of the council and of the Board of Rites, and Heu Kew, sub-censor over the military department, presented counter memorials, and it would appear that, for the present at least, they have out-argued the legalization party. These able men agree with their opponent in his estimate of the evil of the opium traffic, and lament with him, that the fine silver is daily lessening in quantity, and the price still rising, so that for want of it, the officers of government and the people are both alike crippled. They further agree, that 'the true cause of this diminution is its clandestine exportation,' and that 'the chief medium by which it is drained off, to fill up an abyss of barbarous nations, that never can be filled,' is the purchase of opium. They concur in the remarkable admission, that 'to put an entire stop to the commercial intercourse of western nations in one day, would be derogatory to the high dignity of the celestial empire, productive of any but good results, and in fact impracticable.' But when they come to the measures proper to be adopted in this exigency, they part company with their antagonist. Legalize the importation, take care of the silver, the precious silver, and let 'the vulgar people be the victims of their self-sacrificing folly if they will,' is the language of Heu Naetse. The counter memorialists reply;—the welfare of the people, the dignity of government, the safety of the state itself, forbid this course, and we demand, that the already severe laws against the drug, in every stage of its progress, be strictly and even capitally enforced. In their opinion, the sloth and remissness of the officers entrusted with the enforcement of the restrictions are the real causes why the resources of the empire are now, and for so long a period have been, subjected to so fatal a drain. They do not value the 'fine silver' less than their opponent, but they prize the people more. 'The wide spreading and baneful influence of opium,' says Choo Tsun, 'when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands the most anxious consideration. Property, it is true, is that on which the subsistence of the people depends, yet a deficiency of it may be supplied, and an impoverished people improved; whereas it is beyond the power of any artificial means to save a people enervated by luxury.'* 'At the present moment,' he adds, 'the minds of men throughout the empire are in imminent danger; the more foolish being seduced by teachers of false doctrines, are sunk in vain superstitions, and cannot be aroused, and the more intelligent, being intoxicated by opium, are carried away as by a whirlpool, and are beyond

* These sentiments will remind the English reader of Goldsmith's lines:

"Princes and lords may flourish or may fade,
"A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
"But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
"When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

recovery.' 'If the prohibitions be suddenly removed, and the action which was a crime be no longer accounted such by the government, how shall the mean among the people know that the action is still in itself wrong?' The memorialists had been obliged, in petitioning for the legalization, to draw a line between the 'common people,' and the 'capped and belted men of distinction and learning.' This distinction, Choo Tsun demolishes at a single blow. 'The common people of the villages,' he says, 'do not smoke now. But if the measures of the government be such as to permit, nay, to induce these to smoke, can it be hoped that the officers, scholars, and military will be made to refrain? What,' he asks, 'are there any of these officers that are born in civil and military situations, or of these scholars and soldiers that are born such? All certainly are raised up from the level of the common people; and, if while among them they were smokers, by what bands of law can they, after their promotion, be restrained?'

On the repeal of the prohibitions, as affecting the dignity of government, the opinion of Choo Tsun is thus expressed. 'Having once expelled the English dealers in opium and suppressed the trade, (in 1821,) shall we now call upon them again, and invite them to return? This would be indeed a derogation from the true dignity of government. The partial remedy afforded by the old enactments is surely better than such a change of laws.' The ground which Heu Kew takes on the same point is still higher, and his decision still more clear. 'Having a conviction,' he says, 'that the thing is highly injurious to men, to permit it notwithstanding to pervade the empire, nay, even to lay a duty on it, is conduct quite incompatible with the yet uninjured dignity of the illustrious celestial empire.'

But these statesmen are not content with meeting their opponent on his own ground. They go beyond him, and assert, that the question at issue concerns the safety, the independence of China. From the history of neighboring countries, as well as their own, they derive inferences on this point, to which we entreat the friends of eastern amelioration, if there be any such among the politicians of the west, to listen, for they throw light on the Chinese estimate of foreign designs and foreign intercourse. 'In the history of Formosa,' Choo Tsun says, 'we find the following passage. The natives of Kaoutsinne, were at the first sprightly and active, and, being good soldiers, were all successful in battle. But the people called Hungmaou (red haired) came thither, and, having manufactured opium, seduced some of the people into the habit of smoking it, so that in process of time the natives became feeble and enervated, submitted to the foreign rule, and ultimately were completely subjugated. Now the English are of the race call Hungmaou. In introducing opium into this country, their object has been to weaken and enfeeble the central empire. If not early aroused to a sense of our danger, we shall find ourselves erelong on the last step towards ruin.' And turning to domestic authority, he adds, 'reverently perusing the sacred instructions of your majesty's all-wise progenitor Kanghe, I find the following

remark made by him in the 10th month of the 55th year of his reign, (A. D. 1717)—'There is cause for apprehension lest, in centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collision with the various nations of the west, who come hither from beyond the seas,'—and now, within the period of two centuries, we actually see the commencement of that danger, which he in his divine and all-pervading foresight apprehended.

The charge, that opium is brought to China, not for private profit, but for the purposes of political subjugation, is not reiterated by Heu Kew, but he closes his memorial with equally clear allusions to future collisions, and in a much bolder strain. After recommending that the severest penalties be inflicted on native offenders, and urging the government to turn if necessary on the foreign dealers in opium,—to apprehend them,—'to require them to write to the king of their country, telling him that opium is a poison, which has pervaded the inner land, to the material injury of the people, and that the government, in consideration that they are barbarians and aliens, forbears to pass sentence of death on them, but if they do not desist from the trade, their commercial intercourse will be interdicted, and the laws executed on them capitally,'—he resolutely adds, 'As to the fear that such severity may lead to a contest with foreign nations, again and again I have revolved this subject, and reconsidered, how that, while in their own country no opium is smoked, the barbarians yet seek to poison therewith the people of the central flowery land, and I have, therefore, regarded them as undeserving that a single careful or anxious thought should be entertained on their behalf.' 'If their designs be evil, and they are left to go on from step to step, until our people are worn out, and the wealth of our land wasted away, how I ask, if any difficulty then occur, shall it be warded off? Rather than be utterly overthrown hereafter, it is better to exercise consideration and forethought now, while our possession of the right gives us such energy and strength, that those barbarians will not dare to slight and contemn our government.'

We have already remarked, that the arguments of the counter-memorialists have for the present prevailed. Report says, that the conviction is very general throughout the country that the traffic cannot be prevented, but that the emperor recoils from an act that might awaken against himself the indignation of the virtuous portion of his people, and rank him among those unworthy sovereigns of by-gone times, whose names still pass among the Chinese of the present day as proverbs of wickedness. We have no correct calculus to apply to the probabilities, whether this indignation will be laid asleep, by yet more potent doses of the drug, or whether the dread of posthumous infamy will always bear its present sway in the imperial breast. Meantime one thing is certain, the drug has been more boldly and actively smuggled within the Bogue of late, than at any time since 1821 The authority of the provincial governor is exerted in such a manner, as to fill the prisons with offenders, while it interposes scarcely any check to the introduction of the article, and the inference is

that he and his disappointed associates are still working for their favorite measure of legalization.

Our object in making these long extracts has been, to show the feeling prevailing at Peking. They place the statesmen of a great empire before us, in a singular dilemma; casting lots, it may be said, whether the national wealth, the lives of the people, the honor of the government, or the independence of the state, shall be sacrificed on the altar of foreign intercourse, for the preservation of the rest. They say nothing of the centuries of unworthy exhibitions of foreign character which have passed, nothing of the mercantile rapacity or priestly ambition of former times; all the apprehensions of foreign designs, and the evidences of foreign malevolence, are centred in the opium trade. They describe the introducer of opium, as the author of the most pressing evils of the country, the consumer of its substance, the destroyer of its people, the corrupter of its officers, and the plotter of its final subjugation. They afford, we think, unanswerable testimony, to the truth of the principle with which we set out, that the question immediately at issue between the Chinese and foreign governments, is a question of character, the clearing up of which is strictly preliminary to every anticipation of bettered intercourse. We take them as such, and we repeat that on the part of the latter, this vindication of character, this clearing up of designs, this proof of just and worthy purposes, does and of right ought to precede the demand of free and confiding intercourse. Until it is proved that cupidity, craftiness, rapacity, and ambition are not the characteristics of the suspected party, the question now open, if such it be, cannot be brought to a proper issue. It may be disposed of by an appeal to arms, or it may remain undisposed of, but in no other way than that which we have indicated, can it be fairly settled. No lapse of time, or effusion of ink or blood, can restore the foreigner to his forfeited honors, unless the attainder and the corruption be first reversed and done away by the redemption of the foreign character. It is in vain to talk of rights and justice, and run through the whole vocabulary of innocence struggling against oppression. It is in vain to vapor of national honor and dignity, and to call on the crowned or uncrowned executives of the west to avenge the insults done to their people or their pictures. Should they come in any other shape than that of respondents to the gravest accusations, their lofty language or proud pretensions would only add to the difficulty — they would inevitably be received as a confession, in advance, to the unpreferred charge of unblushing arrogance, at a time when, and before a tribunal where, it were more becoming to lay aside the sturdy tone, and either demand an acquittal humbly, or sue for respect and protection, *sub formâ pauperis.*

It is right and proper, then, that the American agent, in the work of amelioration should begin here. And since the worst suspicions of foreign designs are pointed at in the opium trade, since its magnitude is the strongest argument to the Chinese, that foreign intercourse is an evil and not a good, his chief business for a time is, to prove

that his *government* has no sympathy with the traffic, and to preserve, if he can, the whole legitimate commerce of the country from suffering [illegible] with one obnoxious branch of it.

The historical explanations the American consul can make would be of no use on this point, as the traffic in the drug has almost wholly grown up since 1784. Neither can be shelter himself under the declaration that America produces no opium, for, although the memorials which we have drawn on state this fact, and appear to regard the English as the sole criminals in the case, yet it is no secret here, that the opium of Turkey has long been imported on American account, that American vessels store it at Lintin, that the American flag covers it up the coast, and that one at least of the American residents at Canton has already been included in an edict of expulsion on its account. The consul must, therefore, meet the case, as one which, if it criminates England, implicates his government also, though to a less extent. He will not, probably, accept the benefit of the compassionate excuse, made in favor of his countrymen by the governor of Canton, in 1821, that they were emboldened to the trade, because 'they had no king to rule over them.' Disdaining all pretexts, one of his first measures will be, to inform the Chinese government, on what grounds his superiors have at any time permitted their citizens to carry on a prohibited and injurious trade. He must distinctly state, that their views of justice require that no criminal, however guilty, be ever twice punished for the same offense, and that, never doubting the ability of the Chinese executive to vindicate its own laws, they have left their citizens to the legal consequences of their own actions, deeming it improper to interfere, except by after remonstrance, should they prefer any well grounded complaint. Simple and supererogatory as this explanation may appear, it is not going too far to assert, that the governments of China and the west have always been at cross-purposes on this very point. The mutual misunderstanding it is not difficult to account for, nor to remove. Western governments are accustomed to usages, which lay the stranger and the native citizen under the full operation of the same local laws. It seems but right to them, that the Chinese who repairs to England, for instance, shall breath its free air, and at the same time be liable, if he smuggle, to the penalties of its fiscal code. They suppose that the same is the case with the foreign resident at Canton. But the fact is, that he remains an alien in his new home, under an undefined jurisdiction, partly administered by the chief or consul of his own nation, and partly by the Chinese. It is true that the foreign representatives have refused, in some instances, to lend themselves to the Chinese, as instruments for punishing offenses against the local laws; but these very applications proceed on the admission of some authority, and these special disavowals have been coupled with assertions of a right of general control over their countrymen, though abandoned at that particular time. It is not, therefore, a wonder that the Chinese authorities, knowing that the British E. I. Company possessed the right of deporting their countrymen, and that the

Portuguese at Macao exercised judicial power over theirs, even in capital cases, should suppose that the same representatives, or their successors, *can* order off their people from smuggling the 'vile dirt' on the coast. And when such an exertion of th representatives' authority is refused and no explauation is annexed, it is as natural that the Chinese inference should be,—there is collusion in the case—the foreign governments protect the opium trade! Now this error, so far as it touches his country, it is the business of the American consul to correct. He must have an understanding with the Chinese authorities, where his own authority begins, and where it ends; but more than this, he must make it clear, how far his countrymen in China are protected, and how far not. No historical explanations are complete, no proofs that America is incapable of colonizing or plotting the subjugation of an independent state are valid, without this. It is, in fact, a most reasonable thing that the American residents in every foreign country should make their choice, either to pursue that course which merits and may claim the protection of their country, or to deviate from it at their own risk. It is not right, that the traffic in opium, while regarded as it is by the Chinese government, apart from all moral considerations, should continue to be carried on under the shadow of the American name. As a mere matter of pecuniary interest, it is not, to America at least, worth its heavy cost. The paltry freight, commissions, and storage, on a few hundred chests of opium, per annum, are no compensation for the national loss. The repeated applications of the Chinese to the British representative and to the Chamber of Commerce, to send away the receiving ships, prove that they are in earnest; and, if in earnest, then it is impossible to assign any other reason, than the supposed protection, for the impunity with which the foreign residents openly carry on a trade, while the native dealer is adjudged worthy of death. For England to decline, or to delay, to make the explanation here suggested, may be intelligible, when we consider the deep interest her Indian territories have in the continuance of the trade. In her case, it is a mere postponement of national duty to pressing interest — *virtus post nummas.* But America has no colonial treasury to fill from such sources, and for her to pursue the same course, is to forsake the greater for the lesser advantage,—to forget the charge *nequid respublica detrimenti caperet,*—to sacrifice, in fact, the national interests, on the altar of the national disgrace.'*

Our conclusion therefore is, that the consul should be definitely instructed to state to the provincial and supreme authorities, that the opium traffic has not the sanction or the sympathy of the American government, giving at the same time the fullest notice, the fairest

* The statements of trade for the year ending 1st July, 1837, prepared by the Chamber of Commerce, give—

Import of opium under the British flag, value -	$19,471,238
Total imports do. do. - -	34,900,662
Import of opium under the American flag, value	275,621
General trade do. do. - -	8,201,430

warning, to any of the American residents, who may be found interested therein. We doubt not they will receive the warning, and hasten to shake off the obnoxious connection with becoming readiness. If this should not be the case, if the personal profit of a few should stand in the way of the national honor and interest, a further understanding must be had, as to the mode of dealing with such delinquents. To us it has always appeared, that the Chinese have pursued a mild and benevolent course, in calling on the public representative of the foreign nation to restrain his countrymen, because, in fact, it is a preventive and not a vindictive course; not a punishing, but a compelling the offender to desist. If the Chinese authorities still prefer to follow this system, we see no reason why the United States should not lay the necessary injunction on their people; but if this be too great a deviation from western usage, it is enough for the national vindication, that the viceroy be distinctly informed that the American offender has forfeited his country's protection. Thus, it is to be hoped, the Chinese statesmen may be convinced, that America is no party to any compact to enfeeble their strength, and ultimately to rob them of their liberties.

In recommending these apparently harsh measures, we must be understood as consulting great national interests, not private character or personal demerits. We are ready to bear testimony to the intelligence, liberality, and general worth of the residents at Canton, though the principles of the temperance cause may not be yet recognized, nor the full bearings of their agency be realized, by the majority. Here, as elsewhere, men contend that the consumer only is responsible for the abuse of the articles which he perverts from their proper uses; and, were any other shelter needed, in this particular case, it would be found in the company of the honorable growers of the drug, in India, and in its defenders in high places—the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, and the Imperial Parliament. To any taunt pointed at the Canton merchant, from either of these high quarters, or from the crowd of respectable principals in Europe and America, of whom he is but the agent, the Bengali proverb, 'he calls me thief for whom I steal,'—is an appropriate and sufficient answer.

But here some impatient amelioration ist may ask; 'Is this all you have for your consul to do in China?' By no means. This is but a beginning. Our instances are but illustrations of a p inciple to be carried into operation in a multitude of cases. It may do for the rulers of colonial empires in the east, to take a prouder attitude, but we would have America assume no higher stand, than the level on which she shall place and maintain her public character. Let her show herself worthy of all confidence, we say—and then claim it; let her prove her intercourse a blessing, or make it such, and then demand for it unfettered freedom. This duty discharged, no disappointment should be felt, if the desperate corruption of the provincial authorities shut their eyes to the fullest proofs of the point so established. This treatment probably awaits the consul, and for it we have made provision, in recommending the presence of a public ves-

sel, by means of which he may transfer himself and his evidences to a more northern tribunal, whenever the appeal becomes manifestly necessary. And such an appeal once made, we are prepared to recommend further, that it be prosecuted without intermission, though it prove as difficult of decision as a suit in chancery.

Before we close these observations, we must give the friends of the opium trade the benefit of their prediction that the article must and will be legalized,—that, it is in fact, already undermining the exclusive system of China,—and that it is unnecessary and impolitic to interfere with its operation, or deprive ourselves of the powerful influence it is exerting in our behalf. We might discredit the prediction, and refer to proof already given of the unmitigated evil of the opium trade, and insist that, if overruled for good, it can only be by the agency of that great Being, who once made the most enormous crime recorded in the history of man subsidiary to the most glorious results. But our wish is not to bar discussion, but to obtain and impart a clear and just view of the case.

To do this, we will take either alternative; that the trade in opium be legalized, or remain in its present prohibited state. If it remain as it now is, all the evil, suspicion, hatred, and contempt, which the memorials have disclosed, must evidently go on augmenting, an *immortale odium, et nunquam sanabile vulnus.* If, on the other hand, the legalization act be carried, on what grounds must we suppose that the change will be made? For the sake of principle, or duty, or choice? Rather, is it not manifest from the statements of its movers and friends, that a dire necessity is the only argument for the measure which they press? They make no attempt to conceal the dilemma to which they are reduced, and so far as public motives—reasons of state—are concerned, they rest their motion on this ground only,—that it is the least dreadful alternative at which they can deliver the country from the most pressing of the evils resulting from foreign intercourse. Is it to be supposed that this dilemma can be a pleasant one to the honest statesmen of China, or that a submission to such a necessity can endear to them the people who have subjected them to so miserable a choice? If we consider the probable results of the legalization, we shall find ourselves at a loss to discern how the foreign relations with China are to be thereby improved in any event. If the 'idle vagrants' are to be the only holocaust, it will still be true that the drug found them uncontaminated; no honor surely to those whose *auri sacra fames* could not be appeased by any lesser sacrifice. If the 'capped and belted men of learning' are to remain unseduced the while, then the public officers of the country must be supposed to be far more superior to the fascinations of the drug, more sensible of its miseries, and more hostile to the agents of its introduction, than they now are. If, on the contrary, the dignity of government, and the virtue of ministers, are to sink before the seduction of the legalized article, a general demoralization becomes the basis of future intercourse. Is this wide demoralization, this universal corruption, a necessary preliminary to the

freedom of communication with China? Are our aims such, that their attainment is incompatible with the existence of any virtue within the empire? Are we sure, when we thus resort to poisoned weapons, that we have already exhausted the expedients of honorable warfare, or even the arguments for a true and lasting peace?

Did we certainly foresee the legalization of the trade, the prospect would lead us to urge with still greater impatience the immediate interference of the American government. Our apprehension would then be, that we should have to write upon the history of her interposition, 'too late—too late.' And regarding such a result as extremely probable, we *do* urge it to hasten its steps, to put in its protest, to tell the Chinese, without delay or reserve, that it is not America which has forced them to this sad alternative,—that America, while she interferes not with the legalization as an act of public administration, will at the same time, bear none of the odium of the measure, nor be responsible for its results. In doing this, it is not necessary to lend any support to the theory, common to Plato and Taoukwang, that it is the grand end of legislation to make men virtuous,—that morality can be taught by imperial edicts. On the contrary, the consul is free to declare, that his own government never deals in such prohibitions, but relies on the power of public opinion, operating through the popular associations, which despotic nations so much dread, to put down every popular vice. He can point out to his official correspondent, the superior efficiency of his restraining power, and urge on the emperor to call it into action in the present crisis. On the showing of his own ministers, the officers and military are the chief consumers of opium in China, while the people are comparatively pure, so that it cannot be difficult to determine which of these classes should be selected as the agents for suppressing the national vice.

But enough on this point. The manifest advantages which America has for acting on Eastern Asia, first drew our attention to the subject of this article, and the more we have looked into it, the clearer has been our conviction, that her duty and interest will be found in the path we have pointed out. It is in fact the singular advantage of the United States over their great rival, that their interests and honor here completely coincide. It shall be no fault of ours, if their coincidence be longer unrecognized and unfelt. We give the directors of our international influence fair warning, that we will not quit our claim on them until it is fairly admitted, or until that public opinion, to which we and they are alike amenable, has judicially set it aside. We will follow it from court to court, from the circles of our private friendship, to the congregation, the assembly, the capital, the press, until the claims of Eastern Asia, for which we appear, are recognized, or declared invalid, by the highest appellate jurisdiction on earth.

But this notice, served upon the government, must not be taken as a discharge of the suit we bring against the people, the sources and the administrators of public opinions in the United States. It will be of little moment, that the government go before us to ascertain our

obligations, to define the claims of the national honor, to cover and protect our enterprises, and to open new fields of exertion hitherto closed, if all these helps and facilities are in the end slighted and abused. We therefore claim, that a salutary control, such as is exerted everywhere by an enlightened public opinion over personal conduct, be extended to us. It is no disparagement to any of our number to say, that he needs this mild restraint, this generous supporter, abroad as well as at home, in Eastern Asia as well as in the United States. Hence we counsel the American community, to follow with their impartial scrutiny the actions of their private representatives throughout the east, and if they find an agency operating anywhere to the public injury, to pronounce, while commending the offender to mercy, a solemn judgment on the class,

Instances of offenses both against the uncertain enactments of arbitrary rulers, and against the higher and clearer authority of moral laws, have been given in the foregoing pages, and we intreat the impartial tribunal, which must decide on what is 'dearer to us than great riches,' our good name, to assume the jurisdiction over the whole subject, to discriminate between the several cases, and to decide at once on them all, as to the law and the fact. Such an interposition is a kindness to the absent citizens, a duty to the people by whom it is exerted, and to the remote community on which it is made to act. It is a kindness to the individual to point out what occupations an enlightened public opinion will never sanction, what acquisitions it will never suffer their possessor to enjoy in peace. Moreover, a generous, benevolent community, pledged to universal civilization and Christianization, in whatever sums it may cost, cannot look on unconcerned, and see its exertions frustrated, and its contributions of treasure and life lavished without return, and be just to itself. Its claim to a sincere charity towards a remote people is invalidated, if it suffer its own members to pursue, for want of one word of direction or remonstrance, a course which is plunging a far greater number, than its bounty can ever relieve, in penury and guilt. It cannot be deemed to act fairly, if, while it is proffering the means of mental and moral instruction with one hand, it presents with the other what it knows to be irresistible temptations to debasement and crime. It exposes itself to the double charge of hypocrisy and injustice, if it hold out, on the one side, encouragements to the present and future advantage, and on the other, displays what must be overpowering allurements to the paths that lead down to death. If the American people really consult the interests of their absent members, their own character, and the true well-being of eastern men, they will not fail to awaken a powerful public sentiment against the antagonist influences, which now threaten to turn all their efforts and their expenditure to a fruitless waste.

But there is yet a further office for the same public opinion to perform, in China itself. The evidence is ample, that the moral character, as well as national designs of foreigners,—their benevolent as well as their private enterprsies,—are involved in deep distrust. It

has been already shown from public documents, that their civil character is suffering severely in official estimation; and the inference is not a forced one, that their moral and Christian character must be as much more misapprehended and dishonored, as its claims are higher and its nature more pure. If Chinese statesmen, living under the light of nature, have detected the deformity of foreign conduct, while it regards them as half civilized beings, it is natural to infer, that contempt will rise to derision and mockery, when they and their people discover, that these men lay claims to a purer morality than their own. If they could be compelled to admit the superiority of the Christian standard, the proof must necessarily become a demonstration, that they who so hold the truth in unrighteousness, are beings whom no motives can stimulate to virtue, and no restraints bind. The clearest evidence of their superiority in knowledge must, in the same way, only prove them to be men, *scientiâ tanquam angeli, alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes qui humi reptant.*

These suppositions appear to be borne out by facts. The ships which visit the coasts of China to distribute the Bible, share in the suspicions which are already awakened by the opium fleet. The diffuser of useful knowledge, who hopes to find an ally in every man's conscience, is confounded with the justly dreaded introducers of opium, and is in danger of being rejected conscientiously unheard.

Nor does it apppear that the legalization, of which so much is hoped, will mend the matter in the least. If the moral sense of the people of China triumph over the legalized fascination, no official proclamations can disguise from the keen-eyed and upright native, the motives of the foreign dealer, any more than they can hide the havoc he has made. *Timeo Danaos, et dona ferentes,* will be the instinctive answer of his heart to every proffer of instruction or advantage, from hands supposed to be so employed.

If, on the contrary supposition, the 'vile dirt' pervade the inner land, and its use extend at this rapid rate, until demoralization is the result, what a prelude to Christianization is this! It is in fact, eradicating every germ of pagan virtue, and sowing the most noxious habits broadcast over the land, as a preparation of the soil for the graces and virtues of the religion of Christ! To say nothing of those national scourges,—dissension, anarchy, civil war,—which so generally attend periods of public corruption, it is preparing a great people for Christian liberty, by enslaving them to the most degrading vice! It is steeling the heart against the claims and promises of the gospel, and turning its keenest edge against every future preacher of righteousness, *temperance,* and judgment to come. And if you suppose that even demoralization must have its crisis, and a remorseful repentance succeed the period of wild excess, picture to yourself a rifled, humbled, sobered people coming to itself. Imagine the distributer of the Bible to approach the awakened object of his compassion,—where in the whole sacred volume, which he presents him, will the penitent find the fittest language to express his case? Is there any within its whole compass more descriptive than this? 'Our inheri-

tance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens! The joy of our heart is ceased, our dance is turned to mourning! The crown is fallen from our head, woe unto us that we have sinned!' And when he recalls the image of the instruments of his degradation, how strong will be the temptation to continue the same prophetic strain, when its tone of lament thus changes to imprecation. 'O Lord, thou hast seen our wrong, judge thou our cause. Render unto them a recompense according to the work of their hands! Give them sorrow of heart, thy curse upon them!' 'Talk not to me,' may the sobered Chinese be supposed to say, in time to come, 'talk not me of blessings beyond the grave; we have enough of your tender mercies in this life.' Had he ever heard the tale of the tortured Indian, his hope of heaven might be imagined to depend on the answer to the same agonized inquiry, 'Will the Christian be there?'

Whatever may be the course of affairs in China, however slowly they may move, or however rapidly they may hurry on, to the final crisis, we trust before it arrives, that at least public opinion — the united sentiment which triumphed in the American temperance reformation — will make itself heard and felt here. We would fain hope that the moral, the sober, the excellent among the people of China, shall soon know that the sympathies of millions in other lands are on their side. We would fain hope, that the names that swell the long lists of the members of the American temperance societies will soon be subscribed to memorials designed to cheer the native of China in his efforts to turn back the tide of corruption, which is now sweeping over his country, as well as to hail him as a fellow-laborer in the same noble cause. We would fain anticipate, that he will be taught erelong to discriminate between the distributers of the Bible and the distributers of the drug; for otherwise the sacred volume is in danger of universal rejection, by the moral and the profligate; by the one, out of abhorrence of those who present it, and by the other, for the condemning truths it contains.

But our limits are much exceeded, and we must bring these hasty observations to a close. In conclusion, we beseech the government and people of the United States, by the solemn sanctions of public and private duty, by the heavy weight of national obligation, by the vast responsibilities of a Christian people, and by the inestimable value of eastern regeneration, to abandon a vain and criminal neutrality, and to stand by the honor and interests of the country, in this remote region of the earth. Far as these countries are from the territorial bounds of the United States, they are not beyond her influence, nor, we would hope, without the limits to which the patriotic duty and regard of her citizens extends. To the true lover of his country, its honor abroad can be but a little less dear than its domestic interests. His patriotism will bear this test, it will take this range. Let these criteria be now applied. *Sit deniqui inscriptum in fronte, uniuscujusque civis, quid de republicâ sentiat.*

ART. II. *Foreign relations with the government of China: consular authority at Canton; British and Chinese intercourse; future measures; the security merchants and their debts.*

OUR correspondent, in the preceding article, has grappled with some of the principal difficulties, which embarrass foreign intercourse with the Chinese. The document came into our hands, while two series of papers were being published here; one in the Canton Press, styled, 'British and Chinese intercourse;' the other in the Canton Register entitled, 'The Future.' A pamphlet, respecting the security merchants and their debts, was published about the same time. Thus, four separate pens were simultaneously laboring on the same subject, 'foreign relations with the government of China.' We hope the several writers will continue their efforts, until the existing evils are removed. A few short extracts, presently to be introduced, will show the position taken respectively by the Register and Press.

Respecting consular authority in China, a few words are necessary to prevent misunderstanding. It was long doubtful, whether a political agent, not engaged in commerce, could obtain permission from this government to reside in the provincial city. The application of the British chief superintendent for leave to reside here, settled this question in the affirmative. A residence being granted, an office was opened, and the flag hoisted. But the subsequent proposition for direct official intercourse, made in obedience to instructions from the British crown, was refused; and consequently, and very properly, the flag was struck, and the chief superintendent withdrew from Canton to Macao. For the present, therefore, there is no communication between the British and Chinese authorities.

Virtually — officially — all the other consular functionaries, resident here, are in the same predicament. They may be charged with unlimited power over their own countrymen, and may exercise it by the confinement or deportation of the same, for aught the Chinese care; but to the native authorities, even to the very lowest, the consular power cannot approach in person or by direct communication; he is only allowed to present humble petitions, to be reverentially submissive, and to yield trembling obedience. Such is the position of foreign authorities here; with the native, they are allowed no equality, no reciprocity, no respect. When, therefore, we have to speak of the disabilities of consular power, the reference is not to the incumbents, but to their position, relative to the local government. This is not what it ought to be. The time will come, however, when it will be elevated, and secured in its proper place — on the broad basis of perfect equality and generous reciprocity. And we hope no governmental agents will approach the Chinese, until they have some definite knowledge, both of the circumstance in which they are to act, and of the persons with whom they are to treat.

So far as practicable, when great questions are discussed — especially if they are involved with difficulties, as in the present case, it is desirable to adduce the testimony of different authorities. This we wish to do; but our extracts, both from the Press and Register, must be short. The first extract refers to the British authorities in China.

"The commission, which was to have civil, criminal, and admiralty jurisdiction, which was to protect the British trade, and to have smoothed all things with the stubborn local authorities, was, after a blustering and ill-directed attempt, obliged to fall back upon Macao, where it lingered for a while, when branch after branch fell or was lopped off, and the whole of the brilliantly-got-up establishment is now reduced to a kind of consulate, though under another name, having no influence whatever with the local government, and altogether unable to protect the commerce of Great Britain or benefit it in the slightest degree."

After describing the situation of Chinese officers generally,—'as placed between two fires,' where, if they act on their own responsibility and fail, they must be punished, or, if they follow their instructions and fail, they must still be punished,—the following particulars are given touching the local functionaries.

"It is generally supposed that the offices of governor and hoppo of Canton, which usually are conferred for the space of three years only, are obtained at Peking only on payment of a very large sum of money, and that, moreover, at the expiration of the term of such government, it is expected that very handsome presents will be made to those in power, to screen the ex-governors and hoppos from prosecution for extortion or other malversation in their affairs. Such offices therefore become something like a commercial speculation. Power and influence are not the only objects of the occupants — they must be reïmbursed for their actual outlay, and not only for that, they must provide for what in Anglo-Chinese is called squeezes, after they shall be divested of office. Money-making therefore necessarily becomes their great and engrossing object; and, to obtain this, every office under them is again let out on terms similar to what they hold their own upon; and thus every government employé or mandarin considers his place as much his own as an underwriter does his share in an Insurance Company, trying to make the best of the risk whilst he holds it,—or as a speculator in mines, who having paid up every successive *call* on his share, thinks himself entitled to his quota of the *bonanza*, which latter is however much less certain to recompense him than the squeezes of the mandarin are to repay him for his original outlay. This venality of government among the Chinese extends even to the very lowest offices, and the police officer, stationed in the square before the factories, has purchased his rank, as well as the highest officer in the empire."

The office of governor is conferred without any limit of time; that of hoppo is an annual appointment, generally renewed once or twice.

Speaking of the importance, to the Chinese, of the foriegn trade the writer says, 'the sum total of the foreign import and export-trade of Canton and Lintin amounts annually to the enormous sum of *ninety millions* of dollars; the exports of tea, during the season 1836–37, were in value $20,033,608, and those of silk, $10,836,872, maintaining an aggregate population of at least 1,200,000 individuals.' He then asks —

"How then, such being the case, can the Chinese government affect to look with indifference upon the trade that nourishes so many of its overgrown population; and must they not, in case they throw obstacles in the way of its continuance, fear rebellion and revolution, to which, by starvation, their subjects would very likely be driven? Of this, we doubt not, the local authorities at least are well aware, though the imperial government may not be, owing to its great distance from the districts chiefly interested in foreign trade. We ought, therefore, in future transactions with the Chinese government, never to lose sight of the fact, that the cessation of the foreign trade *would involve the Tartar government, probably, in great difficulties, and that the trade has become so necessary to them that the Chinese cannot now do without it.* Threats of stoppage of trade, or of driving away foreigners, ought to be allowed very little weight, and, in never abandoning this position, the conviction is gained that we have become necessary to them."

A chapter of grievances, interspersed with various remarks (for which we have no space), is made up of the following particulars.

"1. British merchants are liable to be sent away accordiug to the pleasure of the Chinese government, without sufficient cause being assigned.

"2. During their stay in Canton they are debarred from the society of their families, no foreign ladies being allowed to reside in Canton.

"3. The restraint on personal liberty is such, that foreigners are prohibited from taking healthful exercise, for which their habitations are too confined.

"4. In case of homicide, the foreigners have not the benefit of the law in force among the Chinese, but they are punished according to an oppressive law made expressly for, and enacted only against, foreigners.

"5. The trade is confined to Canton alone, instead of permission being given to trade at all the ports of the empire.

"6. The monopoly of the cohong, while exercising an undue control over the foreign trade, renders it at the same time unsafe, from the insolvent state of many of the hong merchants.

"7. The undue interference of the government with these hong merchants, who, being appointed by the former to transact foreign trade, ought not to be subject to arbitrary fines and punishments, renders them frequently unable to do justice to their foreign creditors.

"8. The foreign merchant has no control over his own property, after its having been landed.

"9. Foreign merchants are not allowed to build warehouses to store their property, which not only at present is completely under the control of the Chinese, but is in considerable danger from fire, the warehouses of the hong merchants being in the most crowded parts of the suburbs, so that any fire breaking out during the winter, the north wind, carrying it to the southward, endangers their safety.

"10. Foreigners have no control over merchandise shipped from China, shipment being made through the hong merchants and their servants, and the property exposed to all sorts of malpractices.

"11. We have no fixed tariff of duties, which latter are generally paid by the hong merchants, except in cases where foreigners wish to take their goods to their own premises, when the latter pay the duties according to the best bargain they can make with the linguists."

The right of the Chinese to follow their present policy, and the means Great Britain may employ as most likely to bring about a better state of affairs, are next discussed. The system of non-intercourse, and the opposition of the Chinese to an amalgamation with

foreigners, with the dread of encroachment on the Indian frontiers, are likewise dwelt upon. The writer then proceeds to say —

"Under these circumstances, it is not, therefore, likely that any diplomatic missions to Peking can be of use; nor have the many embassies hitherto sent by Portuguese, Dutch, English, and Russians, ever had the slightest result. What then is to be done to accomplish the so much desired object of increased facilitations of trade with China? Negotiation will be unavailing; armed coercion, besides being unjust, is probably as unlikely to bring about the desired end. On commerce alone, therefore, this task devolves; and that commerce will do it in the course of time, though perhaps slowly at first, but securely, we have no doubt.

"To extend our trading limits ought to be the chief object of the free trade; and, shrewd and active a people as the Chinese are, we are justified in supposing that such attempts will be favorably met by them, though probably opposed by the government; in fact, the few trials hitherto made of trading voyages on the coast have invariably shown us the people as desirous to trade, but the government as inimical to those attempts. Mandarins in China are however accessible to golden reasons; and they may be found in other ports, as well as in Canton and its vicinity, to barter their trust for money. We would therefore recommend, in spite of the prohibition of the government, to push the trade to the other parts of the coast; and believe that, though repulses will be occasionally experienced where the mandarins have much influence, or where they are more honest than elsewhere, many of such attempts will be crowned with perfect success, and the oftener the experiment is repeated the less will the risk of failure become.

"Hitherto this kind of trade to the ports in the vicinity of Canton has, with very few exceptions, been carried on exclusively in the article of opium; and, since the opium trade at Lintin has been more than usually obstructed by the government, a number of vessels, perhaps 15 to 20, of about 150 or 200 tons each, are continually plying on the coast, disposing of their opium. The success of this trade, though its increase and consequent influence on the population from the use of the drug is much to be lamented, affords a singular proof of the weakness or supineness of the government; for, though during a number of years edict after edict has been issued against it, denouncing the heaviest penalties against the natives concerned in it, yet the introduction of the article has increased every year in quantity; nor is it probable that any measures the government may now take will be sufficient effectually to put it down; nor will it perhaps ever cease, unless the Chinese nation themselves discontinue smoking it. The immense value of the article has hitherto chiefly attracted the attention of foreign speculators, as holding out greater prospects of profit than less valuable manufactures, which being besides, though liable to a duty, legally imported into Canton, hold out not the same temptation to the Chinese to posses themselves clandestinely of them. We should think, however, that the attempts to introduce British manufactures into the northern ports will soon become more common, and that, if the Chinese learn that they can be regularly supplied direct instead of obtaining these goods from Canton at an enhanced cost, they will contrive means for introducing them into the country, either in spite of, or with the connivance of, the mandarins, and make the returns in the produce of their country, which, finding thus a new market, would soon be collected in sufficient quantities to afford a good freight to these foreign coasting vessels. By such proceedings, the government, not to be altogether defrauded of the duties, will at last be compelled to permit foreigners to trade at ports which have been hitherto shut against them, and the people will soon learn to appreciate the advantages of a direct trade.

"It may be objected to our plan, that by its execution we incite the Chinese to disobedience of their government; but laws can only be said to exist as long as they are enforced; if the government of China has not the power to prevent smuggling, others are not to be blamed for availing themselves of their weakness."

Two more short paragraphs will close our extracts from the Canton Press.

"Though we are convinced that commerce will successfully establish its empire all over China, yet ere this be accomplished many years may pass away, and meanwhile the trade carried on by foreigners in Canton remains exposed to the vexations already enumerated, and the property of British merchants exposed to the caprice and bad faith of mandarins and hong merchants. Our persons remain liable to insult, and yet we have no protection whatever from the government at home, which, instead of providing such protection, which it is not improbable may be, at times, of the utmost importance to the British residents in Canton, contents itself with passing a bill through parliament for appointing a court of justice in China, with admiralty jurisdiction; which court is not only to take cognizance of differences between Englishmen and of offenses committed by them, but it is also to be empowered to do justice to foreigners on their appeal to it against British subjects; and of which foreigners, in an opposite case, would of course not acknowledge the jurisdiction. Instead, therefore, of assisting its subjects in China and protecting them, the British government is about to place them on a more unfavorable footing than any other foreigners trading here, or even than the Chinese, who may, in this projected court, prosecute an Englishman, and possibly obtain an award against him, without that Englishman having in return the protection of law, should the Chinese become his debtor. * * *

"What then is to be done to afford to the British trade in China the protection it may stand in need of? We would ask for nothing at present but a small squadron of British ships of war, to be stationed in the China sea, and, from time to time, to touch at Lintin. If for instance a frigate and two gunbrigs might be employed in surveying the coasts, thus accustoming the Chinese to the sight of British men-of-war, and the frigate being frequently at Lintin would assure the sons of Han that the British were not so unprotected as they have hitherto deemed. We see no reason why the British government should not extend that protection to the China trade, which it affords, for instance, to that of South America, probably not one eighth part as valuable as that of China. Yet, on the coasts of Peru and Chile you continually find British men-of-war, whilst to China they come only as angels, visits' 'few and far between.' It is true a station off Lima is much more agreeable than one at Lintin, besides being profitable to captains as giving them freight of specie, which here they probably would not have; but a small squadron, such as we have pointed out, would be of very great use, not only for the sake of the impression it would make on the Chinese, but also as affording actual protection in case of any serious difficulties with the Chinese, of which several causes combine to render an occurrence probable. Surely the British government can spare a few ships of war to protect a trade that gives it a yearly revenue of four millions sterling,—a revenue greater than any it receives from the trade of any other individual country, and which yet seems to be as little cared for by the government as if it did not exist, whilst we see attention lavished on the safety and protection of trade in other places not a tithe of the value of ours."

The writer in the Register, 'lighting his torch from the past,' comes at once *in medias res.*

"It is only by the favor and compassion of the self-styled supreme emperor, that foreigners are allowed any trading intercourse with his subjects: neither the government nor the people of China have ever granted any rights, practical or abstract, to foreigners; at the present moment it is this principle of intercourse alone that is acknowledged by the emperor and his officers; it is the feeling of benevolence to and compassion for distant foreigners that causes the claims of Hingtae's creditors to be listened to; and let us not be too much startled at this difficult and unpalatable doctrine; for it may be in the recollection of many that the East India Company's supercargoes held what is usually called the 'country trade' to be simply a trade of sufferance; a tolerated trade, which was accorded as a matter of grace and favor; but a trade that possessed no rights; a trade that could not, legally, stand upon its own defence of its own interests; a trade that could be (and has been) suspended by the fiat of the select committee; and, further, who can forget the petty jealousy with which the E. I. directors guarded their hateful and illimitable privileges? Was not half of this fair globe not only closed to commercial enterprise, but to philosophical curiosity and apostolic zeal? Can we wonder, then, that the ignorant, proud, and bigotted Chinese strive to hold their supremacy over nations which have been made known to them only through the transactions of commerce? * * * To break up the frozen system of exclusion, to set in motion and direct the current of international communication with the Chinese, is the delicate task and the imperative duty now before the British people. We propose in this and one or two following numbers to continue the subject of 'the future' with China; which may properly be divided into the three following branches: the causes; the means; and the end. The causes — why any peculiar exertions are now more necessary than at any former period. The means — if any exertions are made, and how they should be directed to attain success. The end — a free trade with China, based upon the mutual interests and good faith of the two countries."

Some of the causes why peculiar exertions are now necessary on the part of Great Britain, the writer adduces in the two following paragraphs.

"The trade has now been opened four years; and we apprehend, that the confident expectations entertained of its speedy and unlimited extension have not been realized. That the trade will ever continue as long as the two nations are in existence we have not a doubt; but that it will continue under the best possible condition, unless the Chinese and British governments come to some definite understanding for its regulation, we have many doubts. The present state of the trade is almost equally discouraging to the hong, and to the foreign, merchants. The hong, as a body, with only two or three exceptions, may be considered, if not bankrupt, at least as unsound and unworthy of commercial confidence. The E. I. company could, and did for a long period, right or wrong, prop up the tottering hongs; and by their method of apportioning the shares of the company's business amongst the hongs, that body of merchants were rendered more independent of each other. But now the foreign trade is nearly monopolized by the senior hong merchant, and one or two others, who buy the imports only through their poorer brethern. And it will ever be impossible to prevent such forestalling, whilst the system of confiding the management of the foreign trade to official merchants is persisted in. This system, therefore, and the utter insecurity of foreign property when it has once entered the port, the divided interests of the foreign trade, and the impossibility of combination amongst its members for self-protection and as a counteracting force against the proceedings of the hong merchants

and the local officers, is such a state of things as imperatively calls for the interference of the British government, in order to promote and protect the British and Anglo-Indian trade of China. * * * Were we even to accept the Chinese government principle of 'benevolence and compession to distant foreigners,' as the ground of our argument for extended communication at the present day, we might urge, that as the Chinese father has a legal right of life and death over his own issue at its birth, yet,—in the cases of the infant, child, youth, and man,—if his compassion spares the infant's life, a greater degree of turpitude will attend the taking that of the child, still more that of the youth,—but the father will be held accountable to the laws for the murder of the man. So with the Chinese government principle with respect to foreign intercourse: it has been conceived, born, nurtured, reared, and cherished through the various stages of its being, until it has attained its present age and gigantic growth, by the 'benevolence and compassion of the celestial empire.' Its right to existence is now undoubted; it holds an acknowledged station in the world, and it has its own onerous and serious duties to perform, a station and duties which celestial compassion and benevolence must now concede and respect."

To show the magnitude of the interest to be protected, and the importance of the question at issue, the writer gives a brief statement of the export of teas; remarks on the operations of the E. I. Company's agency in Canton, which 'has, it is supposed, turned the profit of the trade in tea and raw silk—about $4,000,000—in favor of the Chinese;' and then adds—

"If it be the general impression of the whole body of foreigners resident in Canton, that circumstances have, at length, brought us to that condition, and to that period of time, when any further delay to establish themselves on a defined, acknowledged, basis, will not only be a pusillanimous abandonment of their rights and duties, but will be a criminal and suicidal act; and if there be a conviction, that such abandonment will most surely prepare the way for a much worse state of things than even the presnt; and if it be the real intention, as it is the evident interest and special duty, of the British government to stand forth, the first among all foreign states, to protect the trade of its subjects with China; then the means of such intervention will become the subject of anxious consideration.

He next adverts to 'the new functionary who is expected to be appointed to her majesty's commission in China,' with power to hold a vice-admiralty court.

"But it is a serious question, under the present state of the British opium trade, how far the presence of a British functionary, invested with such powers by his own, and conceded by the Chinese government, is desirable in China. * * * The most important part of the question, as it will appear in any efforts to bring the two governments into a friendly communication—and perhaps in this view, it should be called the most important obstacle—is the nature of the opium trade—a government monopoly in Bengal, a smuggling trade in China. We have little doubt but that the progress of public opinion will conquer this monopoly of a luxurious and slow, but certain, poison, as it is used in China. Otherwise it will be a fearful state of things, if a professing Christian government cannot support itself, except by using the industry of its pagan subjects in the most revolting form, and devoting the land, not to the support and ornament of life, but to the support of the treasury and the degradation and destruction of life. The production of, and the trade in,

opium must be *free;* whether its consumption will then increase is, a subject we shall not now presume to discuss; but we are inclined to think not. This crucial question once removed, the British government can then come freely and boldly forward, and demand a just attention. When the path is thus cleared, a schedule of grievances to be redressed, of rights to be acknowledged, and of privileges to be granted, may be exhibited to the 'benevolence and compassion' of China; but it must be enforced by the determination and self-respect of England. Nothing short of showing ourselves able and determined to hold, at our own option, that we now hold, and to extend our friendly and commercial relations with China, as the revolution of time my render feasible and desirable, will avail us in any new attempt to open a communication with the imperial government."

Of both the imperial and local government his views are pretty fully indicated in the two following quotations.

"The division that has reigned in the councils of the government at Peking for the last two years, relative to the question of admitting opium, is a most singular fact in the history of the trade. It may not be generally known, that there are two parties in China, which may be compared, and not inaptly, to those of the Whigs and Tories in England; or rather to the liberals and conservatives of Europe generally: the first granting, as an axiom in politics, that alterations and reforms are sometimes necessary; the latter denying the axiom, and alleging that the government of the present should always be unchangeably modeled on that of the past. When such distinctive opinions are heard of in China, it is evident that this country has not been, as some are fond of arguing, totally unimpressed by her foreign connections; although the difficulty of ascertaining how near to and ready she may be for any change, may still remain.

"The fact that opium is admitted with the full knowledge of many of the government officers, not excepting even the highest, is too notorious to require any elucidation; and late transactions in the trade have been so glaring, that it is impossible to prevent doubts of the sincerity of the intentions of both the imperial and local governments in their endeavors to put an entire and final stop to the trade. The fact seems to be, that all official appointments in China are given and accepted with the full understanding, that the individual is to supply all deficiencies in his emoluments by any course of connivance and corruption that is not too scandalous. Whilst the daring enterprise of foreigners is met by the cupidity and corruption of Chinese officials. and both are fostered by the Bengal and Malwa governments, the continued existence of the opium trade, under the system of exclusion, may be safely predicted."

While descanting on the means to be employed and the end to be secured, the writer says—

"The means to bring about a better commercial understanding should be applied to the emperor, not to any of his subordinate governments. It is his fiat alone that can open other ports to the foreign trade; his will is the rule of action in his dominions. No doubt, the 'established regulations' would be strongly insisted upon; but it must be shown by the other party, that these said regulations have long been utterly futile to their desired end: the proof of which lies in innumerable imperial edicts. That, in short, to preserve the maritime provinces from throwing off their allegiance, from falling into a state of confusion which may peril the continuance of the rule of his family, and even the existance of the long-boasted celestial empire, a reformation in its foreign relations has now become imperatively

necessary. The arguments which could be used by foreigners to justify and enforce their claims for attention, are so cogent, and the commercial interests of all, but more especially those of Great Britain, are so interlaced with the question, that we think we have arrived at the time when some effort must be made by the government of that country to change her present relation with China for the better. Foreigners, generally, are surely not to remain any longer satisfied with the nonsensical, babbling, pretences of the thunder and lightning of the laws and established regulations, which both natives and foreigners are in the daily habit of deriding and breaking. The honor and interests of the British empire are now so involved in the necessity of assuming a far different position in this country, that the conviction that longer delay will only increase the dfficulty of the task has become resistless. Since 1787, the year of lord Cathcart's mission — two embassadors with *tribute*, and four chief superintendents, with numerous and able *attachés*, have been planted in the celestial empire — but what have been the effects of their efforts and labors? Are not their total defeats on every occasion sufficient evidence that a different mode of proceeding, to that of carrying tribute to the foot of the emperor's throne, must be now adopted? * * *

"It must be the policy of foreigners to teach the Chinese the true meaning of the word, *national*. As yet they are ignorant of it — or rather ignorant of its true political sense; the whole nation is bound by old saws; the past is the mirror in which they dress themselves; which reflects all their thoughts, knowledge, and acts; the words country, nation, people, are buried in the outward veneration bowed to the names of Confucius and their *ta hwangte*, their great emperor — the coädjutor of heaven and the supreme ruler of earth — and a Mantchou Tartar, of a tribe which four hundred years ago had not an alphabet! A tribe that numbered at the conquest about 10,000 clansmen; which is supposed to number now 100,000; and it is this tribe that, by a sort of family compact, puts its veto on the social intercourse of the whole human race of 1000 millions; that by lying, fulsome, and ridiculous edicts, stops the progress of civilisation and knowledge. Religion, science — the Bible, steam, railroads, navigation, and all the efforts and discoveries of the human intellect, are made non-entities, that one family of savages may perpetuate its supposed supreme rule of the world. But is this anomalous and ludicrous pretension to be longer borne? No. This delusion must be dissipated; a *novum organum* must be given to them; and to teach the new philosophy is the proud task of England."

The author of the pamphlet, respecting the Chinese security or hong merchants and their debts, first describes the past and present state of the hongs and the relations of the foreign merchants with them; in the second place, he remarks on the altered situation of the British merchants under the free-trade, which has deprived them of the means they possessed previously to recover their claims; and thirdly, the altered circumstances of the hong merchants, owing to the free-trade and other causes, which afford them no longer the same means to meet their engagements, are discussed; these three topics occupy twenty-five pages of his pamphlet, of which he gives his readers the following 'recapitulation.'

"Before proceeding to show how the British government may aid its subjects in China, it may be useful to recapitulate the preceding facts, and supply a few omissions, to impress upon the mind of the reader — that the debts now owing by the hong merchants are a bona fide transfer, so long as they continue unpaid, of three millions of dollars of capital from the foreigners, chiefly

British merchants, to the Chinese. That these debts are not the result of speculation upon a high rate of interest, but are incurred almost necessarily by the conditions of their ordinary trade — and that another condition of that trade is, that such debts shall be repaid under the imperial guarantee. That the debts being an abstraction from their trading capital, and not a chosen investment of money, the foreign merchants have no longer the inducement to consent to a protracted payment of their claims, which former creditors had; nor if they had, could they now put the same faith in the fulfilment of the compromise. That the British merchants who have succeeded to the E. I. Company, not possessing the advantages of that body's monopoly, and consequent identity of interest and unity of action, are neither in the position to avoid incurring the debts, nor to recover them when made; and that the organs of her majesty's government in China have not, as yet, possessed the means to acquire moral weight with the local authorities or hong merchants, to replace the commercial influence of the E. I. Company's factory. That, whilst deprived of the E. I. Company's influence, but still opposed to a monopoly on the part of the Chinese, the foreigners have had to compete, so far as tea is concerned, with the worst effect of a government monopoly in England; viz: a heavy stock in the hands of parties not personally interested in its disposal; and, in one case, with an unlooked for and arbitrary change in the duties, having, to the British merchant in China, all the effect of an ex post facto law. That these results have further been attended with the introduction of the E. I. Company's funds into Canton, in a manner to occasion violent derangement in the currency, and consequent fluctuation in prices. That the above circumstances of the free-trade have equally injured the Chinese merchants, and involved them in losses, which have reflected upon the British merchants in the shape of the debts now in question, and are likely, if no change occur, to lead to others hereafter. That the British merchant in China has no choice but to trade with the hong merchants in the bulk of both exports and imports, excepting opium. He has, moreover, with few exceptions, no warehouse in which to store his goods, nor consequently the means to ensure them against fire or fraud, nor to enforce his contracts and engagements for them, with the Chinese. That he has no choice in the nomination of the security merchants with whom he is compelled to trade, nor means to ascertain the amount of their capital. He has still less means to know if that capital be applied to the purpose of trade, or if it be abstracted for the demands of the extravagances or for the aggrandizement of the hong merchants' families. That the new hongs commence their career with the payment of a tax to the hoppo and other mandarins of 60,000 to 80,000 dollars, which in most cases must absorb their whole capital, and compel them to borrow either from the foreigners or from their own countrymen. That new duties have been levied from time to time under pretext of paying the debts of foreigners; but that those duties are not discontinued after the necessity for them ceases, and the foreigners have no means to ascertain if they are funded for the discharge of future debts, or appropriated to the uses of the hong merchants or the mandarins. That the foreigners are even compelled often to advance these duties; for the hoppo will not grant a port clearance for a ship about to leave the port, until the duties upon her inward cargo are paid, which it is the proper business, according to the custom of the place, for the security merchant to do; not even when the goods are unsold, and the state of the market may keep them on hand for months. But as the so called security merchants are not obliged to secure ships, the two wealthiest seldom or never do, and the duty falls oftener, in consequence, to the poor hongs. It constantly happens, therefore, that the departure of a vessel is delayed, because the security merchant cannot pay the duties upon her cargo; and, as

most vessels are consigned to one party only, and her cargo to many, it becomes a matter of contention who is to advance the duties for the security merchants, and the consignee of the ship is of course obliged to yield. The sums which we have seen to be due to government by the hongs are, therefore, chiefly on account of export duties, and amount, pro tanto, to a remission of duties upon their own staples, at the expense of the foreign imports. That when goods are once landed, they cannot be reshipped except upon payment of the whole import duty again, in the shape of export duty; however bad the market may have become in the meanwhile, or however doubtful the credit of the hong may have become in which the goods are deposited."

The aid required from the British government, he describes in the following parapraphs, which close his essay of thirty-three pages.

"It is at all times easier to point out grievances and abuses, than to devise a remedy for them: and this is peculiarly the case with regard to the foreign trade in China. The remoteness of Canton from the seat of government renders it impossible to the foreigners to ascertain the policy of the imperial government with respect to the foreign trade, or to know if the acts of the local authorities spring immediately from that policy, or if they are merely the suggestions of their own self-interest or caprice. Either from one or other cause, the foreigners are, no doubt, subjected to many annoyances in carrying on their commerce, some of which have already been submitted to the British government, and remedies have been proposed involving questions attended with remote consequences, which it does not fall within the province of this enquiry to enter into. Its object is limited to obtaining payment of the debts owing to British merchants by the Chinese, and guarantied by the Chinese government, and to lessen the risk, if possible, of incurring similar responsibilities in future.

"These debts constitute a transfer of British capital to the Chinese hong merchants, of about three millions of dollars, which the creditors require, surely not unreasonably, to be repaid within that time in which that capital would double itself by compound interest at the usual market rate of twelve per cent., which time is about six years. Whereas the Chinese propose to liquidate the debts in nine years, beginning with next year; which, in the case of Hingtae, would be ten and a half years from the date of adjustment of account, and a still longer time in the case of Kingqua. The British government may interpose its authority with the emperor of China to obtain earlier payment of Hingtae's debts, without fear, it is conceived, of compromising itself; since a committee of foreigners and hong merchants, appointed by mutual consent, has examined and authenticated the debts, and the viceroy of Canton has declared officially, that they shall be paid to the uttermost mite; but without specifying a period for the liquidation. The demand for payment of the debts, within a given time, may be met by the Chinese government with precedents of former protracted liquidations of debts; but we conceive that the justice of their being paid within the time specified above will be found unquestionable. But, even if the counter objections of the Chinese, or motives of policy, render it inconvenient to the British government to insist upon a definite period of payment for debts already contracted, it is humbly submitted, that both policy and regard for the welfare of the British subjects in China demand, that a definite, if not immediate, payment shall be required for debts which the hong merchants shall be found to owe in future. This alone would be a considerable boon to the foreigners in Canton, and possibly also to the hong merchants themselves, by shielding them awhile from the extortion of the mandarins, and from the liabilities which the solvent hongs become exposed to, by having needy and incompetent persons thrust into their corporation.

"Respect for European international law, as well as common justice, may also render it inexpedient to the British government to dictate to the emperor of China, if it have the power, the regulations under which the commerce of his empire with foreigners shall be conducted; but it may surely require of him to respect and enforce the rules he has himself laid down. He has prescribed to the foreigners to trade with the security merchants only, who are nominated by himself or by his delegates, and, in so doing, he tacitly engages for their capability and proper conduct. It is for him to take care that the foreigners' capital, which passes through the security merchants' hands, be not diverted from its proper use, either by the folly of those parties or by the extortions of his own officers. This duty will, it is conceived, be indirectly but pressingly enforced upon him, by the British government insisting upon the debts being paid immediately, which the culpability of his officers assist in forming. The mere demand will, at the same time, accelerate the payment of the debts, sustained as we believe it to be, by both right and reason; and it may easily be made in such a way as to compromise the British government in no ulterior measures, whilst it may also be readily made the basis of further requisition, if it be deemed advisable.

"Although accidental circumstances of trade have, in some instances, as at present, conduced to the debts of the hongs, it will be seen, throughout the preceding pages, that the exactions of the hoppo and other mandarins are the principal absorbents of the capital of the security merchants, and, through them, of that of the foreigners. Their extortions are the necessary and understood consequence of their small salaries. This state of things belongs to most governments, perhaps, in a certain stage of their career, and no effectual change in it by foreign interference can be foreshown, short of reform amounting almost to a revolution in the government. So long as this practice exists, any treaty or tariff made with the Chinese government will always be evaded or misdirected, like the supposed consoo fund, unless watched over incessantly, and checked by some more powerful control than is possessed at present by the British superintendent, or any foreign consul in China. But the firm and decided demand of the British government for the immediate payment of money owing to its subjects, which may otherwise be diverted by the rapacity of the mandarins, may ensure the temporary exertion at least of the emperor's power to restrain their extortion. The alternative may suggest itself to the emperor of abolishing the cohong system altogether, and this, if it led to unrestricted competition amongst the Chinese merchants, would be, perhaps, the happiest result which could be expected; but caution will be required in admitting the proposition. If the cohong be abolished, the hoppo's office must be remodelled, and a host of subordinates, who belong to the system, should fall with it, else the evil will be shifted merely, and not eradicated. The exactions of the mandarins would follow the free-traders as grievously as it now does the hong merchants, and the foreigners would have lost the only check they now have on those exactions, the necessity of the hong debts being repaid.

"The abolition of the cohong would be totally ineffectual also, unless attended by a better system of collecting the custom-house duties, and the general acquisition by foreigners of warehouses, in which to store their goods; but to obtain the warehouses will require, either that their residence be permitted beyond the precincts of the present foreign factories, or else that the factories be considerably enlarged. To the first plan the Chinese government seems to have an almost invincible objection, and the value of property in the neighborhood of the factories, beyond what is necessary for mere residence, would make the last so expensive, that, if gained, it will almost certainly impose additional duties upon the trade. The only middle course,

which seems to present itself, is one which has been talked of amongst the Chinese themselves, that two or more of the existing hongs be constituted custom and bonded warehouses, through which all foreign imports shall be passed, and pay duty according to a fixed tariff. Yet these, if under the control of the Chinese mandarins, would only subject the foreigners to the petty vexations and delays by the underlings of government, which the hong merchants and their assistants now encounter. This objection might be obviated by the British merchants having a common warehouse under their own control, through which the goods should pass, and duty be paid, and a manifest handed to the mandarins for their satisfaction, attested by the British superintendent,— or some similar plan. These suggestions however are not intended to dictate any particular course to the British government, but only in the hope to draw its attention to the unprotected situation of British subjects in China, and to point out the assistance which may most readily be afforded, and will, at the present moment, be most gratefully received.

"The preceding statements cannot better be concluded, perhaps, than by the paragraph already quoted from the records of the East India company's committee in 1783, viz.: 'It seems to be an established maxim amongst the mandarins at this place, to discourage, as much as possible, all applications to the emperor, both as they may prove dangerous to their persons and derogatory to their consequence; except in circumstances that cannot be concealed, as in the case of captain Panton, without whose interference, we are well assured, no representation from the creditors or any other body of men, could ever have reached the court, much less can we expect the assistance of the hoppo, through whom it must necessarily pass in the first instance.'" *Canton, 19th February*, 1838.

Here we must close this long article, leaving our readers to form their own opinions of the sentiments contained in the several extracts, which afford ample scope for discussion. The historical part of the pamphlet, may find a place in a future number.

ART. III. *Memorial to the right honorable lord viscount Palmerston, principal secretary of state, for foreign affairs, &c., &c.*

[This and the following article we republish from the Canton Press of the 24th instant. If this memorial, in connection with that of December, 1834, bring the British government in direct and proper communication with Taoukwang and his cabinet, it will be well. Affairs — neither few nor unimportant — require this. The signatures of some of the principal houses, it will be seen, are not attached to the memorial.]

MY LORD. — We, the undersigned British merchants trading at Canton in China, have the honor to address your lordship, through the mediation of H. B. M. Chief Superintendent, respecting certain heavy debts owed to us by the Chinese hong merchants; and we respectfully but earnestly entreat your lordship to lay our case before her majesty's council, with a view to obtain the powerful interposition of our own government, with that under which we at present live, to endeavor to obtain an early payment of our actual claims, and a

readier means of recovery of those, which, under the existing circumstance of the foreign trade with this country, we must, we fear, inevitably incur in future.

2. Your lordship is aware, no doubt, that we are limited in our dealings, in all the principal staples of the legal foreign trade with China, to about a dozen parties, called security or hong merchants. These merchants trade separately, but they are mutually responsible for the government dues which each may incur, and also for their respective debts to the foreigners. Your memorialists are allowed no voice in the nomination of these security merchants, nor have we any means to ascertain their capital, nor other qualifications for their trust; but the Chinese government, which takes this responsibility upon itself, guarantees the engagement which the Chinese merchants form with us; and the principal of the hong debts, without interest, has always been paid, for the last twenty years, by the whole body or cohong, under the authority of government. The period, however, within which the debts should be paid, has been left to be settled between the security merchants and the foreigners, and has always been a point of much contention. The former have usually succeeded in fixing a term of years within which the foreign capital in their possession might double itself almost twice over by compound interest; and the British merchants have been indebted for the attainment of even this boon, to the influence of the East India Company's late factory in China, as well as for the means of repayment, through their large transactions with the hongs; facilities which your memorialists no longer enjoy.

3. Of the thirteen hong merchants which existed at the beginning of 1837, three or four are now avowedly insolvent. Their united debts, according to their own report, amount to upwards of 3,000,000 of dollars, besides about 750,000 dollars, which they owe to the government for duties. One of those security merchants, named Hingtae, has been formally declared bankrupt, and his debts to foreigners proved, by a committee appointed for the purpose by the cohong and foreigners mutually, at 2,261,439 dollars, exclusive of claims still in dispute. The viceroy of Canton has declared in a public document, of which we transmit herewith a translation, together with all the correspondence upon the subject to your lordship, that the debts shall be paid; but has left the period of payment to be settled, as usual, between the security merchants and the foreigners. The former began by proposing twenty years as the term for liquidation; but have subsequently reduced it, step by step, to nine years. The creditors have refused even the last proposition, on the grounds: first, that it is impolitic to establish the precedent of such a protracted payment, in this first settlement of a debt under the free trade system, which debt arises entirely out of actual transactions of trade, and so far differs from all former debts: and secondly, because we wish to take this opportunity to procure a settlement of the debts of all the insolvent hongs, with a view to understand our exact position with them, and to endeavor to trade upon some safer system in future.

4. The debts owing by the cohong, whether to the government or to foreigners, have never been paid entirely out of their own resources, but chiefly by means of extra duties levied upon the principal staples of the foreign trade, and the hong merchants propose to liquidate the debts, now under consideration, in a similar way. Such duties, once imposed, appear never to be taken off again when the first occasion for them has ceased; but to be still levied, under pretext of creating a fund, called the consoo fund, to meet future exigencies of the cohong, whether occasioned by debts to the foreigners, or by demands from the emperor to meet the expenses of his wars, or other extraordinary expenditure of the state. There is no reason to suppose, however, that such a fund has ever really existed, or that the Chinese authorities has ever recognized it; but they have sanctioned the imposition of duties from time to time for the payment of specific debts, and have connived at their continuance, to feed, as is supposed, their own exactions. Independent of the extraordinary demands by the emperor upon the security merchants, they are exposed to almost daily extortions on the part of the local authorities, chiefly the hoppo or collector of customs, and his subordinates, which have always impoverished them, even when they shared in the large certain profits of the East India Company's trade. They have incurred heavy losses in their trading transactions since the expiration of the East India Company's charter, and seem likely to suffer still more severely, since the same parties have now to conduct a more extended business, in competition with the intelligence and greater activity of free-traders, to which neither their capital, nor mode of conducting commerce, seem adequate. Considering these circumstances, your memorialists see reason to apprehend, that any addition to the duties upon the foreign trade, merely sufficient to liquidate the foreign debts, will, without some weighty interposition with the imperial government, be mainly diverted to the payment of extraordinary demands by the authorities on the cohong, which it is known are now being urged upon that body, and thereby not only protract the settlement of our claims, but occasion an accumulation of new debts on the part of the security merchants, which it may require more than remonstrance on the part of the British government, at some future time, to recover.

5. Your memorialists are aware of the difficulty of changing the institutions and habits of a people like the Chinese, and do not, therefore, ask of her majesty's government, to require any great or sudden changes in the regulations under which we trade with this empire; but we humbly submit to your lordship's decision: whether the Chinese government, so long as it shall insist upon confining our trade to so small a number of its merchants, is not bound to take care that those merchants have sufficient capital and probity for their trust; and whether, on the transfer of our capital to them, in the shape of the debts in question, which becomes unavoidable in the conducting of extensive commerce with a monopoly of such limited means, the imperial guarantee does not imply earlier repayment of such capital, than has been hitherto, or is now, offered, or at all events some com-

pensation for the delays in the shape of interest. Our experience of the Chinese people and their rulers, lead us confidently to infer, that the simple interposition of our own government with the cabinet of Peking, in so just a cause, would facilitate the adjustment of our present claims; and, if her majesty's government would further require that any future debts, incurred by the hongs to British subjects, should be paid immediately, or, at all events, within a reasonable and defined time, and that the hong merchants should be protected from the extortion of the official subordinates, we feel assured that it would tend to lessen the hazard of our trade materially. It would induce the emperor of China to inquire into the abuses of the foreign trade at this port, and to correct the most flagrant of them; which are, the exactions of his officers and the inefficiency of the cohong, the full knowledge of which we presume to be withheld by the Canton authorities from the court of Peking; and the latter effect would render no less service to the solvent security merchants themselves, than to your memorialists and the whole of the foreign residents in Canton.

6. Your memorialists do not think it necessary to trouble your lordship with further details of our position as merchants in Canton, the peculiarities of which have doubtless reached your lordship through an official channel; and, relying upon your lordship's attention to the interests of British commerce and British merchants, to bring our request to the favorable notice of her majesty's government,

We have the honor to be, my lord, your lordship's devoted and most obedient servants.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. Fox Rawson & Co. Lindsay & Co. Nanabhoy Framjee. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. Dirom & Co. Bibby, Adam & Co. Gibb, Livingston & Co. J. & W. Cragg & Co. Daniell & Co. W. & T. Gemmell & Co. W. Henderson. W. Mac. Donald. Robt. Wise, Holliday & Co. T. H. Layton. Jamieson and How. D. & M. Rustomjee. Patrick Stewart.

ART. IV. *A respectful address to his excellency the governor of of Kwangtung and Kwangse. Canton, 21st March,* 1838.

SOME of the subscribers, British merchants, addressed your excellency nearly a year ago, respecting the large debt due to us by Hingtae, and your excellency has since given repeated orders for its payment; but, up to this time, we have received no part of it. The hong merchants have indeed proposed to pay it off in nine years, beginning with next year, which will be ten years for the adjustment of the accounts; but we cannot consent to such a distant payment.

Besides Hingtae, your excellency is aware that there are other hongs also indebted to us, and we have urged the security merchants to arrange for payment of their debts at the same time, that we may know with whom we may trade safely, and whom not, and guard, as far as we are able, against loss in future.

We bring our property from a great distance to trade with this empire, and we are compelled by its laws to place it in the hands of a very few hong merchants, nominated by the emperor. It cannot be that his majesty intends that they should retain our capital until it has nearly doubled itself by the accumulation of interest, and then pay us back only the principal.

It may be that Hingtae has dissipated our money, but how can we ascertain this? We cannot go to his house or village to ascertain if he have secreted our money, and even your excellency's order has failed to produce him here for examination.

The judge and the treasurer reported (12th moon, 13th day) as a reason to delay payment of these debts, that, 'matters are not now as formerly; there was then the trade of the Company which yielded great profits.' This is true; but our profits also are not the Company's, and we cannot afford to dispense with our trading capital. The payment of the hong merchants' debts, besides, has never depended entirely upon their profits, but upon extra duties upon the foreign trade imposed for the purpose, and the hong merchants now propose an additional duty to pay the present debts. Where then is the injustice to them?

It seems to us, as to the judge and treasurer, that some other system is required to meet the exigencies of the present trade, but more for our benefit than for the hong merchants. As we do not feel competent to discuss this question with your excellency, we have referred it through her majesty's chief superintendent to our own gracious sovereign, who will, we humbly hope, communicate upon the subject with your emperor.

In the meantime we shall gratefully receive any portion of our claims which your excellency may be pleased to order to be paid, and be prepared to listen to the suggestions which the hong merchants may propose.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. Dirom & Co. J. & W. Cragg & Co. Daniell & Co. Gibb, Livingston & Co. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. Fox, Rawson & Co. W. Henderson. Robt. Wise, Holliday & Co.

ART. V. *Horsburgh Light House: United States' Expedition to the South Seas; the desirableness of extensive and accurate nautical surveys in the east.*

SOON after the intelligence of Horsburgh's decease reached Canton, a public meeting was convened here, a committee of correspondence appointed, and a subscription for the erection of a Light House, or houses, opened. A brief notice thereof, with a letter signed Nauticus, were published in our fifth volume: see page 381. Pedra Branca

was named as one of the points, needing a light house; and the number of vessels lost or stranded there, prove how great that need is. We trust there will be no unnecessary delay in erecting a Light House upon that rock; such a monument, bearing the name of Horsburgh, would be a most worthy memento of the deceased, and a most useful beacon for the mariner frequenting the Straits of Singapore. This subject will, we hope, receive its just support, especially from those in England, and in the United States of America, who are interested in eastern commerce. The following letter will show the views of the Horsburgh committee here: it is dated Canton, January 19th, 1838, and addressed —

"To William Stanley Clarke, esq., and the members of the committee for the Horsburgh memorial, London.

"Gentlemen,— The active and judicious measures you have taken to further the views of the general committee, in raising funds for the purpose of erecting a lasting tribute to the memory of one who toiled through a long life for the benefit of his fellow-creatures, meets with the sincere thanks and warmest approbation of your fellow-laborers at Canton in so pleasing a task. The only point in which our feelings appear not to be unanimous, is, respecting the manner in which that tribute should be paid. You propose that it should be by a monument erected in St. Paul's, or Westminster Abbey,—we, that it should be by a Light House on one of those spots through which, surrounded with all its difficulties, he has traced a safe and comparatively easy navigation. It is true, that, by placing his monument with those of our illustrious dead, you accord him that place which he held among the living, but there it would end. The chisel of the artist would be admired, while the deeds of the man would be passed over in silence and neglect. We have already invited all nations to join us in our undertaking, and we look to America, Holland, and France, with the most sanguine hopes. We submit, then, our opinion to you, whether we should not take into consideration the character of the man who has immortalized himself, and to whose memory we can only add a tribute of esteem; and, if so, would it not be a greater testimony of gratitude to follow a course in unison with the feelings which animated that benevolent being while alive, by building a *Light House* on some spot where ships are constantly going on shore, that he may still be instrumental in benefiting mankind, by saving many a ship from destruction. By this you will perceive it is our wish to adhere to the plan which we originally proposed; but, as a proof of our anxiety to coöperate with you, we will originate a subscription for the furtherance of your views, in hopes that many of this community will join in it; and, in return, we beg to solicit that you will use your influence to procure subscribers to coöperate with us, in the view we have taken.—In reply to the apprehension, expressed in your letter, of not being able to procure sufficient funds for the object we have in view, we venture to call your attention to the extent of the subscriptions already received, and to remind you that, even upon your plan of limiting subscriptions from individuals to one guinea, leaving firms and public bodies

unlimited, there will be no occasion for supposing that a sufficient sum will not be procured for the erecting of one Light House, at least. The spot we propose for the first is Pedra Branca; and the list of vessels which have been lost or stranded there, in a short space of time, the names of which we subjoin for your information, will, we think, influence you considerably in giving us all the aid you can, and fully explain the motives which guide us.

"We have the honor to remain, yours, &c. (Signed) William Jardine, John Hine, William Blenkin, Lancelot Dent, E. C. Bridgman, Dadabhoy Rustomjee, J. Archer.

"The following is the list of vessels referred to above. Nova Desada, Sylph, Pascoa, Lord Amherst, Ruby, Lord W. Bentinck, Glenelg, Ardeseer.

(Signed) WILLIAM HAYLETT. *Hon. Sec.*

On the 5th instant Mr. Haylett issued the following circular, which we copy from the Canton Register.

"Circular.—A subscription having been set on foot in London, limited to one guinea, for raising a monument to the memory of Horsburgh, his friends in China are invited to join in this smaller compliment, hoping it will induce those at home to concur in the larger and more comprehensive one commenced abroad, and to which America and Europe will, it is confidently hoped, largely contribute."

The United States' expedition to the South Seas, is a leading topic in the North American Review for last October. The first and chief object of the expedition will be, according to the review, 'to furnish, as far as is practicable, *a complete chart of the Pacific.*' A good object, and a great one it is, surely. In the reviewer's estimation, it seems very plausible and reasonable to conclude, (we speak under correction,) that 'a way clear to the very axis of the earth' may be found. What duration, or whether any, is assigned to the expedition, we do not know; but we are happy in the assurance given, that its labors are not to be confined within the antarctic circle, nor the high austral latitudes. We wish it might have a few years for cruising in the Chinese and Japanese waters, of which, as well as of some parts of the Indian archipelago and the adjacent seas, careful surveys and 'a complete chart' are much needed. It has long been a matter of surprise and regret with us, that these parts of the ocean are not brought more directly under the guardianship of those great and powerful nations of the west, which have such vast interest here at stake.—Besides furnishing a complete chart of the Pacific, 'another prime object of the voyage,—we do not know if it should not take the precedence of all others,—is the release of those unhappy men who are detained on these islands.' There is no lack of considerations for prosecuting this part of the general plan. But, says the reviewer,

"There is another useful end which will probably be subserved by the expedition; we mention it with some reluctance, but under a sense of the imperious necessity that the subject should be brought clearly before the public. As a class, the mariners engaged in the South Sea trade and fisheries sustain a high reputation for enterprise, intelligence, and good principles. They have been large contributors, not only to our national prosperity, but

to some departments of science; and we would be far from wishing to diminish the sense of the obligation we are under to them, on these accounts. But in so numerous a class, there must be and there are many exceptions; more, in fact, than would be at first thought. Though, if we reflect upon the immense restraining power of public opinion, which among large masses encompasses and influences all, like the 'universal air,' if we consider how much of the propriety of conduct in a community is due to the fear of the law and the restraint of social ties, we shall not be surprised to learn that some, who at home filled their parts respectably, should, on reaching a region, where none of these influences are strongly felt, and some not felt at all, give free scope to the passions hitherto shackled, and become almost mates for the savages around them. It is *known* to those who have made inquiries on this subject, that scenes of cruelty, licentiousness, and extortion, are acted in the recesses of this vast sea, the details of which are sometimes too shocking to be repeated. Mutinies are not uncommon, and those accompanied with murder; and tyranny on the part of the captains is too often the cause. Wanton inhumanity towards the natives is the source of many a terrible retribution, which falls sometimes on the heads of the unoffending." *p.* 374.

All the reviewer says on this point should be reëchoed back on the ears of the western governments and people in tones, loud as 'the voice of many waters.' What was it, recently, that induced the Japanese to open their batteries on a friendly unarmed merchantman? Such savage hostility could not have sprung up and become so strong and deadly without adequate causes: what were they? The reminiscences of past centuries? Or the '*pranks of our whalemen?*' More than once, and within a very short period, we have heard of rumors and suspicions, respecting proceedings on the coasts of Japan, which ought to awaken inquiry. It ought to be known, whether foreigners have or have not been guilty of outrages on the people of that country. Here we cannot forbear making one more short extract from the Review.

"It is difficult for men in the seclusion of a study, or engaged in the quiet avocations of common life, to measure the degree of criminality incurred by those who, removed from the restraints of civilization, are subjected to the toils, the perils, and the wearing vicissitudes of a nautical existence, exposed to continual excitement, and alternating from the most alluring sensual temptations to the rude trials of an harassing pursuit. But though we may hesitate before censuring, in the severest terms, the excesses of which some are guilty, we cannot doubt the propriety of using every effort for their suppression. And this, we conceive, may be accomplished by a process as simple as that of introducing fresh air into a receiver, to resuscitate a dying flame. We would, if possible, bring these seas, or at least their visitants, again within the pale of social influence. We would extend over them once more the dominion of that opinion, which, if not the best restraining force, is yet, with most, the mightiest. This could be done by giving them to perceive, that their actions, in the remotest recesses, are not secure from animadversion, and that the law extends its *surveillance* even over the barbarians whom they maltreat. The visit of a ship of war, bringing authority to inquire into cases of misconduct and to take measures for preventing future irregularities, will without doubt have a most beneficial effect. Consuls, with sufficient salaries, should be appointed at the principal civilized ports in the Pacific, and friendly arrangements entered into with such of the native tribes as possess governments of sufficient stability. Every reasonable provision should be made, not only for redressing grievances, but also for facilitating the labors of the whale-

men, and removing those difficulties, which the distance from all regular authorities, and the want of settled rules of intercourse, must create." *p.* 375.

A Scientific Faculty, 'complete in all its departments,' is attached to the expedition. It is pleasing to know, that ample provision has been made, and excellent 'suggestions' furnished, to facilitate the researches of this scientific corps. We should like to quote, especially from the 'suggestions' of professors Silliman and Gibbs and of Mr. Pickering published in the Review; but our limits forbid it.

Of the desirableness — nay the strong necessity — of extensive and accurate surveys in the eastern seas, there can be but one opinion. On such an object some of the 'surplus revenue' of the United States may well be expended — honor, advantage, duty, all require it. It is a noble object, on which the growing energies of that republic will find free scope, and, if wisely directed, reap a rich harvest. On those wide waters, the navies of the old world and the new should join their forces, not in bloody conflicts, but in useful action: and this they should continue, till all the inhabitants and productions of the isles, and all the treasures and dangers of the deep, are made known, and the highway of the nations is rendered safe for the peaceful and more wide extension of commerce, science, and religion.

ART. VI. *Obituary notice of the late reverend Alanson Reed, with a brief notice of his life and character.* Communicated from Bankok, Siam, September 14th, 1837, by E G. J.

ALANSON REED was a native of Cummington, Massachusetts. When about twenty years of age he gave his heart to God, and, from the time of his conversion, he had strong desires, and a determination, if possible, to devote his life to the service of Christ among those who had never heard of his salvation. But he was the youngest and favorite child of a widowed mother, whom he loved with uncommon ardor, and she was not willing that he should expose himself to the privations and trials of a missionary's life. On her account he repressed, for a season, his strong desire to enter immediately on a course of preparation for the work, and waited with the hope that Providence would make his path plainer. But after two or three years, spent on a farm, he began to feel that his youth was wearing away, and that he must enter without delay on the path he had chosen. He accordingly commenced studying for the ministry, and supsequently spent all the earthly wealth of which he was possessed to make comfortable provision for his beloved parent; but, before his education was completed, she entered on her eternal rest, and was thus spared the pain she so much dreaded, of seeing her son leave his native shores. Sometime previous to his departure his mind was directed to China, and he at length resolved to devote himself to a mission to that empire. Accordingly, he sailed from Boston on the 22d of September, 1835, with a large company of missionaries destined to Hindustan, Burmah, Siam, and China.

He arrived, with several fellow laborers, at Singapore, in March, 1836, from whence, in compliance with his official instructions, he came up to Bankok, in the following July. Here he found multitudes of Chinese, and immediately entered on the study of the Taychew (Chaouchow) dialect, striving to put every fresh acquisition into immediate use, and to do all the good he was able. He wisely chose to employ Chinese servants, and after studying a few months, he employed his teacher to read the Chinese Scriptures at family worship; and before the expiration of a year from the commencement of his Chinese studies, he tried to pray regularly in that language with his family. He said he found it hard to frame petitions in Chinese; but the only way in which he could learn to pray with his servants, was, first to use the language in his private devotions. In answer to a question which his wife once asked, if he did not sometimes find his thoughts dwelling on the pleasant situation he might have occupied at home, he said, 'No, I love my work.' But he did not consider Siam as his home. China was his destination, and he was constantly watching for some way to open, by which he could enter it. But it was not the misnamed, but the true, celestial empire which God designed him soon to enter.

Several attacks of dysentery, from which he speedily recovered, had already impeded his progress in study, when in July last he was more violently seized with the same disorder, and brought to the borders of the grave. The prompt and powerful remedies administered by a most assiduous medical brother, and the unremitted care of his family and friends, were, however, blessed to his recovery; and he was considered convalescent. At this time, the only missionary belonging to the Chinese department of our mission was compelled by sickness to take a voyage, and Mr. and Mrs. Reed removed from an uncomfortable floating-house to the one vacated by him, on the mission premises. Here we hoped soon to see him engaged in taking charge of the little Chinese church, and Sabbath congregation, now left destitute, and in communicating the knowledge of a Savior's love to the many patients who daily came for medicine. But God's thoughts were not as our thoughts, and his ways were not to be as we hoped, in relation to our beloved brother. A few days after his removal, a fatal relapse ensued, which in one week laid him in the grave. At first, he thought his complaint would again yield to medicine; but this hope soon failed. On the 25th of August, he said to a friend who was sitting by, 'I never before had a sense of what it is to approach death; I was thinking of it this morning, and the thought almost overwhelmed me.' He then compared the view which the Christian has of Christ to seeing objects through ground glass windows, and mentioned a particular time when he looked through such windows. 'I never,' said he, 'felt the beauty of that comparison of Paul, 'Now we see through a glass, darkly,' till then. We sometimes think we get near to Jesus, but even then we see him darkly, obscurely: 'in heaven we shall see him face to face.' Here he was interrupted by a distressing hiccough with which he was troubled, and remarked, 'I have not said half I have to say, but I *must* stop.'

On the evening of the same day, his fever became very high, and perceiving that we were alarmed, he said, 'I hope none of you will hesitate to tell me what you think of my situation: do not keep any thing from me.' Dr. B. then said to him, 'Brother Reed, you are very ill, we fear you will die; it would not be surprising if you should not live till the morning.' On hearing this he seemed a little agitated, and covered his face with his hand, but made no reply. A few moments afterwards, a female friend sat down by his bed-side, when he said to her, 'Perhaps I may be in—I was going to say, heaven,—before morning: yes, I *may* say in heaven, I can trust in my blessed Savior. We have ties to earth, our families;' then covering his face with his hand again he continued, 'but I can trust.' He then commended his wife to her care, as he had before done to her husband's, and then went on to make known his wishes respecting his domestic affairs, at some length. After an interval of rest he said, 'I thought I heard the Doctor speak of staying all night.' It was replied, 'Yes, he has sent his boat home, and is going to stay.' 'The Lord reward him,' said he. Shortly afterward he was asked, if he could think connectedly. His emphatic reply was, 'I can think enough to fill my heart with gratitude. God has been showing me what a great sinner I am.' About two hours after this he expressed a wish to have all his missionary brethren and sisters come into his room, and unite in prayer. 'I do not know,' said he, 'that I have any thing *in particular* to pray for; I have been very desirous to recover, that I may preach Christ to the heathen; but since the last relapse, I cannot pray for my life. Whenever I attempt to do so, it seems like praying to be kept from the bosom of my Savior.' Seven of us were, in a few moments, assembled around his bed, when, after he had repeated the above remark, a brother offered prayer. He united his hands on his breast, and gave intimations of fixed attention, and of joining in the petition, and at the close repeated the Amen three times. The next morning his fever abated, and he was more comfortable though gradually growing weaker through the two following days, during which he conversed familiarly of his approaching dissolution, and gave directions in regard to a great variety of things, making his preparations as calmly as if he were but on the eve of a journey to another country. He spoke of an absent brother missionary, and when he heard of his temporary return, was impatient to see him.

It seemed as if his love to Christ and Christian brethren increased every hour. His love for souls increased also. He called his servants, and most earnestly besought them to believe in Jesus. The next day (the 28th) his mind wandered, and he was distressed with temptation, imagining that Satan was with him. At evening, during an interval of calmness, a female friend came and said, 'I trust, brother Reed, you have the presence of the Savior at this trying hour.' He replied, 'Yes, if Satan does not have me to sift me as wheat.' Another, who was sitting by, said, 'Jesus has prayed for you that your faith fail not; he caught the idea and said, with great emphasis, blessed Lord.' During the night he raved much, and had no ratio-

nal intervals. The next morning he again became calm, his reason was perfectly restored and remained so to the last. But he could not speak, although he made great efforts to do so—drawing the ear of one friend, and then another, close to his mouth, and endeavoring to whisper. He made us understand by signs, that he wished to bid us all farewell. Each successively placed a hand in his, which he pressed, with eyes fixed first on us, and then raised to heaven. It was his parting blessing. We called his distressed wife, who nerved herself to great calmness, that she might not disturb him, yet, when he looked upon her, his lips quivered, and his whole frame became agitated. But it was for a moment only. He soon became composed, and, fervently pressing her hand, with uplifted eyes mentally commended her to heaven. He then looked about for the absent ones, and when all had come in and taken leave of him, he tried to make us understand, that he wished for prayer, and it was a minute or two before he could succeed; but at length one said, 'perhaps it is prayer,' when he immediately raised his hands on his breast and looked at a missionary brother, as much as to say, *that* is what I want. We knelt once more around his bed, while that brother prayed. He remained with his hands raised, and at the close endeavored to say Amen, but could not articulate. Through the day he had some dying struggles, but his mind seemed intent on heavenly glories. He kept pointing upwards, not merely in one direction, but to this side and that, as if he saw the splendor of the upper world, and once he was heard to whisper 'wonders, wonders.' To use an expression employed at his funeral, 'when he could no longer speak he pointed upward and stretched out his arms as though they were wings to fly away to heaven.' His last words were, 'come Jesus' and 'mercy.' About 4 o'clock P. M. of that day (Aug. 29th), his spirit returned to the God who gave it, leaving most sublime evidence of the truth and value of our holy religion, not only to his sorrowing brethren, but to a considerable number of heathens, who one after another came in to witness his dying deportment. He was 30 years of age. Not soon do we who knew him expect to see another more eminently qualified, by ardent piety, singleness and firmness of purpose, and zeal for the conversion of sinners, to be a missionary to the heathen.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Peking Gazettes; care of the treasury; northwest frontier; surplus of revenue; religious observances of the government; repairs; literary examinations; resignation of office; Mongolia; a naval officer; review of forces; burning of opium; the lieut.-governor.*

THERE are many papers, inserted in the Peking Gazettes which, though wanting interest in themselves, are yet worthy of being placed on record, as illustrating points in the policy or the machinery of the Chinese government. Such are several of the short extracts which follow.

Care of the treasury. The 'great ministers of the treasure and stores' are commanded to give instructions, 'that the old practice fall not into desuetude, but that one of four subordinate officers daily take it in turn to remain at the treasury throughout the day, and also to *pass the night* there. The actual condition of things, must be, from time to time inquired into, and any absence or remissness in attendance must be reported to his majesty.'

Northwest frontier. The money required in this district is always drawn a year in advance. The estimated amount required at Oushi, for 1839 is 32,000 taels; at Aksou, 19,000 taels, besides 1200 taels as salary to prince Isak or Isaac, a Mohammedan noble. Of the sums required in the other cantons, we do not find any mention.

From Shantung, a surplus of land revenue, to the amount of 400,000 taels was forwarded last year to Peking.

Religious observances of the government. The emperor, if we may judge by the increased honors paid by him to the gods, is growing, in his old age, more attentive than formerly to the subject of religion. Would that the saving truths of the religion which he denounces—the religion of the Lord of heaven and earth, could be imparted to him!—The religious observances of the government in China consist in reading prayers composed for the occasion, and burning incense at the shrines of the gods. The prayers are issued in much the same manner as the edicts of the government, being brought in open court to receive the impress of the imperial, or, in less exalted cases, of the magisterial seal. Our present lieut.-governor is very regular in these religious observances; almost daily during the past month, he has been engaged in burning incense at one or other of the numerous temples of this metropolis: and the territorial and financial commissioner of the province went, during the month, about a day's journey, with two magistrates to aid him, to sacrifice to the god of the southern sea.—Another mode in which the emperor pays honor to the gods, is, by writing inscriptions to be placed over the doorways of their temples. Requests for such inscriptions occur several times among the official documents inserted in the Gazettes now before us.

Repairs. Another frequent subject of notice in the Gazettes, is, the collection of subscriptions for repairs of public edifices, temples, &c. These subscriptions, as well as others for charitable purposes, and for various public objects, are encouraged and rewarded by the conferment of rank upon the larger contributors, or by records of approbation when these contributors are officers in the employ of government.

The literary examinations of the past year have occasioned numerous complaints of misconduct on the part of candidates, and many orders rebuking and sometimes degrading the officers from whose neglect of duty their misconduct arose. The reports of the provincial authorities as to the deficiencies and disabilities of various officers occupy also a large space in the gazettes.

One of the imperial family, who, having taken one of the lower literary degrees, has from that gradually advanced in office, requests permission to resign his present situation, that he may give himself up to study, with the hope of taking a higher degree at the examinations

Mongolia. An officer has been sent thither, as envoy, to inquire into charges brought by a Mongol tribe against the head of their clan.

A naval officer in Fuhkeën having been found absent from his post, is removed from his office, and required to show proofs of reform by the apprehension of pirates within the space of three months.

Review of forces. The governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse left Canton at the close of February to review the troops in Kwangse, and is expected to return in a few days.

Burning of opium was announced in the Court Circular of Canton on the 20th instant, as having been enacted that day under the direction of the local authorities. This farce is becoming of frequent occurrence, while the smuggling of the drug is carried on to an extent here never before witnessed. Almost every part of the river, from the Bogue on the east, to the *Hwátí* on the west of the city, is made the theatre of the traffic.

The lieut.-governor, or fooyuen, of Canton has been appointed to a presidency of the Board of Punishments at Peking. His birthday occurred on the 8th instant.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Brief sketch of the Dutch intercourse with Japan from its commencement, in* A. D. 1600, *to the present time.*

THE brief sketch of Portuguese and Spanish intercourse with Japan which was given in a previous number was necessarily so interwoven with the proceedings of the Catholic missionaries, that it was rather ecclesiastical than mercantile in its details. The notices of the intercourse of the Dutch and other European nations is little else than a bare collection of commercial facts and dates, most of which are meagre enough in all those items, which enable us to trace the gradual extension and ultimate cessation of the taste for articles of foreign luxury among the Japanese, or, indeed, to ascertain in what that taste delighted.

The first Dutch ship that visited Japan was one of the five vessels which left the Texel under the command of admiral Mahu in 1598, three years after the Cape of Good Hope was first rounded by vessels under that flag. Four of these ships were lost in the course of the voyage round Cape Horn, and the fifth, navigated by the English pilot Adams, was run into a port of Kiusiu (some say a harbor near Yédo), the 19th of April, 1600. Out of a crew of one hundred and seventy men, only seven remained able to do duty, so that the Japanese had reason to regard the vessel as one in distress. At this time, they seem not to have distinguished any better between *peregrinos* and *hostes* than did the ancient western nations. The distressed vessel was confiscated, as she would have been in England up to the time of Henry I., and the crew were ill treated, as they might have been on any European shore at a much later period. Afterwards their effects were restored, though at an inadequate valuation, and the commander returned home with a part of his crew, and an expression of the royal favor towards his nation. He probably made his

way back to Holland in his own ship, though it is not so stated. The rest of the crew remained in Japan, either by compulsion or choice; and one of them came near doing a malicious turn to Catholicism, by engaging an ignorant and silly priest to make a public attempt to walk on the water in evidence of his more than apostolic faith. What became of these men is not said by our authorities, but there is evidence that their pilot Adams was not permitted to accompany them, if they were allowed to return to Europe.

Some years passed away before any use was made of the permission to trade with Japan thus obtained by the Dutch. Nevertheless we are told that the coast of Japan had been examined by a vessel from Holland as early as 1586, and that the merchants of that country were extremely desirous to traffic in its ports.

The representations of the shipwrecked captain on his return, aided probably by later letters from Adams, at length, had their effect, and the Dutch East India Company, which had been chartered seven years before, sent one or two small vessels to Firando, in 1609. They were well received, and permission was readily granted to establish a factory at that place. The Dutch, at this time, had no footing in China, and were therefore ill able to furnish the quantity of raw silk which was the principal item in the Portuguese and Spanish imports. Yet with characteristic selfishness, they immediately begged for a monopoly of the trade in silk. They promised that a rich ship should be sent the next year, but two years passed away, when the second vessel, small and poor, arrived at Firando. The opinion is said to have been entertained at that time by the Japanese, that the Dutch depended for their cargoes on the plunder of vessels of other nations; but any injury from this prejudice was prevented by the influence which Adams had acquired at court, and which he uniformly exerted in their favor. The close alliance into which England and Holland had been drawn by religious sympathy, and hatred to their common enemy, Philip II., accounts for the readiness with which he exerted himself in behalf of the Dutch. Could we carry ourselves back to those days, and obtain a glance into the council chamber of the seogun, we might perhaps see the jealous Gongin listening to the tale of Spanish enormities in the United Provinces, and yielding gradually to those impressions against their character and religion, which afterwards settled into hatred and disgust.

On the arrival of the Dutch traders in 1611, a formal edict in favor of their trade was obtained. It gave them the full enjoyment of the privileges possessed by their competitors. No duties appear to have been levied on them, nor any regulations as to the quantity and assortment of goods, or as to time and place of sale, imposed. They were not exempt from the municipal laws of the ports they frequented, but in all other respects they were 'let alone' We have no accounts of the nature and extent of their annual trade at this period, but it doubtless flourished through the remainder of the reign of Gongin,*

* It seems to militate against the tendency of Catholicism in Japan, that Taiko and Gongin, two great princes, should both have stooped to persecution, to guard

and in that of his successor, down to the division of the royal authority between him and his son, in 1623. Persecutions had been the lot of the papal clergy, through the greater part of this interval, but it does not appear that any substantial preference was yet given commercially to the Dutch, over the Portuguese, flag. Both parties came under restriction, in 1623,* the former being confined to Firando, and the latter to Nagasaki; a measure which looks very much like parting two combatants who cannot be trusted to show fair play. Three years after, a decided preference was manifested towards the Dutch nation, by the reception of their envoy, while the Corean and Portuguese ambassadors were turned away. This mark of preference was followed the next year by another mission from Batavia, headed by the unfortunate Nuits. This envoy gave himself out as an accredited minister of the king of Holland, and was received as such, but when the imposition was detected,—when his credentials were found to date from Batavia,—the royal reply was withheld, and he was sent empty away.

Appointed governor, soon after, of fort Zelandia on Formosa, and still remembering his unceremonious dismissal by the seogun, he seized two Japanese junks by way of revenge. After being detained for more than a year on different pretexts, the exasperated crews armed themselves, surrounded the residence of Nuits, and made him prisoner, killing his guard. They then demanded their sails and anchors, indemnification for all their expenses, and 25,000 lbs. of silk, for which they said they had advanced the money in China, and which was now lost in consequence of their long detention.†

The garrison of fort Zelandia, seeing their governor in danger, and fearing to commit any violence which would be revenged on all the Dutch at Firando, complied with these demands. The Japanese were dismissed, and reported all to their government, on their return home in 1631. When their story reached the capital, the seogun ordered the ships of the Dutch Company, nine in number, to be seized, and the trade stopped. No explanation was given, and all the efforts of the director to obtain any, or to adjust the difficulty, were in vain. The utmost the influence of the director could effect, was that their merchandise in Firando, amounting to a million of crowns, should be sold, and the proceeds retained. Their relations remained in this anomalous state for three years. The non-arrival of vessels and indirect reports alarmed the authorities at Batavia, and a private vessel was sent to ascertain the true state of affairs. She was

against a disputed succession, or to insure the quiet reign of a successor, without taking pleasure in such cruelties themselves. We are prepared to make allowance for selfishness or passion, but we cannot refuse a certain respect to actions done to prevent evil consequence to others,—to a father's provision for his son when he himself shall be no more.

* The Portuguese had no ships in Japan, in 1623, they being kept back by an attack of the Dutch on Macao.

† From this incident it would seem that the Japanese were not entirely supplied with silk by foreigners, a very lucrative trade, if the statement is true that a pound of raw silk cost four francs in China, and sold for seven in Japan.

permitted to discharge and receive a cargo at Firando, with which she returned to Batavia, but the voyage threw no light on the causes of this strange proceeding on the part of the Japanese. Meanwhile Nuits had been recalled to Batavia from Formosa, and kept under arrest. The impression became general that his detention of the Japanese junks was the outrage now so severely visited on the Dutch. In vain the poor man begged that he might be tried for his offense, and if justice required, be put to death. It was determined to sacrifice him as a sin-offering to the offended seogun, and in 1636, he was sent prisoner to Japan. On his arrival, he was given up to the government as the author of the outrage at Formosa, and the mercy of the court besought on his behalf. The expiation was now made, the trade was reöpened, but Nuits was still held in terrible suspense. An embassy came with rich presents the following year, the monarch was again intreated in favor of the humbled prisoner, and he was at last released and permitted to rerurn home. There are few iustances in history of a more perfect execution of the 'lex talionis,' or of a more humiliating recoil of private revenge.

About this time the Dutch renewed their prayer that the Spaniards and Portuguese might be driven from the country, promising to supply Japan with goods, and moreover offering to transport Japanese troops to capture Macao. Here is the spirit of Nuits again, seeking satisfaction for the failure of 1623. The Portuguese were now shut up in Desima, and we may form some idea of the event and minuteness of the official measures resorted to in order to abolish every memento of their faith, from the fact that the Dutch were required to erase the *date* of erection from the gates of the factory at Firando. Their full compliances, and especially their *distinguished* services, in 1638, deserved a better recompense, if there be, as it is said there is, a kind of honor, of social compact, kept between the worst of men. From the application of this saying, the Japanese of 1640 must certainly be excepted, for at that time, only two years after the butchery at Simabara, they consigned their gallant allies to the prison of Desima, just emptied by the expulsion of the Portuguese. A little before, the Dutch had been told, "You observe Sunday, you date from the birth of Christ, your prayer is to Him, and your confession of faith that of his disciples; the Gospels, the Prophets, and the Apostles, are your sacred writings, and there is but little difference between your belief and that of the Portuguese. We have known this for a long time, but we saw that you were enemies of the Spaniards and Portuguese. We now require you to erase the dates from your buildings, to cease to observe the Sabbath, and, as for your future conduct, the lords of Firando will tell you the rest." Against these instructions, and the transportation to Nagasaki which followed, not a murmur was raised. The Dutch were now left in sole possession of the trade with Japan, and, since that time, it is well known, their monopoly has never been disturbed. Their subsequent political intercourse has been limited to an occasional mission from Batavia, and the visit of the chief of the factory at Desima to Yédo, formerly made annually,

but now once in four years. Charlevoix mentions embassies in 1644, 1656, and 1659. It was while the second of these missions was at Yédo that two thirds of that city, and 100,000 of its inhabitants, were destroyed by fire.

It remains to trace briefly the use the Dutch have made of the monopoly to which they had so long aspired. Of the assortment and value of their import cargoes in the 17th century, we have little or no account. Their returns had been chiefly in silver until 1641,* when the directors of the Company suggested returns in gold. Japanese copper was at this time in little estimation in Europe, because little known, but afterwards on a rise in price, it became an important return. The first order for 20,000 peculs was sent out in the year 1655.

The first shock to the credit of the Dutch in Japan is said to have been given by the loss of their settlement in Formosa. The celebrated Koxinga, who drove them out of this island, carried on a thriving trade with Nagasaki, and it is said that the Japanese government secretly favored his daring enterprises against both the Dutch and Chinese. It is very likely that the court of Yédo was not displeased with the expulsion of the former from an island so near to their own coasts, still it does not appear, as Mr. Imhoff would have us believe, that its precautions or designs were conceived in fear. At all events, no interference with the trade of the Hollanders took place for the next ten years. The state of the currency, and especially the drain of silver, then began to interest the Japanese government, and the exportation of that metal was prohibited in 1671. Up to this time the Dutch had complained only of religious restrictions, nor did the new prohibitions affect their interests, as the export of copper and gold, the best returns, was still free. The export of the latter amounted in one of these years to 100,000 *kobangs*, and yieded a profit of a million of florins. The kobang was now fixed by government at six taels two mace, and the valuation system thus begun was extended to the articles imported by the Dutch in 1672. They remonstrated against this serious infringement of their old privileges, but the local governors continued to neutralize all that was favorable in the imperial replies.

The valuation system was abolished in 1685, to make room for a still more injurious regulation, by which the annual trade was limited in value to 300,000 taels. Two thirds of this amount of imports was required to be in piece goods and weighable articles, and the remainder in silk. These regulations were confirmed, and the export of copper, previously free, was limited to 25,000 peculs, in 1689. However, by bribery this restriction was evaded, and the ships of 1692, 1693, &c., carried away 30,000 peculs each year. The import duty which had been levied first in 1685, was also confirmed and raised in 1689. Seven years after this, the currency again engaged the attention of the government, and the kobang was reduced 36 per cent. in value, but was still tendered to the Dutch at the old rate. In 1700, the limitations already laid on the imports was extended to the ships of the

* Some iron was also taken, costing two dollars per pecul in Japan.

Company, which were henceforth restricted to four each year. Eight years later, an influential minister brought the subject of the currency again before the government in an able memorial, a large extract from which may be found in Titsingh, page 29.* The result was, in 1710, a further reduction of the kobang to half its original value; for the old coin was valued at 44*s.* 7*d.* to 41*s.* 10*d.* sterling, while the new was estimated at 21*s.* 3*d.* sterling. This depreciated coinage, the Dutch were expected to receive at the old price, and as if these reductions were not enough, a further trial of patience and submission was given in limiting the exportation of copper in 1714 to 15,000 peculs. The number of annual vessels was further reduced to two or three, according to the quantity of copper in store. In 1721, the 15,000 peculs were cut down to 10,000, and under the weight of all these burdens, the Dutch trade declined apace. It reached its lowest point in 1743. Even the 10,000 peculs of copper could not then be obtained for some reason or other, and it was proposed that there should be but one annual vessel after that year. Under these adversities, the trade which had yielded an annual profit of 500,000 or 600,000 florins for the thirty years previous, would no longer pay its own charges, amounting to 200,000 florins per year.

M. Imhoff, at one time director or opperhoofd at Nagasaki, and afterwards governor-general of the Dutch East India colonies, has traced, in an able memoir, the chief causes of this decline. They appear to have been, the misconduct of the Company's servants; their failure in their promises, from year to year, to improve the quality and assortment of their goods; their peculation and smuggling; the submission with which the first depreciation of the currency was received; the loss of vessels by overlading, after the number was limited; and the apprehension of the Japanese lest the specie—the metallic resources—of their country should be drained. In explanation of the operation of these causes, it is said, that the directors at Nagasaki were generally selected from an inferior class of servants, and that their peculations formed a regular subject of complaint from the Japanese to the Dutch government. Valentyn allows that the illicit trade was interwoven with the constitution of the Company, that it did in fact form the principal part of the trade, and that vessels were

"A thousand years ago, gold, silver, and copper, were unknown in Japan; yet there was no want of necessaries. The earth was fertile, and this is undoubtedly the most desirable species of wealth. After the discovery of these metals, the use of them spread but slowly, and so late as the time of Gongin they were still very rare. That prince was the first who caused the mines to be diligently wrought, and during his reign, so great a quantity of gold and silver was extracted from them, as no one could previously have formed any conception of; and since these metals resemble the bones of the human body, inasmuch as what is once extracted from the earth is not reproduced, if the mines continue to be thus wrought, in less than a thousand years they will be exhausted.

"I estimate the quantity of gold and silver exported from the empire, since Gongin's time, as more considerable than that exported from China into Tartary; and I compute the annual exportation of gold at about one hundred and fifty thousand *kobangs* (£150,000 sterling), so that in ten years this empire is drained of fifteen hundred thousand kobangs If then serious attention be not paid to this

often lost by being overladen with contraband goods. Sir Stamford Raffles adds, 'the Dutch factory was a sink of the most disgraceful corruption that ever existed; the director submitted to every possible degradation to obtain his own ends, and the Batavian government never knew more than it was his interest to tell, of what was going on in Japan.' M. Imhoff also remarks, 'We have so often passed our word that the quality and quantity of our goods should be better assorted, without ever attending to it, that no confidence is any longer placed in our promises by the Japanese.'

As to the successive impositions laid on the Dutch imports, it appears most reasonable to regard them as the natural actions of a commercial party, which has deprived itself of the light and benefit of competition among its antagonists, and must go on to pay whatever the monopolist it has created shall dictate, or by a gradual reduction of his profits, ascertain when these are brought down to the lowest remunerating point. To put a stop to these reductions required more independence than the Dutch possessed. They remonstrated in strong terms, but when all their memorials were unvailing to better their trade, instead of resorting to an ultimatum, they accepted a 'gratuity of 6000 taels, by way of *charity*, on the annual sales.' That more independent measures would have secured better terms from the Japanese is inferred, because the retirement of the Dutch would have cut them off from communication with Europe, and deprived them of the news of what is doing in the western world, which they have always been extremely desirous to know.

The successive reductions of the currency and restrictions on metallic exports were regarded by the Dutch as aimed entirely at them. But on this subject we agree with sir T. S. Raffles that the Japanese government probably had higher aims than lessening the profits of so comparatively inconsiderable a trade. It is clear that the enormous drain of gold and silver coin was felt as a great evil in a country where paper money was not known. This drain is variously estimated at from thirty to sixty millions sterling during the sixty years when the export was free. 'Now, if the influx of specie from the American mines in the sixteenth century, at the rate of £6,000,000 per annum, speedily reduced the value of gold and silver in Europe to

subject, and the most rigid economy be not observed in the expenditure, the country will soon be entirely ruined, and in less than one hundred years, the same poverty of which Chinese authors complain will he felt here.

"In ancient times, as I have said, when the people were unacquainted with gold, silver, and copper, they knew no want, and were good and virtuous. Since those metlas were discovered, the heart of man has become daily more and more depraved. With the exception, however, of medicines, we can dispense with everything that is brought to us from abroad. The stuffs and other foreign commodities are of no real benefit to us; formerly, indeed, they were not even known here. All the gold, silver, and copper, extracted from the mines during the reign of Gongin, and since his time, is gone, and what is still more to be regretted, for things which we could do well without. If we squander our treasures in this manner, what shall we have to subsist upon? Let each of Gongin's successors reflect seriously upon this matter, and the wealth of Japan will last as long as the heavens and the earth."

one third of its former rate, how much more probable is it, that the circulating medium of so small a country as Japan would be seriously disturbed, by so great an efflux.' Add to this drain, the large amounts previously exported by the Portuguese, and we can easily appreciate the grounds of the fears of the Japanese statesmen. In fact, with the views which the Japanese ministers possessed, we can only wonder that the export was permitted so long. That they should have lighted on them, is not at all strange. The subject of currency is not one by any means beyond the range of Asiatics. A comparatively trifling exportation of bullion, resulting from the opium trade, has, we all know, lately engaged the attention of the court of Peking, and elicited very able memorials from several Chinese ministers within the last two years. The love of gold and silver, and the reluctance to part with them, is no doubt indigenous both in China and Japan.

The restrictions on the export of copper seem to have arisen from similar fears of exhausting the mines. Many years later, we find a pretended friend of the Dutch counseling that so much only should be exported annually as the country would for ever afford, 'because trade was the basis of the friendship with Hollanders, and copper was the support of the trade.'

The discussions which took place in 1744, resulted in a determination on the part of the Dutch, not to abandon the Japan trade. Some improvement probably took place in the mode of conducting the business, under which it partially revived. But the Dutch East India Company, which had made dividends to the amount of thirty millions of guilders, in the first twenty years of its existence, and had been continued by successive renewals of its charter, was now on the decline. Its profits were exhausted in military establishments, and its difficulties increasing, the States-general assisted it in 1781 with a loan. Thus embarrassed, the Company seems to have been tasked enough to continue the Japan trade on the old footing, with two annual vessels, carrying ill assorted cargoes, averaging hardly $300,000 per annum. In 1782, no ship arrived at Nagasaki, to the great surprise of the Japanese. In 1796, the Company's dividends were suspended in consequence of the occupation of Holland by the French troops, when all commercial calculation and credit were necessarily destroyed. In 1798, the Dutch made use of an English vessel, but *having an American pass*, to carry on the business of that year, and this vessel was admitted to Nagasaki, but probably not under the American flag. Holland, again falling under French domination, the Javan islands were taken possession of by Great Britain in 1811, and the Dutch factors at Desima had been more than three years without communication with Europe, when the expedition planned by sir Stamford Raffles arrived at Nagasaki, in 1813. We may be allowed to quote a paragraph from the recollections of M. Doeff, the then president, expressive of his feelings during this long seclusion. 'No one,' says he, 'but a resident of this period at the factory can form a conception of our state of mind. Separated from all intercourse, close prisoners in a spot which ships scarcely ever pass, much less touch

at, knowing nothing, guessing nothing of events in the remainder of the globe; uncertain whether for the next ten or twenty years, or to the end of our lives, a ship of our country would ever greet our sight; living under the constant inspection of a suspicious nation, which, treating us it is true with kindness, and allowing us to want for nothing they could supply, could yet never consider us as countrymen; this was a sad lot and sadder prospect.' This picture of his distresses is heightened by the description of his various shifts to better his lot, by making Schiedam from juniper, and spirit from corn, which yet, in despite of the assistance of the good-natured Japanese, would have a pitchy flavor; and how he made long breeches of an old carpet, and shoes of Japanese straw slippers inlaid with leather; and to this must be added his complaints of the perishable quality of the 'whitish liquor, with something of the flavor of the white beer of Harlaem, but which would not keep above four days.' These afflictions were, however, obviated on the arrival of the above expedition, but the opperhoofd would not admit the claims of the English to trade with Japan, in virtue of their possession of Java, and pertinaciously kept his office. On the restoration of the Dutch East India colonies at the peace in 1815, the trade with Japan was revived, and M. Doeff was relieved by the arrival of a legitimate successor in 1817, after having resided in Desima more than ten years. Since that time the trade has been carried on quietly, under the direction of the Dutch government, with the exception of the years 1828 and 1829.

The two vessels which are now annually sent to Japan are chartered, and the principal articles of their cargoes laden by the government, which receives and employs, chiefly in the Batavian coinage, the copper that constitutes the chief return from Japan. The minor articles sent in those ships are put on board by private merchants, who purchase at auction their permits to take this part in the trade. We have no lists of cargoes later than that of 1806, given in Raffles' History of Java, and which consisted of sugar, tin, woolen cloths, chintzes, pepper, spices, sapan wood, &c., valued at $175,000; the returns for which were in copper, and camphor. The balance in favor of the voyage is set down at $175,000. But in this account, the copper is assumed by the mint at $50 per pecul, a rate considerably above the market price.

In 1820, it is understood that some relaxation of the trade as to annual amount took place, but, whatever may be the changes for the better in the spirit or measures of the Japanese government, it is not probable that the Dutch monopolists will willingly permit any tempting disclosures to be made. If report be true, the profits now derived are not considerable, the expenses of the establishment at Nagasaki consuming the share accruing to the Dutch government, though something is made by those who conduct the private trade. This view of the case is confirmed by the fact, that, when the business was handed over to the new E. I. Company, in 1827, they preferred to resign it again to government, after an experience of two years. It should not, however, be forgotten that a Company which can command the

bayonets of a colonial despotism, to aid it in settling prices for the produce of an Archipelago, may not think it worth its while to carry on a branch of business sufficiently profitable for moderate men.

We close our present summary of Dutch intercourse with Japan by adding, that, six or seven years ago, one of the gentlemen of the factory at Desima, made an arrangement with the prince of Satzuma, to deliver him a cargo at some outport of his principality, but the Batavian authorities took effectual measures to frustrate a plan which might have effected the position of their servants at Nagasaki, as well as the profits on the adventures of that year. Against this last consideration, this fear of diminishing profits already paltry, what promise of general benefit, what hope of a new era, could be expected to weigh!

ART. II. *The order of precedence between seniors and juniors, and the intercourse of friends, elucidated.* A translation from the Seaou Heŏ, or Primary Lessons.

CHAPTERS fourth, fifth, and sixth, of the second part of the Primary Lessons, are included in this article. Our notes and explanatory remarks are few and brief, touching chiefly those parts of the text which may be obscure to the reader who has not the original before him.

Chapter 4th. The order of precedence between seniors and juniors.

Note. This chapter contains twenty sections. In the sequel, 'though the form of the precepts differ, they all centre on the single word *king*, 'honor.' The term *seĕnsăng*, 'teacher,' is used to designate him who gives instruction; the term *keunĭsze* 'good man,' for him who is virtuous; *tsun*, 'honorable,' for him who is a father's equal: *chang*, 'senior,' for him who is an elder brother's equal: each term expresses the idea of seniority.'

SECTION I.

Mencius said, "Children of the tenderest age, invariably know how to love their parents; and when advanced to riper years, they invariably know how to honor their elder brothers."

Note. Know how to love, and how to honor, are idiomatic phrases, meaning simply, they love or are affectionate, they honor or are respectful.

SECTION II.

"Those who walk slowly after their seniors are dutiful brothers; those who walk hastily before their seniors, are undutiful brothers."

SECTION III.

In the Illustrations of Duties it is said: "When visiting your father's intimate friend, you must not advance or retire without his bidding; nor presume to speak except when he addresses you."

Note. You must honor your father's intimate friend—his equal in rank or business, just as you honor him: in your behavior towards them, the rules of politeness admit of no distinction.

SECTION IV.

"If any one is twenty years older than yourself, treat him as you do your father; if one is ten years older, treat him as your elder brother; if only five years older, follow him close to his shoulder."

SECTION V.

"Having to consult with a superior, you must take a chear and staff and follow him: it is a breach of propriety to answer his inquiries with a bold and self-sufficient air."

SECTION VI.

"Following your teacher, you must not pass by him and speak to other people; meeting him on the road, quickly advance and stand erect with folded hands. Answer when he speaks to you; but if he does not speak, then quickly retire. When following a superior, if he ascend a hill or mound, you must turn your face to the place towards which he looks."

Note. In ancient times, it was customary for scholars to follow their teachers from place to place, in order that they might constantly receive their instruction.

SECTION VII.

"When a superior gives you his hand to lead you, receive it with both your own hands. When he turns round his head to speak to you, being behind him as a sword on his back, then answer, with your hand covering your mouth."

SECTION VIII.

"The rule for those who sweep for their superiors is, to put the broom on the dust-pan, and to use their sleeves to keep the dust from spreading as they recede; and they must place the dust-pan towards themselves, when taking up the dust, that it may not light on their superiors."

SECTION IX.

"When approaching the mat on which a superior is seated, your countenance must not be confused; with both hands you must raise your garments, lifting them a foot from the ground. You must not flaunt your garments, nor move hurriedly your feet. Be careful not to pass over books and instruments of music, that are lying before your superiors, but kneeling move them away. When seated you must remain quiet, with collected countenance; and you must not speak, until your superior has finished his remarks. Keeping your person erect, you must listen respectfully. You must not repeat the words of others, nor speak at the same time they are talking. You must rather imitate the ancients, and discourse of the early kings."

Note. This refers to a period antecedent to the use of chairs, when it was the common practice to sit on mats, spread upon the ground.

SECTION X.

"If while sitting with your teacher he question you, wait until he has finished his interrogations, then reply. Rise when you wish to inquire respecting your studies, and also when you wish to ask for explanations."

SECTION XI.

"Do not hoot at the dog, when in the presence of an honorable person; if he give you food, do not throw it out of your mouth. When sitting with men of rank, if they yawn or stretch, move either their staves or shoes, or look to see the time of day, you must then beg leave to retire."

SECTION XII.

"If, while sitting with a good man, he vary the subject of conversation, then rise up and answer."

SECTION XIII.

"If, while sitting with a good man, any one come in saying, 'I wish, when you have a little leisure, to speak to you,' all who are upon the right and left must retire and wait."

SECTION XIV.

"If wine is brought in when you are seated with a superior, you must rise, and bowing go up to receive it. If the superior bid you stop, then you may sit down and drink. But the juniors must not presume to drink until their superiors have emptied their cups."

SECTION XV.

"When presents are made by a superior, the junior — the inferior — must not presume to refuse them."

SECTION XVI.

"When feasting in company with a superior, though there be a superabundance of food, the junior must not refuse it; nor may he decline to sit down on equality with his superior."

SECTION XVII.

"When sitting with a superior, to answer without looking towards him is a breach of decorum."

SECTION XVIII.

In the Youth's Guide it is said, "When with those who are much superior and older than yourself, presume not to ask them their age; when on a private visit, do not wait for their formal commands to enter; when you chance to meet them in the street, face them, but do not inquire to what place they are going. Without the direction of superiors, when sitting with them, you must not play on instruments of music, nor write on the ground, nor exercise your hands,

nor use the fan. When they are lying down and call, you must kneel and listen to their commands. The inferior, when engaged in archery with a superior, must at once take up all the arrows; if matched against him, he must take up all his own; and when the game is won, he must wash the wine-cup, and present it."

Note. The junior must be beforehand in preventing the senior from taking trouble on his account. He must not let the senior hand his arrows, or fill his wine-cup, but must do all himself.

SECTION XIX.

According to the Royal Institutes; "In walking, follow after a father's equal; walk a little way behind an elder brother's equal; and do not pass before a friend. When carrying burdens in company with a senior, if they be light, the younger must take both burdens; if heavy, the younger must divide and bear a portion of the senior's burden. The junior must not suffer the gray-headed to carry anything. At the age of sixty, official personages must not be left to go on foot; nor the common people, of the same age, be left to eat a meal without flesh."

SECTION XX.

In the Conversations of Confucius it is related, "That, at a village feast, when the seniors retired, he also retired."

Chapter 5th. The intercourse of friends elucidated.

SECTION I.

The philosopher Tsăng said, "Good men make literature the bond of their friendship; and by friendly union they strengthen their benevolence."

SECTION II.

Confucius said, "Friends must sharply and frankly admonish each other; and brothers must be gentle towards one another.

SECTION III.

Mencius said, "It is the duty of friends to admonish each other to do good."

SECTION IV.

Tszekung asking about friendship, Confucius said, "Faithfully to inform and kindly to instruct another, is the duty of a friend; if he be not tractable, desist; do not disgrace yourself."

SECTION V.

Confucius said, "When residing in any country, serve those nobles who are virtuous, and form friendship with such persons as are benevolent."

SECTION VI.

"There are three kinds of useful friends, and three kinds of injurious friends: the honest, the sincere, and the intelligent, are useful; the dishonest, the insincere, and the garrulous, are injurious."

SECTION VII.

Mencius said, "Do not pride yourself on the superior age or dignity of yourself, or of your brothers, in forming friendship. For friends, seek those who are virtuous, not boasting of yourself on any account."

SECTION VIII.

In the Illustrations of Duties it is said, "In order to preserve unbroken friendly intercourse, the good man does not tax to the utmost another's kind and friendly feelings."

SECTION IX.

"Whoever enters with his guests, yields precedence to them at every door: when they reach the innermost one, he begs leave to go in to arrange the seats; he then returns to receive the guests; and, after they have repeatedly declined, he bows to them and enters. He passes through the right door, they through the left. He ascends the eastern, they, the western, steps. If a guest be of a lower grade, he must approach the steps of the host, while the latter must repeatedly decline this attention; then the guest may return to the western steps. In ascending, both host and guests must mutually yield precedence; then the host must ascend first, and the guests follow. From step to step they must bring their feet together, gradually ascending,—those on the east moving the right foot first, those on the west the left."

SECTION X.

"When nobles and scholars meet, though of different degrees in rank, the host, in honor of his guest, bows to him first; and the guest, in doing honor to the host, bows first to him."

SECTION XI.

"So long as host does not ask any questions, the guests must not commence the conversation."

Chapter 6th. Concluding summary.

SECTION I.

Confucius said, "The good man, who is dutiful to his parents, will be faithful to his prince; doing his duty to his elder brothers, he will be submissive to his superiors; and, ruling properly his own house, he will govern well when placed in official stations. Hence by perfecting his private actions, his name will be transmitted down to future ages."

SECTION II.

"The emperor who has seven ministers to remonstrate with him, will not lose his throne, though he be devoid of correct principles. The prince who has five officers to remonstrate with him, will not lose his kingdom, though he be devoid of correct principles. The noble, who has three servants to remonstrate, though bereft of understanding, will not lose his domain. The scholar, who has friends to remonstrate with him, will not lose his reputation. Nor will the

father, who has sons to remonstrate, fall into wicked practices. Consequently, in case of improper conduct, the son cannot but remonstrate with his father, and the minister with his sovereign."

SECTION III.

In the Book of Rites it is said, "Duty to parents requires that they be remonstrated with in secret, but not opposed, always and everywhere attended on, and assiduously served even unto death, and then deeply mourned for during three years. Duty to a prince requires that he be opposed, and not remonstrated with in secret, always in the proper place attended on, and assiduously served even unto death, and then mourned for during three years. Duty to a teacher requires that he be admonished neither with open remonstrance nor in secret, always and every where attended on, and assiduously served even unto death, and then mourned for in heart during three years."

SECTION IV.

Kwan Kungtsze said, "The people live by three, whom they ought to serve alike—the father who gives them birth, the master who instructs them, and the prince who nourishes them: without a father they would have no birth, no increase without nourishment, and no knowledge without instruction. Such are the authors of their being; and hence they should be served alike, without regard to person or place, even until death—requiting life by death and repaying gifts by strength. This is the duty of man."

SECTION. V.

The philosopher Gan said, "The prince commands, the minister obeys; the father caresses, the son reveres; the elder brother loves, the younger honors; the husband accords, the wife submits; the husband's mother caresses, the son's wife obeys—these are the constant rules of propriety. The prince commanding in accordance with justice; the minister obeying without duplicity; the father caressing while he maintains discipline; the son revering while he remonstrates; the elder brother loving while he befriends; the younger honoring while he is submissive; the husband according while he is just; the wife yielding while she is correct; the husband's mother caressing while she is compliant; and the son's wife obeying with gentleness—these are the excellencies of propriety."

SECTION VI.

The philosopher Tsăng said, "If your father and elder brothers are not pleased with you, presume not to associate with those who are out of the family. If those who are near do not love you, seek not the esteem of those who are distant. If you cannot manage small things, presume not to speak of those which are great. Hence, during the life of man, within a hundred years, there are sicknesses, old age, and youth; the good man, therefore, considering that those who have gone cannot return early performs his duty to them. If after your father's decease you wish to be dutiful, who will receive

your services? When grown old, though you desire to be dutiful to your elder brothers, to whom can you then act the part of younger brothers? For then it will be too late to perform your duties to your parents and elder brothers. Is it not indeed so?"

SECTION VII.

"The magistrate becomes remiss after he has obtained his office; sickness increases from partial convalescence; calamities grow from idleness; and the son's duty to his parents is neglected by attention to his wife and children. Let him who examines these four cases, be careful to continue to the end in the same manner as he began. The Book of Odes says—

"Without beginning there are none;
"To gain the end but few are able."

SECTION VIII.

"There are three things in a man which are ominous: when young to be unwilling to serve his superiors; when in a low condition, to be unwilling to serve those who are honorable; and when base to be unwilling to serve the virtuous. These three things are ominous."

SECTION IX.

"Refuse and undertake not either an investigation of the useless, or an examination of the unimportant. But daily, carefully, and without cessation, scrutinize the duties between the prince and his minister, the affection of father and son, and the line of separation between husband and wife."

ART. III. *Female constancy illustrated by the narratives of three ladies, Choo of Keängse, Chun of Kwangtung, and Kin of Fuhkëen.* Translated from the works of LUHCHOW.

1. THE virtuous lady Choo, the daughter of Choo of Kaougan heën in Keängse, was already betrothed to Le Keäkeu of the neighboring district of Keënchang. When young she was remarkable for her dislike to gay or flowered garments, and, whenever they were put on her, she would immediately throw them off, exclaiming against their imposition; and if her hair was bound up with a red ribbon she would untie and throw it away. She delighted in literary pursuits. She understood the Four Books, and several of the other classics, together with the commentaries upon them; and had examined the works of the learned men who flowrished during the Han, Tang, and Sung, dynasties, as well as the current literature of the day. As a mark of her studiousness, her sisters observed, that, when the cover was placed over the lamp and partly obscured it, the hum of her reading was not

interrupted. Whenever a party of her friends and sisters were amusing themselves with sports and riddles, Choo alone remained silent, saying, that such pastimes were not proper for the inner apartments. Her disposition was very filial. She served the master and mistress of the family with respect, and they and all the household were delighted with her. Every morning she saluted her parents; and when they were eating she stood and waited beside the table. Every evening she arranged the mat and bed clothes; and when they were all in order, she stood just without by the side of the door and waited until they had retired, before she went to her own room. When morning came, she again stood by the door, inquiring if they were well; and after they had risen. she entered and put the room in order. All the concubines, and females of the family loved her; and moreover, whatever business was done within the house was with her knowledge and under her direction. She waited upon all, and such was her influence that peace and harmony prevailed, and no scandal or clamor was heard about the house.

After a while, her father received orders from the emperor to fill the office of literary chancellor in Shense; and before going he sent away his family from Peking, where he was residing at the time, to their home in Keängse. On the road, Chun, the mother of Choo (who was a concubine) died, and was placed in a coffin by her daughter, and thus carried home. On arriving, Choo directed the interment herself, although overwhelmed with grief at the time, and for several days after bewailed the loss of her mother. When the days of mourning were accomplished, she superintended the affairs of the household as formerly, and took the charge and education of her younger brothers and sisters. At intervals she would lament her mother, with all the poignancy of first grief, continuing her sorrow until she became very much emaciated, and her haggard appearance excited the pity of every one who saw her. In the mean time, Le Keäkeu, to whom she was affianced, was successful in obtaining the second degree of literary rank; but not long after, he suddenly sickened and died. When the news of his demise arrived, the domestics would not inform Choo of the sad event. She heard of it, however, and bewailed his death, for three days refusing all food. She then expressed a design she had formed of visiting his tablet, and observing all the funeral rites; but her mother-in-law remarked to her, 'if you understand the rules of propriety, you will wait until your father's return.' Sometime after, her father came home from his government, but she feared to grieve his heart by asking him, and so continued to serve him as she had formerly done. When he had been at home a long time, her mother-in-law requested, on behalf of Choo, that she might visit the tablet of Le, and perform all the rites of mourning; but he, like most men, advised her to stay at home and be quiet. On hearing this, she fell to weeping and sobbing; yet her fixed purpose to go was not at all weakened, and she ceased eating and drinking for three days, at the end of which, her father consented. When leaving, she asked him what garments were most proper for her to wear. He replied, 'there

is no rule about it; you can wear what you please, but do not trouble me with your questions.' She immediately went on board the vessel, and, during the passage, arrayed herself in mourning apparel. On arriving at the house of Le's father, all the family came to meet her, clad in their white robes and caps, at which sight the villagers were affected even to tears. Miss Choo, with an imperturbed countenance, first prostrated herself in the hall of ancestors, and then made obeisance to her father-in-law and mother-in-law; and then, in accordance with the prescribed rules, she approached her husband's tablet, and gave full vent to her grief. After all was done that could be required of a wife, she served her husband's parents with the greatest fidelity. Whenever she had a little leisure she would take a book to amuse herself, not seeking the society of her friends, and living in the plainest manner. Some time after these events, her father sent a messenger to inquire concerning her health, to whom she replied, 'When you return, tell my father, that his daughter suffers no distress. I shall, however, not cease, even for a twinkling of an eye, to wish an early death, and shall stay here till I have done all; he need remember me no more."

A few years after, the gentry and others who had heard of her character began to extol her actions, and spread her fame abroad; and some were for erecting a tablet to her praise over the village gate. Choo, with great earnestness, besought her father-in-law and mother-in-law to prevent it. She also wrote a letter to her father, in which she said, 'My actions were not regulated by the requisitions of reason, but I did them of my own freewill: can you suppose that I sought popularity by them? Pray have the tablet taken away, or it will cause my death.' The matter was accordingly dropped. She once began to fast and deny herself all manner of meat and dainties, upon which her father asked her, what was the cause of her grief. She replied, 'I have suddenly taken a distaste to all savory food, and if I should now return to my former habits, it will be a very great accusation against my consistency.' On one occasion, her father visited the emperor, and received a command to go and fill an office, to his great mortification. He petitioned to be excused, but his majesty refused to grant his request; a second petition also received another refusal; and so afflicted was he, that he lay on the ground night and day. He thought of presenting another petition, but his friends advised him rather to obey. Miss Choo, with tears said, 'If my honored father goes to his office he will never return home. Although ministers are properly called the supporters of the state, yet, on account of his great age, he is not fitted for the duty; his friends advised him to go, but their advice is certainly such as will not be for his good. It will be according to the strictest propriety to lay the case again before the sacred emperor.' A third petition was presented, and he obtained leave to stay at home.

About the beginning of the 2d year of Yungching, (A. D. 1724,) a fire broke out in Peking, near the house of her father-in-law, which destroyed several tens of buildings. The domestics were much

alarmed, and seized whatever they could lay hold of, in order to save it abut Miss Choo refused to go, saying, 'If death is to be my lot, I am content: can no one imitate the ladies of the Ke family?' So saying, she went in, fastened the door, and sat quietly to await the event. Her mother-in-law Heäng broke open the door, took her up, and carried her out, upon which the fire immediately ceased, and neither of them were burned. During the summer of that year her uncle Sekeäng, a district magistrate, died, and her father, when he heard of it, was grieved beyond measure, and had a paroxysm of vomiting blood. When Choo heard of his distress, she returned home from her father-in-law's, and waited upon him with the most unwearied attention. Every evening she inquired after his health, and would often watch and weep till the morning's dawn. This anxiety threw her into a shivering ague, but she would tell no one; till at last her grandfather, learning that she was sick, sent for a physician. She refused, however, to see him, remarking, 'How can I, a maiden lady, allow a physician to examine my pulse?' Her father wished to compel her, but she was obstinate, declaring that she had no ailment. Her two brothers, both of whom were men of rank, besought her with tears; but she smilingly replied, 'Do you think that I am afraid to die? It is better to die, than to have a doctor come and take hold of my hand, and live.' When near her end, she said to her brother, 'When I am dead, my sorrows will be over; but if I knew that my father and the parents of my betrothed husband would not grieve because of my death, then I would close my eyes in peace.' She also added, 'During my life you know that I have never worn an inch of jewelry, or a yard of gay cloth, and I wish that none of them may be put upon my corpse.' She soon after expired, in the 34th year of her age, and the 2d year of Yungching's reign.

2. The virtuous lady Chun Paouneäng was the daughter of Chun Tszeying, an inferior magistrate in Haeyang, a district in the province Kwangtung. When young she was remarkable for her ready perception. If at any time her brother was reading a book at her side, she immediately and fully understood its meaning; she could repeat the Heaou King and the Domestic Rules, and in this respect she was like the illustrious women of antiquity. She brought the water and pounded the rice instead of her mother. Although the family was poor and obliged to labor hard, yet they had all the gentility and affability of a family of wealth. At the age of twelve years she was affianced to Wang Szechuen of the same town, whose father was a literary officer of low rank. Five years after the engagement, the father of Wang was compelled to resign his office, and retire to a humble cottage. As soon as Chun heard of his misfortune, she took off all her ornaments, dressed herself in coarse apparel, and until the next year denied herself all delicacies. The villagers highly commended her filial duty and examplary conduct, lauding her virtue, and extolling her knowledge of propriety.

It was long after this, when the news of the sudden death of Wang reached her. She was weaving at the time, and the shuttle

dropped from her hand, and she reeling fell to the ground, where she sat crying and sobbing in great anguish. After she had recovered her spirits, she asked permission of her parents to go and perform the funeral rites for her husband, but they refused. She sighing, replied, 'My husband was as heaven to me; I have now lost him, and there cannot be another, even as there cannot be two heavens. But I am one of the chief mourners, and must go to his house for three years, to fulfill all the rites prescribed to the survivors. Now my parents will not permit me to go, and I shall die because my grief is detained in my heart.' Her mother Lew endeavored to cheer and soothe her. She weeping answered, 'Your daughter does not forget her parents; but do I seem to be unfilial? I have, as it were, a pleasure in being disrespectful; for I see other widows who are called faithful and virtuous act thus; and by neglecting the usual rites, shall I not disgrace my parents, and will not their omission be a greater lack than the want of filial duty?' Her aunt How, who was an unmarried widow, began to show her how she could observe the rites at home; how she could stay and comfort the hearts of her parents, and, at the same time, perform all that was required of virtuous widows. She replied, 'My dear aunt, although you have been afflicted, and have observed all the rites, yet you have a fatherless child in your arms, who will prepetuate your tablet. I, alas, have none; our cases are different, and each must pursue her own course.' She accordingly ceased eating and drinking, and for three days neither water nor gruel entered her mouth. She took out of her trunks all the articles she had made, her jewels and other precious things, and committed them all to the flames. Her books and papers and writing apparatus she gave to her brother, intreating him to study them diligently, at the same time weeping bitterly. Perceiving that her parents watched her very narrowly, apprehensive lest she should commit suicide, she dissembled her countenance, and the cheerful trill of her shuttle was heard, as if she had no grief. Her uncle Lew Seängfoo came to see her, with the design of consoling her with kind words, and succeeded so far that she answered him cheerfully and with vivacity, passing the social cup and making merry, which conduct led her parents to believe that she had in a good measure forgotten her sorrows. But one day, on the approach of a thunder storm, the whole family hastened out to bring in some clothes that were drying in the sun, and on their return, which was in great haste, they saw Chun suspended by the neck from a high loft. They immediately cried out, but there was no answer, and, getting up to secure her, they discovered that she was dead. Although there was a heavy rain, her garments were not wet; and, on the next day, it was remarked that her countenance had not changed. In her desk were found a few farewell verses, among which was the following;

To worship your tablet was the wish of your handmaid,
But my parents opposed my earnest desire;
Now my hasty steps will pursue in your track;
I shall follow in the road my lord has gone.

This incident happened in the 40th year of Kanghe, (1702) when she was eighteen years of age.

3. In the district of Changpoo in Fuhkeën, lived the lady Lin Fungneäng. When young, she was remarkably intelligent, and at a tender age she attended the school of madame Le, where she learned the Neu Keae or Female Precepts, and became acquainted with the rules of society. As she grew older, she delighted in literary pursuits, and was so incessantly at her studies, that her father began to reprove her. 'If you wish to become an accomplished woman,' says he, 'as well as a scholar, and fit to be a wife, you must understand weaving and sewing, in order that you may earn a competent livelihood.' She consequently attended to needle work, and soon became expert in its various branches, excelling all her companions. Her disposition was filial and obedient, she was not loquacious, nor did one ever see a scowl upon her countenance. Her feet passed not over the threshold of the inner door, and her numerous brothers, from one year's end to another, hardly saw her face; such was her retirement and the peaceableness of her character.

Soon after she took the garb of a woman, she was bethrothed to Woo Hŏ of the neighboring town of Yunsaou. This young man, whose two elder brothers had both died young soon after each other, had already attained the first literary rank. Soon after their engagement, Woo was taken sick; and when Lin heard of his illness, she was much distressed, and feigned many pretexts for not taking her regular meals. In the night she burned incense, and besought heaven that a part of her own allotment of years might be substracted, for the purpose of adding them to her lover's life; but in vain, for some time after he died. She was quite inconsolable on learning of his death, and requested permission of her parents to go and perform his funeral rites. Her father told her that she had never seen the parents of her husband, which would partly prevent her from fulfilling all the rites; and moreover his house was more than a hundred miles distant. On hearing this refusal, her grief was extreme; and the following night she attempted to hang herself, but her mother hearing a noise broke open the door, and rescued her, though a good while elapsed before she recovered. Her parents, henceforward, endeavored to soothe her by every art in their power, promising her that they would never request her to marry another; and she herself gradually cheered up, concluding to wait until an heir to Woo could be adopted. She dressed in coarse apparel, ate common food, and denied herself the use of all ornaments; and, whenever any of her female relations were amusing themselves by rambling or diversions, she would have nothing to do with any of their pastimes. When in the presence of her parents, she dissembled her countenance, and spoke pleasantly to make them believe that she was contented; but every morning and evening, or whenever alone, she thought of the death of Woo, crying and sobbing so bitterly that her pillow was wet through with her tears; yet she dared not disclose this grief to her father and mother. Her thoughts were continually dwelling upon the perpetua-

tion of Woo's family by the adoption of a child, when she intended to go to the house of her father-in-law, and bring it up; but his two brothers being already dead, and a half-brother that was still living being very young, and nothing having been said to her about the subject for a long time, she concluded that the parents of Woo did not mean to adopt any heir for their son.

She therefore determined to fulfill the vows of chastity by terminating her life. She gave a few farewell words to her companions, saying, 'My fate in life has been very unfortunate, more so than ordinary; that of all my sisters has been, in comparison with mine, prosperous; but I could not bear to leave you abruptly. Now there is nothing upon which I can fasten a hope; the parents of Woo do not wish to keep up his succession, and I hope no relief but in death.' They were all very much alarmed at these words, and hardly knew whether to believe them or not. She added, 'Perhaps you may have seen the well, which there is in the inner part of the house; there I can very soon end my life.' They all, with intreating cries, besought her to abandon this design, but she was immoveable, notwithstanding all their lamentations and tears. The next day, her father was informed of her determination by his wife, when he replied; 'I have already invited a go-between to arrange a marriage for her, and the business is nearly settled.' Miss Lin heard this without making any reply, and immediately returned to her apartment, where she collected the marriage presents of clothes, ornaments, and other articles she had received from the family of Woo, and threw them all into the well, and immediately followed herself. When the body was taken out, her countenance appeared to be smiling; and in her girdle was found a paper, on which was written, 'Let my corpse be carried home to the house of Woo.' She was accordingly buried in the same tomb with her betrothed husband in the year 1771; being only twenty years of age at her death.

Note. The three short notices which we have given above are taken from the works of Luhchow of Fuhkeën, and, together with several others, are narrated by him for the purpose of showing the power of principle in educated females. He makes a few observations at the end of each narrative, the general purport of which is, to show the benefit of educating females, and that, when educated, they may be expected to be more virtuous and faithful than if allowed to remain in ignorance. Luhchow was a close observer of men and things, and some of his remarks would do credit to any writer. Yet some of the sentiments do him little credit, and show an utter ignorance of the human *mind:* women led, by a combination of superstitious veneration and *proud* humility, into gross absurdities,—and driven, whether by these tempers of the mind, or by their sad prospects of unmarried widowhood for life, to commit suicide, should be displayed as beacons, not as examples. These stories, however, may not be entirely devoid of interest to our readers, inasmuch as they give us a little insight into the domestic life of the Chinese, and also delineate the most prominent traits of the character of a chaste and faithful spouse, according to the requisitions of their ancient sages.

ART. IV. *Remarks on the Chinese theatre; with a translation of a farce, entitled 'the Mender of cracked Chinaware.'*

THE lighter literature of the Chinese has, until within a few years past, received as little attention from European students of the language and customs of this country, as from the more grave Chinese literati themselves; and, by those who are strangers to the country, it might from this have been inferred, that the drama and romance in China do not occupy any conspicuous place in the esteem of the people. But of late years, several specimens, both of the drama and romance, have been added to the solitary examples that we previously possessed. These examples were, the Orphan of Chaou, a tragedy translated by Père Prémare, in 1731; and the Pleasing History, an esteemed work of fiction, published, in part from a Portuguese, and in part from an English, translation, in 1761. From several romances and tales, translated within the last twenty years, by Rémusat, Davis, Julien, and others, we are now enabled to form a tolerably correct judgment of the general character of Chinese romance-writers. As examples too of the histrionic art, we have (besides a new translation of the Orphan of Chaou) the Heir in Old Age, a comedy, translated by Mr. Davis; the Sorrows of Han, a tragedy, by the same translator; and the Circle of Chalk, translated into French by M. Stanislas Julien. For remarks upon these translations, and on the general character and peculiarities of the Chinese stage, we must refer our readers to the sixteenth chapter of Mr. Davis's work—'The Chinese,'—reserving to another occasion the criticisms which we have to make upon some portions of those remarks. Our present purpose is simply to introduce to notice a translation of a different nature from those abovementioned, with which we have been kindly favored by a Correspondent.

It must be premised, that the Chinese have no theatres, and a company of players, or *corps dramatique*, consisting usually of from twenty to forty individuals, having been engaged to perform in any neighborhood, a covered stage is erected of bamboos and mats—except in those places where permanent stages exist. On the evening preceding the day of representation, the dresses of the actors are removed from the boat or house, which is the ordinary abode of the company, to the place where the play is to be performed. The principal piece, usually an historical tragedy, opens about the middle of the day, and continues during two or three hours; but on some occasions, it commences sooner, and a long piece having been selected, the whole performance continues for five or six hours. The tragedy or comedy ended, tumbling and various feats of agility succeed. These are then followed by a short piece, wherein, in most cases, the *dramatis personæ* do not exceed two or three. Of these pieces, which are usually of a farcical (though not uncommonly of an indecent)

character, and which, while conveying perhaps little of interest or amusement to the mere reader, yet display frequently good action and much comic gesture in stage exhibitions, no specimen, so far as we are aware, has yet been given to the European public. On this account, we think, that the subjoined translation will not be without interest, notwithstanding the disadvanatge it labors under, from the absence of all the droll gesticulations, the impromptu allusions to passing occurrences, and the often powerful pantomimic action, which are its usual accompaniments. The dresses, which, in the more regular dramatic performances, are rich and gaudy, but no way resembling those that we every day see in use, are, in these pieces, different from the dresses of the present time only in occasional additions intended to aid the drollery of a comic actor. One great advantage, it should be added, that these pieces have to European ears, is the absence of the deafening crash of the gong, and the excruciating sounds of some of the other instruments peculiar to the Chinese. The music, in which good time is always most carefully preserved, is not, when divested of these ear-breaking accompaniments, devoid of merits of a more intrinsic character. With these brief remarks we present the piece to the perusal of our readers.

THE MENDER OF CRACKED CHINAWARE.

Dramatis Personæ.

New Chow, ...A wandering tinker.
Wang neäng,.....A young girl.

Scene—a Street.

NEW CHOW *enters,—across his shoulder is a bamboo, to each end of which are suspended boxes containing the various tools and implements of his trade, and a small stool. He is dressed meanly, his face and head are painted and decorated in a fantastic manner.*

(Sings) Seeking a livelihood by the work of my hands,
Daily do I traverse the streets of the city.
(Speaks) Well, here I am, a mender of broken jars,
An unfortunate victim of ever changing plans.
To repair old fractured jars,
Is my sole occupation and support.
'Tis even so. I have no other employment.

(Takes his boxes from his shoulder, places them on the ground, sits beside them, and drawing out his fan, continues speaking —)

A disconsolate old man—I am a slave to inconveniences.
For several days past, I have been unable to go abroad,
But, observing this morning a clear sky and fine air,
I was induced to recommence my street-wanderings.
(Sings) At dawn I left my home,
But as yet have had no job.
Hither and yon, and on all sides;
From the east gate to the west,

From the south gate to the north,
And all over within the walls,
Have I been, no one has called
For the mender of cracked jars. Unfortunate man!
But this being my first visit to the city of Nanking,
Some extra exertion is necessary:
Time is lost sitting idle here, and so to roam again I go
(Shoulders his boxes and stool, and walks about, crying)—
Plates mended! Bowls mended!
Jars and pots neatly repaired!

Lady Wang (heard within.) Did I not hear the cry of the mender of cracked jars?
I'll open the door and look.—*(She enters looking around.)*
Yes, there comes the repairer of jars!

New Chow Pray have you a jar to mend?
I have long been seeking a job.
Did you not call?

Lady W. What is your charge for a large jar—
And how much for a small one?

New Chow For large jars, one mace five.

Lady W. And for small ones?

New Chow Fifty pair of cash.

Lady W. To one mace five, and fifty pair of cash.
Add nine candareens—and a new jar may be had.

New Chow What then will you give?

Lady W. I will give one candareen for either size.

New Chow Well, lady, how many cash can I get for this candareen?

Lady W. Why, if the price is high, you will get eight cash.

New Chow And if low—

Lady W. You will get but seven cash and a half.

New Chow Oh, you wicked tantalizing thing!
(Sings) Since leaving home this morning,
I have met but with a trifler,
Who in the shape of an old wife,
Tortures and gives me no job;
I'll shoulder again my boxes, and continue my walk,
And never again will I return to the house of Wang.
(He moves off slowly.)

Lady W. Jar-mender! Return, quickly return! With a loud voice, I entreat you, for I have something on which I wish to consult with you.

New Chow What is it on which you wish to consult me?

Lady W. I will give you a hundred cash to mend a large jar.

New Chow And for mending a small one?

Lady W. And for mending a small one, thirty pair of cash.

New Chow One hundred, and thirty pair;—truly, lady, this is worth consulting about.
Lady Wang, where shall I mend them?

Lady W. Follow me. *(They move towards the door of the house.)*

(Sings) Before walks the lady Wang.
New Chow And behind comes the *poo-kang* (or jar-mender).
Lady W. Here then is the place.
New Chow Lady; permit me to pay my respects.
(Bows repeatedly in a very ridiculous manner.)
We can exchange civilities.
I congratulate you—may you prosper before and behind.
Lady W. Here is the jar; now go to work and mend it.
(Takes the jar in his hand, and tosses it about examining it.)
New Chow This jar has certainly a very appalling fracture.
Lady W. Therefore it requires the more care in mending.
New Chow That is self evident.
Lady W. Now, lady Wang will retire again to her dressing-room,
And, after closing the doors, will resume her toilet;
Her appearance she will beautify;
On the left, her hair she will comb into a dragon's head tuft,
On the right, she will arrange it tastefully with flowers,
Her lips she will color with blood red vermilion,
And a gem of *fei tsuy* will she place in the dragon's head tuft;
Then, having completed her toilet, she will return to the door side,
And sit down to look at the jar-mender. *(Exit.)*
New Chow sits down, straps the jar on his knee, and arranges his tools before him, and, as he drills holes for the nails, sings,—
Every hole drilled requires a pin,
And every two holes drilled require pins a pair;
As I raise my head and look around,
(At this moment lady Wang reënters beautifully dressed, and sits down by the door.)
There sits, I see, a delicate young lady;
Before, she had the appearance of an old wife,
Now she is transformed into a handsome young girl;
On the left, her hair is comb'd into a dragon's head tuft;
On the right it is adorn'd tastefully with flowers.
Her lips are like plums, her mouth is all smiles,
Her eyes are as brilliant as the phœnix's; and
She stands on golden lilies, but two inches long.
I look again, another look,—down drops the jar.
(The jar at this moment falls, and is broken to pieces.)
(Speaks) Hai-ya! Here then is a dreadful smash!
Lady W. You have but to replace it with another, and do it quickly.
New Chow For one that was broken, a good one must be given.
Had two been broken, then were a pair to be supplied;
An old one being smashed, a new one must replace it.
Lady W. You have destroyed the jar, and return me nothing but words.
Give me a new one, then you may return home,—not before.

New Chow. Here on my knees upon the hard ground, I beg lady Wang, while she sits above, to listen to a few words. Let me receive pardon for the accident her beauty has occasioned, and I will at once make her my wife.

Lady W. Impudent old man! How presume to think
That I can ever become your wife!

New Chow Yes, it is true, I am somewhat older than lady Wang,
Yet would I make her my wife.

Lady W. No matter then for the accident, but leave me now at once.

New Chow Since you have forgiven me, I again shoulder my boxes,
And I will go elsewhere in search of a wife.
And here, before high heaven, I swear never again to come near the house of Wang.
You a great lady! You are but a vile ragged girl.
And you will yet be glad to take up with a much worse companion.
(Going away, he suddenly throws off his upper dress, and appears as a handsome young man)

Lady W Henceforth, give up your wandering profession,
And marrying me, quit the trade of a jar-mender.
With the lady Wang pass happily the remainder of your life. *(They embrace, and exeunt)*

ART. V. *Remarks on the cantus* and the inflections used by the Chinese in speaking.* By G. T. LAY.

[The subject here canvassed has long engaged our attention, and some thoughts upon it were written out before Mr. Lay's paper came to hand. We are not sure that his views, on every point, are quite correct; we hope, however, that both he and others will favor us with further observations respecting the *tones and inflections.* On such a subject it is desirable to obtain the views of different persons: our own shall be submitted to our readers in an early number of the next volume.]

IF the string of a monochord be capable of intension and remission by means of a peg, we might so adjust it, that when struck, its sound would correspond with the pitch or tone of a Chinaman's voice, when he pronounces a word with the *shang ping.* If we then slackened the string till it vibrated about a fifth below, we should have the *heä ping.* In both these cases, the voice does not vary in pitch, but is sustained for a moment with a smooth and easy effort. A gentleman, who used the term *boy* for his servant, would call out *Boy!* in the *shang ping*, when he wanted him in the daytime; but if he suspected

**Cantus*, sounds when susceptible of musical notation, as *cantus tibiarum.* *Quint.* i. 10.

thieves in the house at midnight, and wished to awaken him without disturbing them, he would call *Boy*, in the *heä ping*. The two *ping shing* are the most easily appreciated, and are generall well-marked by the common people, even when the *shang shing* and *heä shing* are partially neglected. The *shang ping* is the first that is recognised by a European, especially when he attends to a conversation that is maintained with earnestness. It is then the peculiar recitative or singing of the Chinese is most audible, and falls upon our ear at first as something strangely affected and unnatural.

As they are prompted by nature, and taught by precept to pay a great regard to the safety of their persons, in their quarrels they substitute a loud noise for hard blows, and seem to imagine that victory will declare for him who can pour the fiercest peal of sounds into the ear of his adversary. This *shing* on such occasions is of course greatly in request, since it enables the speaker to 'wind' such a well-sustained blast into the *meatus auditorius*, or porch whereat sounds usually enter, that a volley of monosyllables, uttered before, must have tenfold the effect they would have had, if their rear had not been covered with such a reinforcement. The Chinese are fond of monopolies, at least their government loves to patronise such things; but the males have not appropriated the entire right of thundering with words, for the fair dames are sometimes so forgetful of the decorum imposed on them by the sages, that they come forth and wrangle in the open air, when the *ping shing* stoutly performs its office, flies on the wings of the wind across the well-tilled valley, and would, were echo at hand, produce an effect as novel as it is engaging. I say *engaging*, for the voice of the female is generally sonorous, and the enunciation clear and distinct, especially when feeling stimulates exertion, so that the foreigner who desires to be acquainted with the phenomena of Chinese accent and vocal inflection, may then find some of the best examples for improvement. Those who prefer a more peaceable mode of habituating the ear to the *differences* of the tone and effort, may find opportunities in listening to the venders of drugs in the street, who not only mark them with great emphasis, but to a ready utterance sometimes join such a liveliness and flexibility of dramatic action, that one is apt to think them fitted for better purposes than to tell high-sounding fibs among a circle of unlettered men who come to listen and to laugh.

In the *shang shing*, the voice might agree in its key with either of the foregoing tones, but with this essential difference, that it ascends about half a tone, while the syllable is uttered. This may be illustrated by a reference to the same monochord, if we suppose that the peg is turned gently while the string is vibrating so as to alter its pitch about half a tone. Performers on the violin often slide the finger from one note to another for the sake of embellishment, which, in ascending, bears a resemblance to the *shing* we are describing. But there is a difference that cannot be imitated exactly even by that instrument, which is of all others most under the control of the artist, owing to the peculiar nature of the vocal organs Still we may get an

approximation to it by drawing the bow with an accelerated velocity across the string at the same time the finger is sliding towards the semitone above. In uttering the *shang shing*, there is a waxing intensity of effort in the organs of speech, which a Chinaman compares to the act of throwing the sound towards the top of the room. I have heard young people in colloquial intercourse with each other use this *shing* in saying 'No!' when they wished to render the negation peculiarly serious and emphatic.

The *keu shing* is exactly the inverse of the *shang shing*, for the voice descends, the effort is smoothly diminished, and the pitch seems to be taken somewhere between the *heä ping* and the *shang ping*. A fond parent soothes the grief of a child with an inflection not far from the *keu shing*, and says 'Never mind.' The voice dwells upon the word '*mind*,' but the tone lowers, and the effort of articulation is remitted.

In the fourth, or *jŭh shing*, the syllable ends with a mute consonant, and is generally pronounced with a sudden jerk of the voice. One impatient to know the contents of a parcel, would say to his friend, who was delaying his hopes by endeavoring to unloose the string, 'Cut it!' The abrupt but emphatic accentuation of *cut*, would be some representation of the *jŭh shing*.

When we hear a word pronounced that belongs to any of the dialects spoken in the Indian Archipelago, we perceive something tunable in the sound, which will often spontaneously chime afterwards in our ear, and enable us to remember it oftentimes without effort. The same observation applies in some degree to the Japanese, though we cannot always imitate the precise sound without a little practice. But in Chinese the case is very different, for the single syllable in which most words are enunciated has scarcely entered the ear, before all traces of its echo are lost upon the memory. In the Indiam languages, the *combination* of harmonious sound assists our recollection of each particular as well as the whole, but the individual sound in the Chinese, wholly unsupported by any such music or symphony, is like separate and unconnected facts, which are no sooner heard than they are forgotten; whereas, if they had been associated with others, they would have been recollected without any straining of the will or the attention. As a remedy for this inconvenience, the *shing* or notes of emphasis and modulation have been introduced, not in virtue of any distinct and specific device, contrived on purpose to avoid ambiguity, but from a wish to call the mind to the flying vocables, by dwelling upon or marking them in some measure with a different intonation, inflection, or effort of the voice. The little dwarfish words, then, that compose a Chinese sentence, have obtained a characteristic embroidery, which enables the well-practiced ear to distinguish one from its fellows by the livery that it is made to wear. All this, however, is lost upon a foreigner, who, though he can detect something very singular in the pronunciation of a Chinaman, cannot easily arrive at a practical conviction that it has anything to do with the sense. And the difficulty we find when first come hither, is never lightened by any

explanation of the precise nature of these inflections, and each student is obliged to learn them by and for himself, as if he had been the first in the field of discovery. Some endeavor to express them in musical notes; others seek to imitate them upon the piano forte; and the complaisance of a Chinese teacher will sometimes lead him to say *amen* to the presumed success of such experiments: but there is a fallacy in such methods, for, though we might represent the different pitches of the high and low sounds upon a musical instrument, the characteristics of the *shang shing* and *keu shing* are not susceptive of any such musical expression. In most of the harmonic treatises which the Greeks have left us, a bisection is made between the movement of the voice in speaking and in singing. In singing, say they, the voice is *diastematic*, and steps from interval to interval, and dwells with unvarying altitude for a certain period upon each of them. But in speaking, the motion is continuous, συνεχης, and slides up and down without resting a moment upon any pitch. If, with these definitions in our minds, we listen to a Chinese in his way of speaking, we shall perceive a mixture of both singing and speaking. In the *ping shing*, the voice does not alter its pitch, and hence we have what approximates to singing, though the short time generally employed in its enunciation modifies in some measure the drawling effect that it would otherwise have upon the ear of the listener. In enouncing the *shang shing* and *keu shing*, the voice ascends in the former, and descends in the latter, continuously or in a sliding manner, but in a diastematic or musical way. To represent the effect by two slurred notes shows a misconception, and diverts us from the attainment of a correct idea of the subject by sending us in quest of a shadow. The phrase *relative cadence*, introduced by some, is without example in musical works, and cannot with any propriety be applied to a note when taken by itself, though we can refer to its position in the tablature by speaking of its height or pitch. In music, the term *cadence* applies to the manner in which the harmony descends to the tonic or key note; in elocution it is expressive of that gradual fall of the voice which prepares us for resting upon the last and final word of a period.

The man unused to eastern dialects, who may never hear a Chinese speak to exemplify the nature and importance of these inflections, is not a stranger to efforts produced by appropriate turns of the voice. The greatest ornament in delivery depends upon it, and the merriment excited by a story, owes more to the tones of the narrator, than to the comic wit it contains.

In the dramatic art, the most graceful attitudes, and the most elegant and pithy sentences would fail of pleasing, were they not accompanied by the very tones which every son and daughter of humanity insensibly adopts, when his feelings are set at work by the restless pressure of reality.

> Scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto,
> Legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
>
> *Horace's letter to the Pisos.*

We have referred to the distinction between speaking and singing insisted upon in the Greek works on music, and will conclude these remarks by a passage from Martianus Capella in Latin, upon the same subject.

Omnis vox in duo genera dividitur: continuum atque divisum. Continuum est velut juge colloquium: divisum, quod in modulatione servamus. Est et medium, quod in utroque permixtum, ac neque alterius continuum modum servat, nec alterius frequenti divisione præciditur, ut pronunciandi modo carmina cuncta recitantur.

Mart. Capel., Meibom. edit. page 182.

The recital of verses, he tells us, partook both of singing and speaking; it therefore bore some analogy to the pronunciation of the Chinese, at least in the fifth century when Capella lived. I am afraid, if this be the case, that the genuine method of reading Virgil's Georgics would in our ear have robbed them of all their charms. If the testimony is true, we have a remarkable coincidence between the ancient practices of the East and West, where we were least prepared to expect it. The foregoing is a rough draught of the subject, but the principles are, I think, sound, and will make way for illustrations of its importance, its analogies, and its connection with the character of the Chinese.

ART. VI. *Notices of Formosa, gleaned from the works of François Valentyn.* Published at Amsterdam, 1729. From a Correspondent.

VALENTYN, a most voluminous author, collected the materials for his ponderous tomes from the papers of the Dutch East India Company. For the most part, his compilations are dull and heavy. He wrote without connection, and is often very deficient in describing important subjects, whilst he expatiates upon mere trifles. It is, therefore, only scanty gleanings which we here collect: in the selection of them, however, we have endeavored to avoid, as much as possible, the repetition of what has already been said upon the subject, in any former articles. We still remain ignorant of the east coast of the island. Though it was visited by some of the early Dutch navigators, yet at present it seems to be beyond the reach of observation, and not even the enterprizing Chinese, though very near to the spot, venture into that *terra incognita*. The Lewchewans have described the aborigines as savages, whilst our author assures us, that they are a very good hearted, lazy kind of people, and neither as treacherous nor as bloodthirsty as the Malays. It may be that they are descendants of the Japanese, who, during the 15th and 16th centuries, very frequently visited Formosa, and established flourishing settlements there. That they are of Japanese origin, however, is a mere supposition.

The United Provinces, whilst engaged in war with the Spaniards in order to obtain their liberty from grievous tyranny, attacked the Portuguese, then Spanish subjects, with great success in India. The East India Company, anxious to participate in the Chinese trade, and to drive their competitors from Macao, sent two ships in 1603 to that place, which destroyed a Portuguese galleon. But though the Chinese were greatly surprised at their valor, they would not permit them to trade. In the following year an attempt was made to send a Dutchman with the Siamese ambassy, in order to open communication with the court of China. Admiral Warwyk sailed at the same time with his small squadron in search of Macao, but, being overtaken by a storm, he was obliged to steer for the Pescadores, at that time but little known. The Ming dynasty was then on the throne, and the same course of policy, as at present, was observed towards foreigners. Having addressed a letter to the authorities of Fuhkeën, with the hope of obtaining some commercial privileges, he was told that if he would pay 30,000 dollars to the governor he might obtain a hearing. When this proposal was rejected, an admiral with fifty war-junks surrounded the Dutch fleet, and though the commander was by no means disturbed by their appearance, he could not carry on his negotiations or trade, and was obliged to return to India. The junk, in which the Dutch agent intended to embark, was wrecked; and a renewed attempt of Matclief in 1607 proved equally fruitless. His fleet anchored at Lantao, but being unable to obtain any provisions, he returned, abandoning the enterprize.

The next expedition, sent out under admiral Keizerroon for capturing Macao, entirely miscarried, and he was therefore obliged to sail for the Pescadores. Having built a fort upon the largest of that group, and dispatched several vessels of his numerous fleet to the continent of China, he resolved to force the Chinese into a trade. Many cruelties were thus committed, and several villages on the coast ravaged—to the disgrace of the Christian name. Having taken considerable booty from a defenceless race, the admiral sent an envoy to Amoy. He was received by the authorities with great pageantry. But the officers having required from him to knock his head upon the ground, 'so that the bystanders might hear the cracking of his skull,' he refused compliance with the old custom. Though otherwise very politely treated, he could not effect his purpose, and was obliged to return to his superior.

The admiral now resolved to repair to Fuhchow. On his arrival there he was received by the governor with the greatest honors, but told, at the same time, that so long as he retained possession of the Pescadores, no trade would be permitted. To be secure, however, against the wrath of a commander who had a powerful squadron under his orders, the local authorities dispatched two junks, with one of his ships, to Batavia, in order to make arrangements there with the governor, and enter into better understanding. In the meanwhile Chinchew (Tseuenchow) was blockaded to prevent junks from going to Manila, and to prevail upon the Chinese government to permit the

trade with the Dutch. From this moment the Chinese officers became friendly, and trade was permitted. Another party sent to Amoy in order to negotiate was unsuccessful. Though the Chinese government had not yet formally taken possession of Formosa, their people had settled there to the number of 25,000; and as the coast of the islands was in a flourishing condition, the Dutch asked for permission to trade there. This and all their other proposals were willingly granted; and a formal treaty was accordingly made. But when the envoys wished to depart, they were retained on shore, and some fire-boats were, during the night, sent among the ships, of which one was burnt. No alternative now remained but to leave the place, and sail in quest of new adventures.

Two years had already elapsed, and though the trade with the natives was struggling for existence, still its managers promised themselves great ultimate gains. At that time a respectable Chinese merchant made them proposals to come over to Formosa, a request which was seconded by the Chinese government. A formal cession of this island having been made, the factory was removed from the Pescadores, and the Chinese themselves assisted in leveling the fort. The great object of the Dutch Company was to establish an entrepôt for their Chinese and Japanese trade. Raw silk and other articles for the Firando market were to be collected at the time of the arrival of the ships destined for Japan; which, on their return from that country, would require to complete their cargoes with such Chinese merchandise as might answer the demands of Java and Europe. In this endeavor they fully succeeded, whilst their territorial possessions were confined to a small part of the coast, and their authority only extended over the Chinese colonists, and the nearest villages of the aborigines.

Scarcely had they removed from the Great Pănghoo (the chief of the Pescadores), when a letter arrived from one of the principal civil authorities of Amoy, wherein that officer expressed great joy that they had sought another station for their trade, and promised to interest himself in their behalf with the governor of the province. This document is the very transcript of diplomatic correspondence, which happens to take place, under similar circumstances, even to this very day; the Chinese have not changed a single article of their political creed.

A blundering engineer threw up a fort at the entrance of the harbor of Taewan, on a raised sand-bank, which neither protected the shipping, nor could stand the attack of an enemy. The first measure of the new government was to lay a duty upon sugar and rice, two staple articles, which even at that early time were exported to China in considerable quantities. The Chinese settlers paid this without murmuring; but the Japanese, the more powerful race of colonists, who seem to have carried on a most extensive and lucrative trade, refused to submit to the exactions. This gave rise to bitter animosities, carried on by both parties with great rancor; and as the matter had been brought before the court of Yédo, the whole Japanese commerce enjoyed by the Dutch was put in jeopardy.

During the first year of the Dutch administration, matters went on quietly; but with the decay of the ruling dynasty in China, piracy became very general on the coast, and greatly embarrassed the trade. Our author says, that the commander of these buccaneers had 1000 junks — a number certainly overrated—with which he swept all the seas, so that scarcely a junk could safely reach her destination.

In 1627, several junks came again from Japan, under a commodore who was determined upon obtaining justice from the Dutch. It does not appear what were their real grievances; but at all events, large sums had been lost in the trade, part of which had been confiscated by the Dutch government. After much and bitter altercation, they returned to their country with sixteen natives of Formosa on board, who offered the island to his Japanese majesty as their fief. The Dutch, acquainted with this proceeding, immediately dispatched a Mr. Nuits to Yédo, who by bribes and persuasion, prevailed upon the emperor to reject this advantageous offer. He became afterwards governor of the island, and was by no means tardy in taking ample revenge upon the Japanese colonists. Exasperated by repeated acts of aggression, these islanders resolved to make an example of the governor. When their junks were on the point of sailing, a strong party entered the government-house and took Nuits prisoner. Since the garrison was very small, and the surprise so sudden, the governor gladly compromised the matter, and his life being threatened, all their demands were granted by the council.* The Japanese assured the Dutch, that they would rather sacrifice their lives than give up the point in question. Having shown such decision, they were no longer molested, and henceforth abstained entirely from their unruly proceedings.

In the statement of trade, made by the same governor, we find the following remarks. 'The junks which come here from China bring little profit to our trade, and we are obliged to send several vessels annually to Amoy, where they trade by stealth, and get the goods from 7 to 8 per cent. cheaper than we can buy them here.' The principal exportations of the Company were raw silk and silk piece goods; the former for the Japanese, the latter for the home market; whilst the imports consisted of European manufactures and Indian produce. The whole Chinese trade employed about one million of dollars, and gave generally one hundred per cent. profit. The expences of the settlement amounted to only about 214,000 guilders; the Company's servants received a small salary, and had to make their fortune by trade. After deducting all the charges, there remained annually a clear profit of 85,000 guilders to the Batavian government.

Comparatively small as these advantages were, they attracted, in 1626, the envy of the Spaniards, who founded a colony on the north coast, on the island Kelung. The Dutch, greatly offended at the proceedings of their enemies, took the fort about ten years afterwards, and established there, as well as at Tan-shwuy (an emporium on the west coast), factories of their own.

* Our Correspondent's narrative *seems* to differ, in some points, from that given in the first article of this number: this, doubtless, results from its brevity.

Whilst the Japanese retired from the island, the number of Chinese emigrants increased rapidly. The capitation tax amounted annually to 200,000 guilders, and all the districts around the Dutch factories were inhabited by this nation. Dissatisfied with the rule of strangers, they entered into a conspiracy, which was however early discovered. The Dutch marched immediately with 2000 Formosan Christians against the insurgents, and routed an army of 16,000 men. The slaughter was very great, for the Chinese had been very cruel towards the natives; but tranquillity was soon restored. How the Dutch possessions were subsequently lost, has been stated elsewhere; and we need only add the remark, that cowardice as well as treachery hastened the surrender of the Dutch fort in 1662.

The council of Batavia, roused from its slumbers by being informed of the loss of this valuable possession, sent twelve ships to Fuhchow, to enter into a treaty with the governor for the recovery of Formosa. They took possession of a sea-port, and having received a reinforcement of sixteen other ships, most of them East-Indiamen, in conjunction with the Mantchous, they attacked Amoy and Kinmun, of both of which they made themselves masters. Having proved victorious, the successor of the conqueror of Formosa offered them Kelung, Tanshwuy, and a free-trade, if they would agree to become his allies. The Tartars moreover would not permit them to retain possession of their conquests, and the whole fleet sailed therefore for Taewan. There the commander spent his time in useless negotiations, and, having been deceived by the cunning Chinese, he returned to Batavia without having effected anything. Whilst the Dutch were still permitted to trade at Fuhchow, they retained the settlement at Kelung until 1668, when it was found that it no longer answered their purpose, and was therefore abandoned. With this the Dutch territorial possessions in the Chinese seas ended.

The religion of the natives being gross paganism, it was the policy of the Dutch to convert them to Christianity, in order to attach them to their new masters by the ties of a common creed. Their principal idols are their goddesses Teparkada and Tamagisangak, and a demon called Sarisano. To these they offer the heads of pigs and stags, and worship them with the most licentious ceremonies, resembling the bacchanalia of the Greeks. We are not informed what measures were taken in order to instruct the natives in the doctrines of the Gospel, nor are we acquainted with the particulars of their conversion; but it appears that the success was very rapid.

At that time Protestant missionaries were unknown, whilst the ministers in the pay of government proved often very zealous in advancing the cause of Christ among the heathen. In the number of these, Candidius, who was sent there in 1627, held the first rank. He employed the greater part of his time in learning the language of the natives, and, having once obtained a thorough knowledge of it, he proclaimed the love of a dying Savior towards a fallen world. For many years did he pursue this course, and the Lord graciously owned his servant: seven hundred natives confessed Christianity, and new

laborers were called from Batavia to enter into this wide sphere of usefulness. The Dutch ministers of those early times possessed all the zeal and intrepidity of those who had suffered for the sake of the gospel, and narrowly escaped the ruthless tyranny of Rome, to announce the glad tidings of salvation to this distant nation. His successor Junius translated the Heidelberg catechism into the native language, and also published part of the Gospels. Most of the villages around Fort Zelandia became Christian, and in each of them were schoolmasters placed to instruct both old and young in the leading doctrines of the Scriptures. Gavius, a celebrated minister at Batavia, hearing of this, was determined to give up his situation in order to benefit the pagans. Having, after many remonstrances, finally obtained permission, he labored with five other ministers very zealously among the natives. The number of converts greatly increasing, their operations were subsequently more and more extended, and proposals were made to send a greater number of teachers. To these the Company willingly agreed, when Koxinga unfortunately captured Fort Zelandia, and exercised the utmost cruelty against the ministers. During the siege he sent Hambroeck, one of the preachers, into the citadel, charging him to persuade his countrymen to surrender. He was a true patriot, who, instead of exhorting the commandant to capitulate, used all means in his power to strengthen his courage, and lead him to hold out to the last. Though the Dutch insisted upon his remaining in the fortress, he refused to listen to their advice, because he had given his word to return to the camp of the enemy. When he was brought back to Koxinga, he declared undauntedly, that his countrymen were ready to shed their blood in the defense of the place. Exasperated at this answer, Koxinga availed himself of the general rising of the natives against the Chinese, to implicate the captive ministers as being the authors of this insurrection, though they were prisoners in the camp. Winsem, Ampsingius, Campius, and Hambroeck, were therefore publicly beheaded; and another minister, Leonardis, kept prisoner for life Thus ended the propagation of Christianity in that island. Whether there are still traces to be found of the previous propagation of the Gospel, it is difficult to say. Thirty-two ministers labored faithfully to sow the seeds of the word of God there, and paganism has again triumphed and maintained an undisputed sway.

Our author gives us very little topographical information about this island, and his map is very defective. He tells us, that the natives live in miserable cottages, and each village has its temple. The people themselves are of the same race as the inhabitants of Luçonia, but are possessed of better moral qualities. The women do all the work, whilst the men are amusing themselves with hunting stags. A husband lives not with his wife, until she has reached her 37th year, and it is a disgrace that she should bring forth a child before that time. Every village is under a chief, but there are no rájás who rule over a number of settlements. Those single districts are often engaged n bloody feuds. Aged people are highly esteemed, and exercise a

sovereign sway over the youth. Those who have proved themselves brave in battle, obtain the highest rank among their countrymen, and occupy, at public festivals, the first place. The natives do not bury their dead, but fry the corpse at a fire, and having wrapped it up in cloth, preserve it under a shed hung about with curtains. Their laws are very lax, and crimes may be bought off by heavy fees.

Such are the desultory notices which we have been able to collect from the voluminous writings of Valentyn. Though unsatisfactory on many points, we nevertheless are led to present them to the public with the view to show the condition of this early settlement.

ART. VII. *Communication from the hong-merchants to the creditors of the Hingtae hong, dated April 4th, 1838; with an edict from the governor of Canton to the senior hong-merchants, dated April 11th, 1838.*

No. 1.

THE foreign debts of the Hingtae hong we before resolved to pay in nine years by instalments, but to this arrangement you, gentlemen, have not yet assented. Yet the period of nine years seems to us even too short, and we are not without fear, that we shall be unable to repay the whole in the time stipulated. We call to mind that, of public claims upon us, the amount from year to year is not less than 300,000 taels, consisting in tribute, charges for the military expenses of the new territory (in Tartary), subsidies for repairs of forts, and purchases of ginseng. We have also to pay up the public claims on Fatqua's hong, amounting to more than 300,000 taels, and those on the Hingtae hong to the amount of 100,000 taels and upwards. Moreover, each hong has foreign debts of its own to discharge. Thus, in every direction, have payments to make. And besides all this, Kingqua's hong is now in arrear of the public claims on it to the extent of 300,000 taels, while the foreign claims against it exceed a million. This hong, although (we are thankful to observe) it is your wish to keep it from bankruptcy, yet will not, we are disposed to think, be able to sustain these payments, and it will be requisite for us to make other arrangements therefor.

Of the profit gleaned by us in the course of a year or two, though it yield, after payment of the various public claims, a small remainder, yet something is absolutely requisite for hire of labor, repairs, salaries, and other expenses of our establishments, and, with your perfect understanding of matters, and good sense, you must perceive, gentlemen, on a careful consideration of the subject, that if the time stipulated for payment of Hingtae's debts be too brief, it will be, in truth, beyond our power to adhere to it. Should we be able to pay the debts of another, then our own debts must remain unpaid, and we

must all, in consequence, successively fail. With your known intelligence it would be difficult herein to deceive you.

Even for the duties that are in arrear, and which are by no means on the same footing with private debts, we have been compelled to solicit the imperial favor to extend the limited period of payment to three years, and suffer us to pay them by instalments. How much rather then should the individual debts which we are discharging for others be so dealt with! We still entreat you, gentlemen, to assent to the period of nine years, that we may put forth our energies to sustain the payment; and to discharge the claim within the allotted period. Thus all may remain at ease, and we enjoy your highly prized friendship For this purpose we write, and with compliments remain, &c. *(Signed)* Howqua, Mowqua, Pwankequa, Kingqua, Gowqua, Mingqua, Saoqua, Punhoyqua, Samqua, Kwanqua, Takqua.

No. 2.

TANG, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c., to the senior hong-merchants, for their full information.

On the 8th of April I received from Dent and others (creditors of Hingtae), an address, as subjoined,—and also like addresses from Jardine and Turner. (Here follow the three addresses, in full.)

These coming before me, the governor, I have fully investigated the subject. Yen Kechang and his associates, merchants of the Hingtae hong, having managed their affairs badly, and fallen in debt to the foreign merchants; these, seeing their difficult position and urgent necessities, and the impossibility of their at once paying off their old debts, conceived the idea of taking advantage of these circumstances to scrape and peel them, and gave them goods at an enhanced price, compelling them to receive the same. In this way, after the accumulation of months and years, the debts reached the large amount of two millions of money. It is thus certain, that these merchants brought on their trouble themselves,—and also that the origin of the whole is be found in the secret plundering exercised by the foriegn merchants, and their large-risking speculations. I, the governor, in humble deference to the extreme goodness cherished by the great emperor, and his tenderness towards foreigners, made no inquiry into the conduct of these foreign merchants, but simply directed Yen Kechang and his associates to be apprehended and tried, and their property placed in secure keeping. I, at the same time, commanded the two bodies of merchants,—the hong-merchants and the foreigners,—to examine and ascertain in concert the real amount of the debts; and I laid my injunctions on the hong-merchants, to determine in what portions, and within what period, they would pay off the whole, on behalf of Yen Kechang and his fellows. Thus I arranged that the money should certainly be recovered. Afterwards, on all the foreign merchants representing that the period of fifteen years was too protracted a one, I granted permission to reduce it to twelve years, within which period the whole of the debts should be discharged. In this indeed I have gone to the utmost

degree of kindness, and the extreme verge of justice. The foreign merchants, though they have been born and have grown up out of the pale of civilization,—yet are all provided with innate consciousness of good. How greatly ought they to be roused by gratitude, to rest in a dutiful and implicit obedience! Yet hardly was the former decision declared, when now again these foreign merchants, Dent and others, and Jardine and Turner, scheming to gain a speedy settlement, oppose my decision, and bring their addresses separately before me. Such ill-considered and unreasonable expressions as are here found—whence can they have emanated, unless from persons of hearts and feelings alien from those of the rest of mankind!

As an instance of this,—I take the consoo charge, of which one address speaks. This is a charge which should go to reward the toil of the hong-merchants. I, the governor, before made examination regarding it, and found that it had not been kept to accumulate from year to year. The hong-merchants, however, themselves addressed me, with a proposal, for the future to pay the consoo charge, as on former occasions, into the general chest, to enable them to meet the stipulated instalments of former debts. This cannot be called aught else than the utmost degree of honorableness. If it be said, that the consoo charge was instituted for the discharge of debts, let the foreign merchants ask themselves, if, while trading in the celestial empire, they would wish to regard profits which they enjoy as profits obtained merely for the purpose of payment of debts?

In regard to the consumption of goods [referred to in Mr. Turner's address], in nothing is it more difficult to determine the amount. How can a comparison be instituted in this respect of one year with another? And amid the revolutions of trade, how shall it be ascertained, that the prosperity which has preceded is not, in itself the evidence of an approaching declension of trade?

In the note, a copy of which Jardine has presented, I observe, however, the statement, that the hong-merchants have agreed to pay off the debt by instalments in nine years. If this be indeed the case, it is an act of liberality on the part of the merchants, affording a more ready recovery of the money, to which there is no reason—my desire being to show kindness to the far-traveled—why I, the governor, should not vouchsafe my sanction. I will therefore direct the financial and judicial commissioners to assemble the hong-merchants, and, on ascertaining if this is true or false, to determine once more upon a secure arrangement, and report for my investigation.

Besides so doing, I issue also this order. Upon its reaching the said senior hong-merchants, let them faithfully examine the subject, and at once report in answer. And, at the same time, let them enjoin my orders on the said foreign merchants, requiring their obedience thereof.

I, the governor, have the rule over, and administration of, these provinces, and have to keep in tranquillity and subjection those both within and from without; yet do I not refuse the trivial and insignificant foreign debts a full and perfect administration of justice,

and a complete settlement of them. But the foreign merchants, Dent and those with him, utterly dead to a sense of my goodness, presume, in their address to represent, that they have requested their government to move the sovereign of their nation to send an officer from afar to discuss the matter,—endeavoring thus to drive me to adopt measures. What perversity can exceed this mad and absurd barking! Let Dent and his fellows be most severely rebuked, and let them be commanded to imprint the laws upon their hearts, and constantly to adhere to them. The severity of the celestial empire, represented by the sword of the executioner, is awful! Beware not again rashly to adventure a trial of it!—Oppose not these commands!

Taoukwang, 18th year, 3d month, 17th day. (11th April, 1838.)

ART. VIII. "*Memorial, showing the daily increase of enervation and degeneracy in the province of Kwangtung, and the urgent necessity that exists for correction and reform of the civil administration and military discipline, in order to maintain the native spirit, and to improve the condition, of the people. With this view, the imperial perusal of the memorial is humbly solicited.*"

AT A PERIOD when our empire, throughout the whole extent which its boundaries include, is enjoying perfect tranquillity, and resting in undisturbed possession of the great principles of civilization,—although its soil may undergo the changes of time, and its seasons may vary in the production of plenty or of scarcity,—yet its main support must be in the good administration of its official functionaries—in their removing the tares and protecting the good grain, and thus vigorously seconding the cherished desire of their august sovereign to attain to the highest pinnacle of good government. It is needful to secure the efforts of fit and suitable men; nor can it be supposed, that if there are to be found men able to rule well, there will be any want of means for them so to rule.

Kwangtung with its extensive facilities for intercourse by land and water, and its long succession of ports on the sea-coast, formerly enjoyed prosperity. The capital, the great mart for the salt trade and foreign commerce, formed a point of general attraction to the mercantile classes. Its agricultural population tended the plough and cultivated the mulberry, and were able to eat the fruit of their own labors. Men were in subjection to the laws, and every command was secure of obedience. The results were, the advancement of the salt trade to the highest degree of prosperity, the enrichment of the department of customs, and an entire freedom from smuggling, and from the clandestine exportation of silver, and importation of contra-

band commodities. Throughout the country, charges of murder and robbery were no sooner brought forward than they were attended to, and cases of plunder and disturbance never passed long unpunished or unrepressed. No occasion was given for sending from court special commission-bearers, and no extra call was made for the far-traveling toil of post-carriers.

But from the year 1822, dates a different condition of things. In that year, a fire devastated the capital, destroying not less than ten thousand shops and houses; the stroke was felt to have inflicted a severe blow on the wealth of the people, and their native spirit began gradually to decline.—To this succeeded, in 1832, disturbances among the people and native Yaou tribes of Leënchow, which, owing to the unskillful efforts at suppression made by the local officers, and their hasty application for the aid of a military force, grew into an affair of serious magnitude. And when the troops had reached the field of combat, and the two parties were confronted, owing to the want of knowledge when and how far to advance, and when to retire, the national force was repeatedly repelled with slaughter. To our sovereign we are indebted, for having sent to the seat of war, with an imperial commission, a great minister, who, by combining the most severe measures with a conciliatory treatment, was enabled in one month, to bring the rioters back to their fealty, and to report the success of his efforts. But already, before this was the case, the peaceful had been dispossessed of their property, and one half of them scattered abroad.—Again, in 1833 and 1834, the prefecture of Kwangchow foo, in its whole extent, suffered from a repetition of disastrous floods. The paddy-fields were inundated, the dykes and embankments destroyed; and the houses of the poor floated away, till multitudes, moaning from hunger, and in many instances without a place of shelter, stood looking for charitable relief. In these circumstances —the succession, within the course of about ten years, of a devastating conflagration, a strife of arms, and a twice-told overflow of waters—we perceive the causes of the daily increase of enervation and degeneracy in the province.

Were the governing officers sincerely to desire the affection of those under their rule, and to seek their security, regarding that as alone advantageous which should benefit the people, it would be no difficult thing to cherish, nurture, and restore the native spirit and temper. But, with men who bestow not a thought on the individual welfare of their people; who are so far from investigating cases, even involving loss of life, with impartiality and strict inquiry, that in a space of one or two years, imperial commissioners have thrice been subjected to the toil of coming hither—thrice the sacred compassion, which, to prevent the growth of grievances and indulgence of illegalities, inflicts open and well-considered punishment, has been compelled to select and commission ministers of the court to hasten down for the arrangement of affairs,—with such men as are by these circumstances implied to exist in office, the constant fear is, lest worthless magistrates of districts, unawake to the influence of warnings and

cautions, should habitually, under pretence of expense incurred by the passage of such missions through their districts, veil their alienation of the public money to the supply of their own private necessities,—lest, ere one case is decided, others should press for attention,—lest the civil officers should generally fall into habits of remissness and neglect, and the military should continually connive one at another. If such as this be indeed the state of things, what wonder is it, if habits of plunder characterise the people, or if depraved individuals are in the practice of smuggling and committing multiplied irregularities in contempt and disregard of the laws! What cause for surprise, if the clerks and under-officers of the public courts, as well as village pettifoggers, lay themselves out, on all occasions, to stir up quarrels and to instigate false accusations against the good! Daily are evils such as these becoming more and more prevalent; already they have grown to that degree, that it is almost impossible to turn back the tide. Having seen and heard thereof, the memorialist dares not to take his ease and pass these things over in silence. But he proceeds respectfully to state his views as to what should be done for the reform and correction of the civil administration and military discipline, in what way benefit can be educed, and in what way evils may be extirpated. These views have been arranged under six heads, which are here respectfully laid before his august majesty.

First. In the department of police, no negligence or indolence must be suffered; all judicial cases must be speedily attended to and determined; then will peace dwell in the abodes of the people, and the instigators of strife be checked.

Many are the cases of plunder that are from time to time brought forward in the province of Kwangtung; and of these a large number are attributable to unlawful associations. Bands of men combine and join together, under the designations of Teëntè Brotherhoods, Triad Societies, and such like. They carry off persons in order to extort ransoms for them; they falsely assume the character of police-men; they clandestinely build fast-pulling boats, professedly to guard the fields of grain, and these they man with a crew of from ten to twenty people, who cruise along the rivers, violently plundering the boats of travelers as they pass to and fro, or forcibly carrying off the wives and daughters of the tanka boat-people. The inhabitants of the villages and hamlets fear these robbers as they would tigers, and dare not offer them the least resistance, lest they should draw down their resentment. The husbandman, when he has received a field to plant and to culture, must take the precaution of paying these robbers a charge, which is called procuring an indemnity,—else, as soon as the crop is ripe, it is plundered, and the whole field laid bare. In the precincts of the metropolis, where their contiguity to the civil and military tribunals prevents them from committing violent depredations in open day, they set fire to places during the night, their aim being, under pretence, during the conflagration, of saving and defending, to avail themselves of opportunities to plunder and carry off. Hence, of late years, calamitous fires have greatly increased in frequency. The local

officers have treated these merely as common accidental fires. And robbers, finding that they could thus act with impunity, have added to the irregularity of their doings.

In cases of petty altercations, or of more serious disputes, among the people, themselves—as the uneducated villagers adhere closely to the use of local dialects, it consequently rests entirely with the clerks and under-officers to interpret the evidence. When the judicial officer, whose duty it is to hear and determine, is in the slightest degree lax and inattentive, the attendants and servants of the court have the evidence pre-arranged, and join with bullies and strife-makers to subvert right and wrong,—fattening themselves upon bribes extorted under the names of 'notes or memoranda of the complaints,' 'purchases of replies,' and so forth,—retarding indefinitely the decision of cases,—and even instigating thieves to bring false accusations against the good; who, ere true judgment is elicited, and the stolen effects are recovered, are already ruined and deprived of all their property. While the officers of government and the people are thus kept apart and separated, how can it be otherwise, than that appeals to higher tribunals should be incessant, and that instigation of strife and perseverance in litigation should prevail?

It behoves, therefore, that a declaration of the imperial pleasure should be solicited, commanding the governor and lieut.-governor of Kwangtung to issue orders to the magistrates throughout the province, to apprehend the lawless, and give security to the good, and with severity to seize all who are joined in illegal associations, sending them to the metropolis, that they may be openly punished, and that like proceedings may be interdicted. By these means, masters will be led to command their families; and these will have knowledge to be deterred from being seduced to attach themselves to such associations.—Whenever any case of plunder arises, the magistrates should make personal investigation, following the traces till they succeed in apprehending the thieves; they should not seek, by disregard of the matter, to avoid censure for ill-success. When fires break out among the abodes of the people, the magistrates should ascertain how they originated, and should not be allowed to assume indifference and so let the matter pass off. As soon as complaints or appeals are brought before them, they should immediately give their personal attention to the investigation; and, if true, should inflict punishment with strictness, —if unfounded, should visit with like punishment the false accusers. They should not give the rein to the clerks and attendants of the courts, lest their so doing should result in a want of truth or of perfect justice. In this way it may be expected to clear off the judicial cases, to settle long-delayed litigations, and gradually to bring to an end habits of plunder and robbery,—and thus it may be hoped that the people will be enabled to rest upon their beds in peace.

Secondly. The magistrates of districts, when collecting the taxes, whether of money or of grain, must not overrate the amount due, with the view of deducting from it, nor suffer the excise officers to connive at non-payment.

If the taxes be overrated, each individual will entertain schemes whereby he may hope to avoid payment, and the result will be, opposition to the collectors, and defalcation of the revenue. If non-payment be connived at, debts from the people to the revenue will accumulate, and still increase, and the consequence must be that bribery will become necessary, in order to obtain continued delay.

The province of Kwangtung, in place of its original contribution to the supplies conveyed to court, has for a long time past, paid the tax of grain, due from it, in money, which after being collected, is remitted to the provincial treasury, under the charge of the financial and territorial commissioner. The people have always attended to agriculture, and have not failed gladly to discharge this tax. But, it is said, that, of late years, while inundations and drought have in no small degree afflicted the land, causing very scanty harvests, the magistrates when levying the tax of grain, have rated the price of it as high as six or seven taels for a sheih of 120 catties.* The common people are not possessed of abundant wealth, and cannot sustain being thus peeled and scraped; consequently, the clerks and tax collectors, and village bullies, have received bribes to shelter them and to let them pass free of payment. And hence, old debts and new levies conjointly press upon them, and remain alike unpaid.

It behoves, therefore, that a declaration of the imperial pleasure be solicited, commanding that strict orders be issued to all the magistrates, that, whenever the tax on grain has to be collected, they shall previously to the collection, issue proclamations throughout every city, village, and market-place, declaring what is the legal amount levyable as the price of the grain-contribution, upon each acre of arable land, and commanding the payment thereof within a time named,—adding, also, that the clerks and tax gatherers are not permitted to extort fees, or to receive any surplus above the legal amount; that if any persons venture to undertake such exactions, in opposition to the commands so issued, they shall be strictly apprehended and punished. At the same time, these orders must not be stretched to involve the unoffending. All debts incurred prior to the year 1835, have by a gracious declaration of the imperial pleasure, received full remission; which fact should be made known by appending to the magistrates' proclamation a copy, on yellow paper, of the imperial commands. Thus will be attained the certainty, that the village husbandmen and field-laborers are all fully aware of, and thoroughly imbued by, the sovereign's benevolence; and any semblance of sanction will be removed from an undistinguishing enforcement of the payment of these remitted debts. Such measures as these will produce, in place of a tardy, a most ready and joyful, payment of the taxes.

Thirdly. Free granaries should be set on foot, with the view of providing a constant store for the benefit of the people.

While it is true that there are always existing, under the care of the local officers, public granaries, intended for the maintenance, in times of scarcity; of moderate prices, it is nevertheless the case, that

* The *sheih* is legally rated at from three to four taels.

when the grain here kept, becoming old, is sold,—when it is lent to other districts where scarcity exists,—and when new grain is purchased, misappropriation is frequent, and hence arises a deficiency of the stored grain when needed. There is no plan so good as the establishment of free granaries, where the store provided by public purchase shall be kept ready to meet the necessities of a scarce and unseasonable year. This is a measure that will be beneficial alike to the government and to the people.

The cultivated fields in the province of Kwangtung are numerous, and the rice furnished from them is abundant. But the country is an extensive and very populous one. And it has always relied upon additional supplies of grain by importation from the province of Kwangse. A former governor Yuen Yuen, solicited, also, and obtained, the imperial sanction of the admission of rice into the ports of Kwangtung free of duty; and since then the foreign importations have been constant and from many sources. But, when a wide ocean intervenes, it is impossible to ensure that there will be no default. In the year 1834, after the inundations which afflicted the province, subscriptions for the distribution of grain among the poor were encouraged; but these not meeting the necessities of the people, the prefect of the department of Kwangchow foo compelled all the shopmen within his jurisdiction to pay out of their rent, each one the amount of two monthly portions of his rent. This tax had everywhere to be forcibly collected, and consequently was not gathered in due season for the charitable relief of the famishing people, who were driven to murmurings and complaints, and lost all grateful regard for their rulers. The censor Tsang Wangyen on that occasion represented these facts, and an imperial commissioner was instructed to investigate the matter; at whose representation the prefect, Kin Lanyuen, received by the imperial command, severe censure for mismanagement. All this arose from the officers of government, the defenders of the people, not having pre-considered and provided for such emergencies.

In the present year, it is said, that the governor and lieut.-governor, with the other high officers, have subscribed money for the erection of the free granaries, to become store-houses for the preservation of grain against the hour of need; and that the officers, merchants, scholars, and common people of the metropolis, have not failed to come forward gladly in support of the object. With a general effort of this kind, the object will of course be easily effected. But the thing here concerned is no less than abundantly to supply the wants, and fully to gain the confidence, of the people; and it is most requisite to provide that, in the operations undertaken, preseverance and good faith shall not be lacking.

It behoves, therefore, that a declaration of the imperial pleasure be solicited, requiring the governor and lieut.-governor to command their subordinate officers, zealously to encourage the contributions: and, while the belted gentry and common people pay regard to the demands of justice and the public need, to let them contribute each

according to his own estimate of his ability. Lists should from time to time be drawn out, recording the contributions; and as soon as these are sufficient, and the work is effected, all particulars in regard to building and putting in repair the store-houses, appointing places of sale, and regulating the purchase of grain, should be duly arranged, and rules should be enacted for the special management thereof. The stores thus provided by the people themselves, the magistrates should not be allowed to remove or misappropriate. And hereafter, when at any time the old grain is sold off and new grain bought to supply its place, the clerks and under-officers of the public courts should not be suffered to intermeddle or interfere. By adopting such measures, we shall see the abundant food of a year of plenty stored up—the store-houses gladly filled to the utmost—as a provision against calamitous events in hundreds and thousands of years to come.

Fourthly. In the army and navy, it is most important that the number of the soldiery should in no way be defective, and that their discipline and exercise should be maintained, to provide efficiently for the defense of the laws, and the prevention of illicit traffic.

In the province of Kwangtung, the peaceful condition of the people, the abundance of commodities, the prosperous state of the revenue, and the advancement of commerce, by which the province has been characterized, have resulted from the effectiveness of the customs department, and of those whose duty it is to cruise about and search out evils. The troubles that of late years have sometimes appeared in the province are all attributable to inattention and indolence on the part of the military and naval officers, and to their readiness to receive bribes for connivance. In the year 1832, the great minister commissioned by the court to take charge of the military operations at Leënchow reported, that the military body in Kwangtung was weak and ineffective, unable to snatch a victory, or to press onward in battle. It is plain that all the officers, both naval and military, fail to use faithful diligence in the instruction and exercise of their soldiery, and that their only care is, by schemes and contrivances, to obtain good appointments and to reduce the actual number of the soldiery below the number registered, misemploying the military stores so useful to the nation, to pander to the exhaustless cravings of their own desires. Under these circumstances, what hope can there still be entertained that they will give their whole souls to the discipline and exercise of their soldiers, and to render truly effective every one registered as under arms.

At the successive seaward stations of the Bocca Tigris, Keängmun, and Macao—posts of great importance—there are forts and military stations; there are also cruisers, both inward on the rivers, and outward, on the seas,—each entrusted to officers of various ranks, with soldiers under their command, and well-furnished with guns, powder, and every military equipment, the sole and special object of their establishment being to cruise about for defense, for the prevention of smuggling, and for the apprehension of pirates. But all employed in these cruisers aim only to draw from the whole face of the country

disgraceful fees. Whenever depraved people are found going seaward for the prosecution of illicit traffic, a bribe will secure them a free passage. Or, when on the rivers any case of plunder occurs, as soon as it is heard of, each officer begins to excuse himself; and the plundered property waits in vain to be recovered. While appointed for the apprehension of the lawless, they become in truth the safegard of thieves. On the governor and lieut.-governor rests no doubt the responsible task of the general direction of the soldiery. Yet the stations and divisions of the forces are so numerous, that it cannot but be difficult for their attention and observation to be directed to all. The commanders-in-chief and the generals and admirals of divisions are high officers whose only duties are those of war. Were they carefully to ascertain, as easily they may, the characters of their subordinate officers, and the degree of conformity of the regimental rolls with the actual numbers of the soldiery, and were they strictly and intelligently to regulate their forces, assuredly we should not find such irregularities, as connivance at smuggling and illicit traffic, or conveyance of the pure silver to seaward.

It behoves that a declaration of the imperial pleasure be solicited, requiring the governor and lieut.-governor, the commanders-in-chief, and the generals and admirals of divisions, to command all the subordinate military and naval officers, that they faithfully exercise and instruct the soldiery, and have all their men vigorous and well-disciplined; that they must not, to fill up the numbers and draw the rations, place in the ranks men unfitted, by aged infirmity, or youthful delicacy, for the right performance of their duties. With regard to the seaward passages upon the coast, namely the Bocca Tigris, Keängmun, and Macao Roads, there is no overland communication from thence, and the vessels, whether native or foreign, that pass in and out, can by no possibility fly by those places unobserved. The civil and naval authorities of those districts should, therefore, be made responsible for keeping up a good preventive guard for the suppression of illicit traffic. If this be done, it is certain that such a traffic will soon be entirely brought to an end.

In consequence of the robberies that so often occur upon the rivers, the mercantile people of Chaouchow, Hainan, and other places on the sea-coast, who bring silver to the metropolis to puchase the commodities they require, come mostly by sea, thus seeking a more direct and speedy route. On these occasions, it is said, they are often taken by the cruisers at sea, no careful distinction being made between peaceful traders and clandestine traffickers; and the superior officers of those by whom they are thus irregularly taken, seeking to gain approbation, incorrectly report the circumstances as though sycee silver had been seized while being conveyed outward. In this matter, it is important that an early interruption should be put to such proceedings, and that preventive measures should be adopted while the thing is yet in its commencement. The prefects and magistrates should receive directions, to issue orders, throughout their departments and districts, that whenever the merchants are sending silver

to Canton, they shall send it by the inland navigation; or, if in any case it is necessary to pass out to sea, that they shall obtain from the custom-houses through which they pass, manifests of the goods reported and paid for by them; and the cruising officers having compared their cargoes with the manifests, shall not have it in their power to make irregular seizures, at their own pleasure. When any robberies occur, the local officers, civil and military, shall be required to take measures conjointly for the apprehension of the parties, and it should be imperative on them to seize the thieves and to recover the lost property. By such measures, it may be hoped to reform the military discipline, to extirpate roobery and contraband traffic, and to enable the people joyfully to pursue their occupations.

Fifthly. The salt affairs should be thoroughly revised, to prevent all unlicensed traffic, and so to benefit the people, and enrich the revenue.

In the salt department of Kwangtung, the governmental charge is first paid, and then the sale of the salt is permitted. The metropolis and Chaouchow, are the places where the salt is collected, and from thence it is conveyed, for consumption, over the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and to Nankan in Keängse, Tingchow in Fuhkeën, and Hăngchow in Hoonan. The merchants of the metropolis are opulent, and the governmental receipts are abundant: in general, the transactions of each year have been settled within the year; and when a merchant has occasionally been unstable and deficient in commercial means, there have always been dealers ready to come forward to offer themselves as candidates to conduct his business. But at Chaouchow, the trade is stagnant, and the merchants impoverished. The condition of things is so fast retrograding, that we find salt, and no merchants to conduct the sale of it,—or it may be merchants, without capital to carry on their business. In 1828, the revenue arising from the salt-trade of Chaouchow was in arrear. The governor of the province, in consequence, represented, that the assistant-commissioner of salt, Yang Shaouting, should be degraded, still being required to find means to pay up the arrears. His successor, Chin Taoutan, was unable to restore to order the business of his office, and was similarly punished. And, in the past year, it became necessary to advance funds from the public treasury, and to send officers to superintend the disposal of the salt. These have also been involved. If we seek for the causes of this state of things, they are really these,—that privately manufactured salt is everywhere to be found, the sale of which hinders the governmental salt from finding a market among the people; and that the course by which the salt is transported is impeded by shallows, which circumstance adds to the weight pressing upon the merchants' capital, and increases the difficulty of disposing of the salt received from government.

The salt brought to the metropolis is prepared in the districts of Tachow, Pŏmow, Teënmow, Kanpih, and Tanshwuy. That conveyed to Chaouchow is prepared in the districts of Tungkeae, Seaoutsing,

Lungtsing, and Chaouchow. If we consider the number of persons employed as sailors on board the vessels that convey the salt, as carriers and shippers, dryers, and packers, of it, as well as in other ways, at the places where it is prepared, and also the number of retail dealers in the places where it is sold for consumption, we shall find that those who make their livelihood by this trade are not fewer than several hundred thousands, or a million of men. While the prices are at one time high and at another low, never being constantly at the same rate, the charges on the manufacture of salt for the government remain always the same. When the merchants, owing to these circumstances, lose extensively, there is no doubt that privately manufactured salt is carried away together with that pertaining to the government. And the common people, whose sole aim is their personal advantage, cannot be supposed to reject the lower-priced in order to consume the dearer article. The necessary result, then, is the increase in the quantity of salt that is privately manufactured, and entire hindrance of the consumption of that prepared for the government. Hence we perceive, why the licensed merchants are impoverished, and why the revenue drawn from the salt is in arrear.

The salt brought to the metropolis finds a wide channel for its conveyance to other places, and large quantities are disposed of. But that taken to Chaouchow is thence conveyed to Keängse and to Fuhkeën, by narrow channels, interrupted by rocks and dangerous eddies. And of late years, the passage along by Seängtszekeaou and Sanhopa, outside the city of Chaouchow, has become shallow from accumulation of sand. The vessels carrying salt have their passage delayed thereby for weeks and months; while clandestine dealers near the coast, forming bands of tens and hundreds, carry off their salt in every direction by land. The soldiery of the government are remiss and negligent—nay, are even afraid lest the clandestine dealers, trusting to their own numbers, should seek to carry their object by violence. And there is cause to apprehend, that strong aad able-bodied country-people, being without understanding, are seduced by the unlicensed dealers to combine with them, and to form bands for their aid and defense. This is a subject of great importance, both as regards the national means, and as respects the livelihood of the people.

It is therefore fitting that a declaration of the imperial pleasure should be solicited, requiring the governor of Kwangtung to give strict injunctions to all officers in charge of the salt manufacture, that, whenever any salt is about to be transported, they are to prevent such as is of private manufacture being carried away under shelter of that prepared for the government; and that they are to relinquish or reduce their unlicensed fees, and so remove from the merchants every plea of excuse. It should also be imperative on them to examine, from time to time, the state of the rivers by which the salt is transported, and to preserve a clear channel for passage of the vessels to and fro. Measures should be adopted for lessening the present accumulation of the licensed supplies of salt. And the arrears of

debts to government should be thoroughly investigated and cleared off. Old debts should not be suffered to usurp the place of new duties, and thus to remain in point of fact unpaid. General orders should also be given to all the police and soldiery to apprehend unlicensed dealers. And every offender should be punished. The expenses of police should not be lavished to no end, and remissness should not be suffered to continue as it has done. In this way it may be hoped radically to reform the department. And, thus, not only will the revenue be enriched, the merchants compassionated, unlicensed traffic stopped, and the disposal of the supplies that pertain to government facilitated, but also, by the employment given to laborers and to retail dealers, the people will be supplied with employment, and prevented from falling into lawless habits and practices.

Sixthly. In the customs' department, every evil must be extirpated, and the conduct of affairs must be reformed. Then the mercantile people will receive benefit, and the foreigners will yield ready submission.

That the department of the customs in Kwangtung may continue to flourish, it is essential that the hong-merchants should be opulent and substantial, faithful, trustworthy, and having mutual confidence in each other; that the foreigners should observe the laws, and act consistently with the general weal,—that they should not fall into evil and hurtful practices. Of late, the opulent merchants have by degrees been brought into embarrassed circumstances, and the new merchants have rarely been found fitting men. Hence the dues to the government have not been correctly paid up, and large debts have been incurred to foreigners; who have been led to combine with native scoundrels for evil purposes, smuggling to evade the duties, and trafficking in contraband articles; thus yearly conveying outward to sea not less than thirty millions of taels of pure silver. Whether to cast away altogether the million or so of money annually paid as as duties from the custom-house of Kwangtung, is a point not worthy of a moment's painful consideration. And the foreign ships that repair to Canton, import merely woolen cloths, camlets, clocks, and watches, which it is a matter of indifference whether we possess or not; while their exports are silk, cotton-cloth, tea, and rhubarb—things that their country cannot do without. To which party then is the trade important—to which indifferent? And what difficulty would there be in putting a stop to their coming? But our sacred dynasty is kind to those from afar, and cherishes towards them feelings of tenderness. Our sovereign's grace, which extends over the vast sea, cannot—when it is considered that the aim of the foreigners is to supply themselves with food and raiment,—cannot, I say, bear to cut off their efforts to gain a livelihood. How diligently ought the officers of the province to reflect on, and embody, the imperial purposes? And how earnestly should they remove every disgraceful malpractice!

In the year 1814, Le Ayaou, a traitorous Chinese, combined with the foreigners, and led them into the commission of violent wrong. He was apprehended, and his offenses punished, and all became

again peaceful. In 1831, the English foreigners brought up guns, and introduced foreign females into Canton, having the presumption to retain them there, in the foreign factories. They clandestinely built a stone pier and quay. And when going out and in, they had the extravagance to sit in large sedan chairs. The lieut.-governor, your minister, Choo Kweiching, went personally to examine into these matters; he compelled the instant demolition of the quay, and drove the foreign females back to Macao. Again, in the year 1835 (1834), vessels of war of the same nation presumed to enter the inner waters. The governor Loo Kwăn stopped up the channel of navigation, and displayed to view the military terrors; and repentance and fear speedily overtook them. From these instances it may be seen, that when the laws are kept in force, the foreigners may always be awed into subjection.

In regard to the irregularities of contraband traffic and conveyance of silver outward, unless most faithful observation be maintained, these evils cannot be brought to light and destroyed. Within a recent period, the foreigners have made and established upwards of a hundred receiving ships off the island Lantao, adjoining the Lintin sea, to the outward of the port of Macao; and there they remain, having stored on board of them, opium, and various foreign commodities. At Canton, there are depraved foreigners— * * * * * * * , * * , * * , and * * —who combine with depraved natives to dispose of this opium and these commodities, exchanging them for the pure silver. There are other native scoundrels who make for themselves 'fast-crab boats,' on board which they live, their headquarters being the neighborhood of Tungho kow, Sesheih keó, and Haechoo sze. These have the monopoly of the contraband goods, of which they are the smugglers, the soldiery of the passes being bribed to let them go freely to and from Lantao, the place of their contraband traffic. Here they form as it were a village. And the naval officers, receiving rich gifts, make connivance at their doings a matter of profit to themselves. Yea, there are even worthless under-officers and soldiery, who go out to sea apparently as cruisers, but secretly to bring in the contraband articles for the depraved people. Such harboring of crime and smothering of conscience is worthy of most bitter detestation. There are besides, mean people, solicitous of gain, who, by heavy bribes, obtain from the sub-prefect of Macao licenses to act as compradores to the foreigners. Further, there are police-men sent by the magistrate of the district Heängshan to remain at Macao, who make their official character a covering for various irregularities.

Many other disgraceful practices have gained the sanction of time. Take as an instance the custom-house. The general custom-house at Canton, and the subordinate one at Macao, are important places for the collection of the duties of customs of the province. The generals in command of the metropolitan garrison yearly choose, from among the *tsoling* and other officers, two individuals, who are deputed to reside severally, in these custom-houses of Canton and

Macao. These officers, having no charge of the receipt of customs, nor any specific duty of supervision, seek only to render advantageous to themselves their vain, idle, and disgraceful, appointments. Besides, all the officers of the government have a practice of irregularly recommending to the superintendent of the customs followers of their own, and presume to ask him for written orders, appointing them to have care of the customs; which orders, so received, they sell to depraved natives, who pretend to perform their duties on their behalf. While such connivance and such irregularities exist, how can contempt of the laws, and perversion of them to the advantage of individuals, be prevented? It is said, that the foreign company for trading has recently been broken up, and that the trade is now without rules. The hong-merchants of the province, also, whether old or newly established, are not uniformly opulent. If severe punitive measures be not taken, contempt of the laws will be carried still further, and contraband traffic will increase; wealth will daily be diminished, and the people distressed.

It is therefore befitting that a declaration of the imperial pleasure should be solicited, commanding the governor and lieut.-governor to give strict orders to the civil and military officers, faithfully to observe and investigate matters, and to enforce the orders upon the several foreigners of the said nation, requiring them to obey implicitly the laws and statutes of the celestial empire, which permit them in their commercial transactions, only to barter commodities; and do not suffer any evasion of duties, or contraband traffic. The receiving ships already established at Lintin, the naval commander-in-chief should be required to drive away back to their country, and should any such receiving ships hereafter anchor again off Lantao, or in the neighborhood, the officers of the station should be reported against, and at the same time the offending foreigners should be punished.

The opulent and substantial hong-merchants of the province, in their commercial transactions with the foreigners, must cultivate unity of feeling, and exhibit the utmost fairness and equity. If any of them incur debts to the revenue or to foreigners, they must immediately be apprehended and tried, and their property sequestrated. Thus the revenue will be preserved clear from impediment, and the foreigners rest peaceful and contented.

At the same time the depraved foreigners, * * and the others abovementioned, must be driven out with severity. And all the fast-crab boats, by which the smuggling is carried on, and all native scoundrels engaged in conveying contraband articles to and from the receiving ships, must be from time to time sought after, with a view to their apprehension and the prevention of their misdeeds. At the mouths of the inlets by which they go to sea, upright and faithful officers must be appointed to cruise about and prevent the exportation of sycee silver, or the diffusion of the poisonous opium over the land The seizure of contraband or smuggled articles is the particular duty of the military and naval officers. And when they are faithful in the performance of this duty, our august sovereign immediately grants

them promotion, as in the instance of Han Shaouking's seizure of sycee silver, for which he was immediately advanced to the rank of colonel (from that of lieut.-colonel). Hence we plainly infer what ought to be the efforts of the military and naval officers to arouse their consciences, and to proceed to the strict performance of this duty of searching out and seizing offenders against the laws,—in order that all upon the face of the seas may be awed into correct conduct.

There are, besides, small foreign boats, employed by the foreign merchants resident at Canton, Whampoa, and Macao. These should be required to be reported at the various custom-house stations which they pass; and should not be allowed, without sufficient reason, to cruise about on the river of Canton, but should, for the better maintenance of a preventive line of policy, be prevented from going about, spying out the abodes of the people and the positions of the military stations.

For the rest, the officers deputed to the charge of the various custom-houses, and their attendants and people, should be reduced in number, by the governor and superintendent of customs, in concert, who, it should be expected, will lay aside all private regards, and will not allow in themselves the least connivance. Each deduction of a receiver of unlicensed fees will remove an occasion of illegal and underhand transactions. If these things can indeed be executed with good faith and uprightness, and in entire forgetfulness of selfish ends, then all will rejoice, and many will come from afar, and those near and those from far will join in the promotion of a fair commerce, while native scoundrels engaged in clandestine traffic, will have no opening left for their irregularities. The tens of millions of pure silver will not then be laid up beyond the seas; and, in consequence, the wealth of the people will daily improve. And it will be seen, that when there are men able to rule well, nothing can be found beyond the reach of their government.

The above six views are respectfully stated, with the desire of restoring to Kwangtung its native spirit, of extirpating every evil, of reforming the civil administration and military discipline, and of benefitting the people. As to their fitness or unfitness, his sacred majesty is humbly intreated to vouchsafe instructions. A respectful memorial.

[*Note.* The document, of which the above is a translation, though of an old date, has not been long in our possession. The memorialist is not known. The imperial reply to his suggestions was embodied in an edict from the hoppo to the hong-merchants, issued in October last, and will be found, as the VIIIth article, in No. 6 of this volume.]

ART. IX *Statement of the French trade in China, during the year* 1837 Prepared by a Correspondent.

IMPORTS

From Bengal, Java, Singapore, and Manila.

Rice ..... Pls.	12,273 81	$17,585 84
Rattans	389 12	1,182 30
Betel nuts	1,739 46	5,653 24
Pepper.	1,957 52	16,655 92
Gold and Silver thread	40½	1,579 50
Iron	88 73	399 28
Opium .... Chests	100	65,000 00
Camlets..... Pieces	240	$8,400 00
		116,456 08
Balance		23,280 05
Spanish dollars		139,736 13

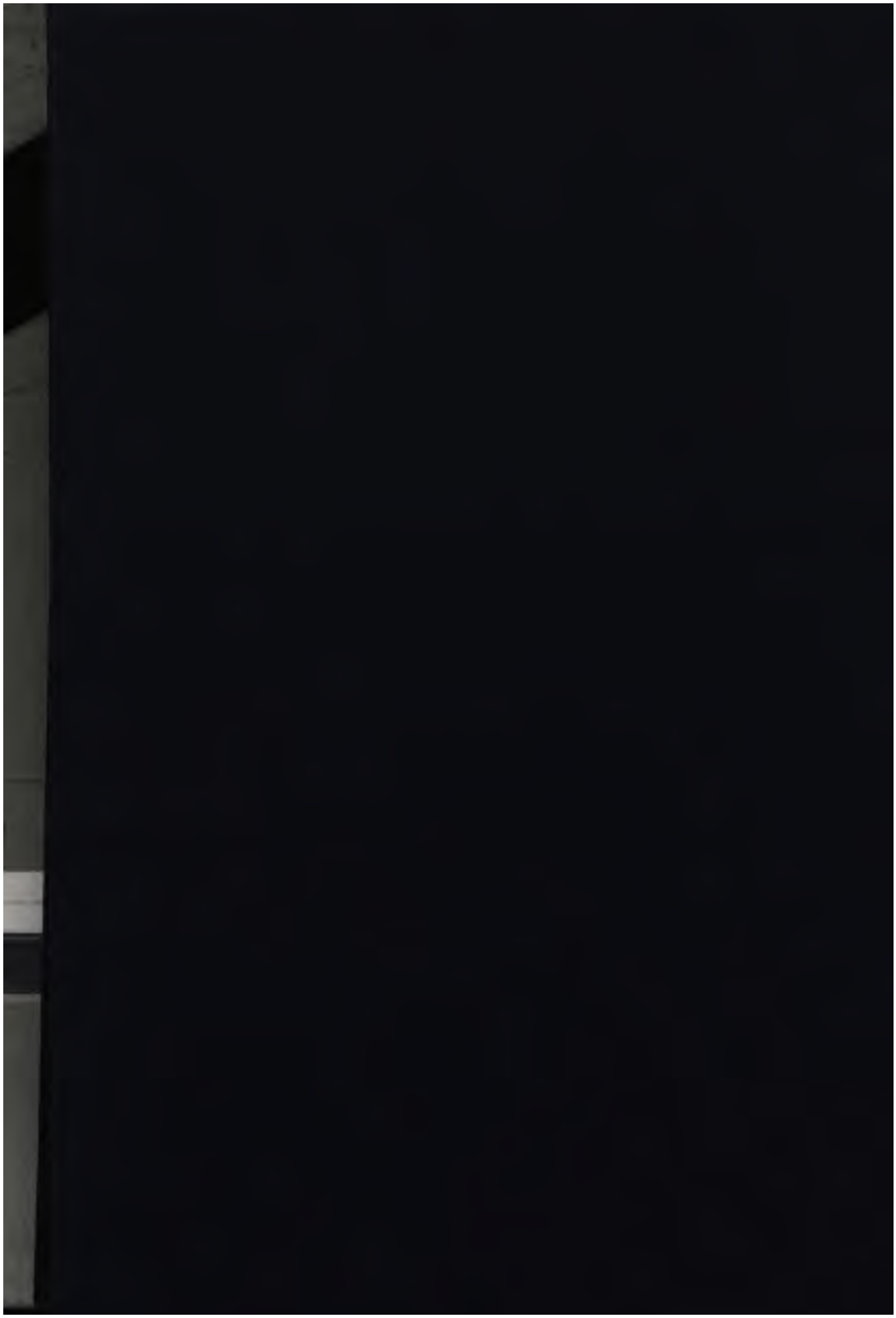
EXPORTS

Of Sundry Articles to Manila, Batavia, and France.

Souchong... Pls.	553,64 tls.	13,339 2 0
Congo	23,97	667 2 8
Pouchong	54,78	1,218 7 2
Pecco.....	396,00	15,636 0 0
Orange Pecco..	68,84	2,284 6 0
Hyson	162,09	8,033 6 0
Hyson-skin.....	46,66	917 0 0
Twankay.....	40,90	5,991 6 8
Imperial.	126,00	5,768 8 0
Gunpowder.....	123,13	5,632 8 0
Chulan Hyson..	13,00	650 0 0
		60,439 6 8
a 72 taels per $100=		$83,527 33
Rhubarb.....		$2,200 00
Aniseed		1,575 00
Camphor.....		3,400 00
Museus (Musk?)		1,664 00
Cassia.....		4,800 00
Tin.....		9,424 80
Rattans		125 60
Nankeen.....		1,350 00
Pongee handkerchiefs.....		2,648 80
Silk piece goods.....		$1,849 00
Chinaware		234 00
Crape shawls.....		259 00
Ink		92 60
Patchouly.....		40 00
Lanterns.....		12 00
Umbrellas.....		10 00
Bamboo canes.....		63 00
Bamboo fans.....		32 50
Images		20 00
Lacquered ware.....		529 00
Paintings.....		247 00
Mother o' pearl shells, ivory, &c.		58 50
Sets of trunks		301 00
Straw caps.....		24 00
Writing paper.....		60 00
Mexican dollars.....		24,000 00
		$138,547 13
Expenses at Whampoa		1,189 00
Spanish dollars		139,736 13

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences. Death of Changling; change of local officers; Corea; salt; transport of grain; judicial diligence; strangulation for keeping an opium shop.*

WITH this article we close our present volume. During the seventy-two months, elapsed since the first number of the Repository was issued, we have been able to notice but a part of the works and subjects within our reach. Scene after scene, object after object, have passed in quick succession; a few outlines only have been sketched. Before us the field of research expands as we advance. What fruits can be gathered time will show.

The death of Changling has been announced in the Gazettes which have come to hand during the month. The governor of this province has returned from his review; the lieut-governor has gone to Peking; and the valiant colonel Han Shaouking has just been advanced to the rank of lieutenant-general.

Corea. Five envoys were sent during the past year into Corea, to give investiture: the subject being only casually alluded to in the Gazettes, it does not appear whether the investiture was of a queen only, or whether a new king had succeeded to the throne.